

**The original documents are located in Box 33, folder “Carter - RNC Quotebook” of the Ron Nessen Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.**

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## RNC RESEARCH DIVISION

JIMMY CARTER QUOTEBOOK UPDATE

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ABORTION

"I think abortions are wrong. We need to have a comprehensive national sex education program to minimize abortions. I don't think government ought to spend any money to finance abortion.

"I am not in favor of a Constitutional amendment to outlaw abortions. I'll do all I can within the framework of the Supreme Court decision to hold down the number of abortions. That is the best I can do."

Philadelphia Inquirer  
September 8, 1976

In the "Polish Hill" section of Pittsburgh, Carter said he did not support abortion, terming it "a sign of unstable morality."

"I want to be sure we have good education, good family planning, good adoption programs, so if a woman does have an unwanted pregnancy she carries the baby to delivery, and if she can take care of it, let the baby be given life."

Carter, as he has done many stops, repeated that he is personally opposed to abortion, he favors no government funding for it, but opposes a Constitutional ban.

United Press International  
September 8, 1976

Though Carter opposes abortion personally, he would not support a Constitutional amendment to outlaw abortion. He later said, "I would never try to block such an amendment. . ."

Newark Star Ledger  
September 8, 1976

"Last year, I understand we had 300,000 abortions paid for by the government, and I don't think that's right."

Washington Post  
September 9, 1976

"No one ever has sexual intercourse with the idea of having an abortion. It's a sign of a mistake."

Baltimore Sun  
September 9, 1976

Concerning abortion, Carter vowed, "I don't have any intention of changing my opinion just because it is an election year."

St. Louis Post-Dispatch  
September 10, 1976

"Any candidate for President who tries to take political advantage of an emotional issue like this, which is so deeply divisive and so deeply felt, will create an adverse reaction to that candidacy."

Baltimore Sun  
September 10, 1976

On abortion, Carter feels that the states should not have local options because the more liberal states can legalize abortion easily.

"I think it should be uniform all over the country."

Washington Post  
September 14, 1976

AGRICULTURE

In Des Moines, Carter stated that he would "stop farm embargoes, once and for all." The next day he admitted that his language was "too strong" and that he would allow for an embargo in the case of a grain shortage.

The Sunday Oklahoman  
September 5, 1976

BUSING

Carter said he does not like forced busing, but would not support an amendment banning it.

Columbus Dispatch  
September 9, 1976

CITIES/URBAN AFFAIRS

Promising federal help in the fight against central big-city decay, Carter said, "Neighborhoods are not streets and buildings. Neighborhoods are people and families. . .and what affects me and my firends in a tiny community in south Georgia are the same things that affect you--inflation, unemployment, and crime."

Washington Post  
September 7, 1976

Carter opposes the tearing down of homes in the name of progress and called for "a new neighborhood policy" that would end redlining, reclaim abandoned houses, and expand efforts to stabilize urban communities.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch  
September 9, 1976

CIVIL RIGHTS

Carter made his position known that he is opposed to the Arab oil companies' boycott against American Jews, which prevents American firms from dealing with most Arab countries, if those American firms employ Jews.

Atlanta Constitution  
August 19, 1976

"I want to be sure that I emphasize the importance of diversity in our country. There's nothing wrong with that. The preservation of pride in one's own heritage, background, history. . . is not a weakness, it's a sign of strength."

Associated Press  
September 9, 1976

"I got in trouble one time using the word 'ethnic purity,' which I should not have used, but I do believe in ethnic neighborhoods, ethnic character, ethnic heritage."

Washington Post  
September 12, 1976

COURTS

"I do favor a shifting back toward the removal of technicalities which obviously prevent the conviction and punishment of those who are guilty. I believe the Burger Court is moving in the proper direction. We went too far. . .with all the technicalities."

Washington Post  
September 14, 1976

Carter told a group of local officials in Oklahoma Monday that the "Burger Court," with four appointees of Richard M. Nixon and one named by President Ford, "is moving back in the proper direction" away from rulings favoring criminal suspects on "technicalities."

Washington Post  
September 15, 1976

CRIME/DRUGS

"I might say, quickly, I've never tried it myself and don't intend to" use marijuana.

Atlanta Constitution  
September 4, 1976

"We've had an unprecedented increase in the crime rate in the last eight years under a Republican administration. I don't blame all the crime rate on the Republicans. . . That would not be fair. . . But there's been a great contribution to the crime rate in this country because of Watergate, because of the CIA revelations and because of the disgraceful actions of the FBI."

Washington Post  
September 7, 1976

DEFENSE

When asked about the possibility of a peacetime draft of the military, Carter replied, "If that is the only alternative to protect our country adequately, certainly I would do that."

Atlanta Constitution  
August 25, 1976

Carter reproached Ford in a speech to a group of workers about the President's military management: "When the Republican Administration fails to end waste and confusion in the Pentagon, they also weaken our national security. . . Fat in the defense budget does not make us stronger."

Providence Journal  
September 8, 1976

"I don't favor construction [of the B-1 Bomber] at this point. . .It's a fluid situation. . .We ought to keep the B-1 Bomber as a potential weapon and not authorize its construction until it is obviously needed."

Los Angeles Times  
September 13, 1976

Carter is uncertain about the allied and American troop level in Europe, but feels it should be "sufficient" to deter the Soviet Union and he feels that there should be a "reassessment" of responsibilities among the allies there.

Carter is not too clear on his nuclear strategy, but has indicated reservations about the possible "limited" use of atomic weapons.

Baltimore Sun  
September 13, 1976

ECONOMY

"Do you know what the basic Republican anti-inflation policy has been? To put people out of work--'cooling down the economy' they call it, because that sounds nicer."

Seattle Post-Intelligencer  
August 24, 1976

Carter insisted he is not relegating to second place, behind a balanced budget, the needs of the voiceless Americans he has said he wants to represent.

"We'll carry out the promises I've made as aggressively and as quickly as I can."

Atlanta Constitution  
September 4, 1976

"If it requires a delay, for instance, in implementing welfare reform or health care in order to accomplish the goal that I've set of a balanced budget, then those delays would be there," Carter said.

Atlanta Constitution  
September 4, 1976

"There will be no new programs implemented under my administration unless we can be sure that the cost of those programs is compatible with my goal of having a balanced budget before the end of my term."

Atlanta Constitution  
September 4, 1976

"The unemployment this morning was revealed to me [as] the highest since the Hoover depression--7.9 percent. It went up again contrary to the projections of President Ford and his economic advisers."

Atlanta Constitution  
September 4, 1976

In a preview of his fall campaign strategy, Carter reported that if elected, he would delay the populist spending programs which he has promised until the money is available.

He further stated that he would attack unemployment and inflation before beginning costly new programs.

Newark Star-Ledger  
September 4, 1976

Carter gives priority to reducing unemployment over fighting inflation, which he says stems from a number of causes besides government deficits. He favors "jawboning" to hold down prices and standby wage-price controls if needed. He says he could balance the budget by 1980.

Charlotte Observer  
September 6, 1976

"When you have 34 percent of young black men who are unemployed, there is a very heavy push on to commit a crime."

Los Angeles Times  
September 8, 1976

Carter promised a variety of efforts to provide jobs, but conspicuously omitted any reference to the Humphrey-Hawkins "guaranteed job" bill that was endorsed in principle by the Democratic Platform.

Washington Post  
September 9, 1976

"When recession loomed in 1974, they [Ford Administration officials] proposed a tax increase when a cut was needed. We want leadership that cares about the human cost of economic mismanagement. We want leadership which will plan for steady growth toward full employment."

St. Louis Post Dispatch  
September 9, 1976

"They talk about fiscal responsibility. The last two budget requests by the government were over \$50 billion in deficit. . .I don't care how you look at it--tough management, balanced budgets, low inflation, high employment, low deficits--and the Democratic Party stands up well. I don't intend to destroy the reputation of the Democratic Party if I'm elected."

Associated Press  
September 9, 1976

"We will substantially reduce. . .a tax called high interest. Nothing would help home ownership more than to get interest costs down."

Minneapolis Tribune  
September 10, 1976

Carter has endorsed creation of an independent Agency for Consumer Advocacy.

Associated Press  
September 13, 1976

"I operate my peanut farm and my warehouse with a balanced budget and I promise a balanced federal budget in four years."

Washington Star  
September 14, 1976

In reference to Medicaid abuses, Carter attacked the Republicans by saying, "They are one more example of how this Republican Administration has failed to provide tough, competent management in Washington."

Washington Star  
September 14, 1976

"I've never been a big spender."

Washington Star  
September 15, 1976

"Because of a war our people did not want, because of scandals our people did not want, because of economic mismanagement our people did not want, millions of Americans have lost faith in our government."

Washington Post  
September 16, 1976

Carter said that Ford had inherited a "difficult" economic situation from Nixon.

And Ford had "unerringly turned difficulty into disaster," Carter charged, first by seeking a tax hike in the fall of 1974, then by trying to raise energy prices and most recently by his vetoes of the job program programs.

Los Angeles Times  
September 16, 1976

EDUCATION

"We must invest in our people, by ensuring that high quality education is available to all our children, and by providing a comprehensive program of health insurance for all our people."

Seattle Post-Intelligencer  
August 29, 1976

ENERGY

Carter said that as President, he could be slow to sell oil leases on the continental shelf or elsewhere until the value of the land was determined.

He criticized what he called a crash program by the Nixon and Ford Administrations to lease up to 10 million acres of federal oil lands a year, saying this reduced competition and gave the oil companies an "opportunity to make exorbitant profits."

Daily Oklahoman  
August 18, 1976

Carter believes that he can hold to a "slow" 2 percent annual rise in energy consumption through voluntary measures.

Atlanta Constitution  
August 18, 1976

Carter affirmed his support of decontrol of new natural gas and phased elimination of oil price controls at a meeting with energy advisers.

Daily Oklahoman  
August 19, 1976

Carter repeated his opposition to legislation that would force divestiture of large oil companies' production, transportation, refining and marketing operations--so-called "vertical divestiture."

Daily Oklahoman  
August 19, 1976

Carter said he was interested in a proposal by Oklahoma Governor David Boren which would require "vertical accountability" in which the oil companies would file income tax returns for each of their divisions.

Daily Oklahoman  
September 2, 1976

ENVIRONMENT

In preparation for his Seattle campaign in late August, Carter researched the "hot" issues there and said he was "inclined" to continue the moratorium on Corps of Engineer studies of a giant ditch to divert water from the Columbia River to Southwestern states.

Seattle Post-Intelligencer  
August 29, 1976

For Jimmy Carter to come with his carpet bag into Virginia suggesting that three chosen Democrats--and they alone--could have answered the fundamental question and solved the Kepone problem as it exists now, is the lowest form of a political attempt to profit from Virginia's adversity. It is to practice the very brand of politics that Jimmy Carter so sanctimoniously deplors. Indeed, it is to follow a low political road that Virginians--in election after election--have adamantly refused to take.

Richmond News Leader  
September 8, 1976

FAMILY

Addressing a rally in New Hampshire, Carter charged that economic, welfare and urban renewal policies under Nixon and Ford Administrations "have actually weakened our families or even destroyed them." Then he implied that Nixon-Ford policies had helped cause the rising divorce rate, more illegitimate births, juvenile delinquency, suicide, drug abuse and even venereal disease.

Daily Oklahoman  
August 5, 1976

"Everything the government does ought to be designed to bring families together and not separate them.

"I've never seen an interstate highway go through a golf course. But, I've seen a lot of interstate highways go through neighborhoods and take down 200 homes where people invested their whole lives."

Newark Star Ledger  
September 8, 1976

FEDERAL/STATE RELATIONS

In 1973, Carter unsuccessfully pushed an ethics bill that would have clamped down on the "wining and dining" of state lawmakers by lobbyists. "We ought to be extremely cautious of doing things like that."

However, records show that Carter took free rides on corporate jets, including those furnished by the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation and the Coca-Cola Company, and, on at least one occasion, accepted the use of a car and driver in New York provided by a lobbyist for a major pharmaceutical firm.

San Francisco Examiner  
September 5, 1976

FOREIGN POLICY

President Ford and the Secretary of State are "doing the proper thing" in responding to the North Korean slaying of two U.S. officers with 'reticence' but letting the world know "we will not accept the deliberate murder of our servicemen."

Seattle Post-Intelligencer  
August 24, 1976

Carter said that he is committed to Israel's survival as "the fulfillment of a Biblical prophecy."

Miami Herald  
August 31, 1976

Carter offered an example of how he'd like to operate. He pointed out that the democratic nations of Europe kept Portugal from going Communist when they announced that if it did so they "would sever or at least reduce the potential relationship for commerce and trade and mutual defense" with that government.

He said, in effect, that in certain circumstances a judgement might have to be made to "interfere in the electoral process of a sovereign nation." That comes close to what I consider certain practical and proper activities of the CIA which have appalled so many leading Democrats.

Albuquerque Journal  
September 2, 1976

Carter said he would be "much tougher" than either Ford or Richard Nixon in negotiations with the Soviet Union. He said that while he would continue trade and other relationships with the Russians and seek arms limitations, he wants Moscow to live up to the Helsinki agreements on human rights.

Albuquerque Journal  
September 2, 1976

In Washington, Carter told the B'nai B'rith that "often there has been a gap in the values that we have proclaimed and the policies that we have pursued in foreign affairs."

He said the Ford Administration "has been so obsessed with balance of power politics that it has often ignored basic American values and a proper concern for human rights."

The Democratic Presidential candidate said that his foreign affairs policy would "begin by having it understood that if any nation . . . deprives its people of basic human rights, that fact will help shape our nation's attitude toward that government."

United Press International  
September 8, 1976



In reply to the question of Carter's feelings toward a bill proposed in Congress which would deny USSR-favored nation trade rights to the Soviets unless they eased emigration for Jews, Carter said:

"Here was an instance where I think the Soviet Union would have been much more amenable to quiet but firm diplomatic negotiations than the highly publicized pressure placed on the Soviet Union by an act of Congress."

Associated Press  
September 9, 1976

Carter said he would favor "a moderate program" of compensation for white property owners in Rhodesia in the move for black majority rule.

Associated Press  
September 9, 1976

Carter said he doubted that as President he would visit China early in his administration and would prefer a top-level Chinese visit to the United States first.

Associated Press  
September 9, 1976

Carter said the administration has failed to make serious efforts to get the Soviet Union to permit emigration of greater numbers of its people to other countries.

"Despite our deep desire for successful negotiation on strategic arms and nuclear proliferation, we cannot pass over in silence the deprivation of human rights in the Soviet Union."

Associated Press  
September 9, 1976

GOVERNMENT

In an effort to change the image of big government, if elected, Carter vowed: "I will do the best I can as President to strip away all the fancy trappings of the office."

Atlanta Constitution  
August 30, 1976

Regarding the sunset bill, Carter stated: "The instinct for bureaucratic survival, the inertia which keeps agencies afloat is too strong to be overcome except by drastic procedures."

Columbus Dispatch  
September 9, 1976

"If elected, I will actively support a strong sunset law covering most of the bureaucratic establishment and covering virtually all tax expenditures as well," Carter said in a statement issued in Columbus. "I want a law which will shut down outdated agencies and programs once and for all. I intend to secure enactment of such a law."

Associated Press  
September 9, 1976



HEALTH

Carter said the nation also requires a "comprehensive system of health care, a completely reformed welfare system and improved educational opportunities for our people. The weak, the elderly, and the disabled must have special care."

Minneapolis Tribune  
September 7, 1976

In August, Carter seemed to edge away from "insurance" toward what he called "complete health coverage--not insurance but health provisions--with emphasis on prevention." And he sought to dissociate himself from the so-called Kennedy-Corman bill, which is the most uncompromising health insurance bill before Congress and the one to which his own position has been most frequently compared.

Christian Science Monitor  
September 10, 1976

"In the county where I am from," Carter said, "we don't have a doctor, we don't have a dentist, we don't have a pharmacist, we don't have a registered nurse, and people who live there are very poor and have no access to preventive health care."

Human Events  
September 11, 1976

Carter said that he would spend "a good proportion" of the \$60 billion he expects to be available in new federal funds by 1981 on a comprehensive national health-care system.

Baltimore Sun  
September 15, 1976

"There ought to be a package available to all of you, to all Americans, to guarantee a minimum amount of health care."

Baltimore Sun  
September 15, 1976

Carter, outlining medical reforms at a hospital rally in Phoenix, Arizona, said they should include:

1. Establishment of fiscal and quality controls on the Medicaid program;
2. An aggressive and effective central fraud and abuse unit in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to investigate violations estimated at costing between \$4 billion and \$7 billion yearly;

3. Stiffer penalties for Medicaid fraud; and,
4. Reorganization and reform of HEW into a "competent and efficient" department.

Baltimore Sun  
September 15, 1976

"The Republican Administration in Washington has just not provided the tough, competent management to make our scarce health dollars go to help patients or prevent disaster. It's a national disgrace."

Baltimore Sun  
September 15, 1976

HOUSING

Carter pledged support to stronger federal legislation against "red-lining" the cut-off of private mortgage credit to certain inner-city neighborhoods.

Washington Post  
September 7, 1976

"Under the Republican Administration, HUD [Department of Housing and Urban Development] means Housing Undergoing Destruction."

Washington Post  
September 7, 1976

Carter said that "a direct subsidy of new housing units is essential." He also mentioned the possibility of eliminating the deduction for home mortgage interest, but plans to keep an incentive for home ownership in some form.

Associated Press  
September 13, 1976

POLITICS

Carter in Hollywood, in an attempt to display his appeal to the common man, stated that "public servants. . .have a special responsibility to by-pass the big-shots."

Atlanta Constitution  
August 24, 1976

Some of Carter's boosters were a bit embarrassed when it came out that during the primary season certain ministers were given large sums of money to help "get out the vote" for him within their flocks.

Columbus Dispatch  
September 5, 1976

"It's not a time for hiding from the voters. It's not a time for depending on powerful big-shot political figures to put you into office."

Baltimore Sun  
September 8, 1976

"We don't depend on powerful political intermediaries to put us in office."

Associated Press  
September 9, 1976

"I've chosen to play the role of John Kennedy."

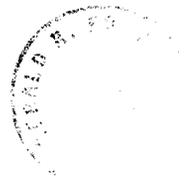
Associated Press  
September 10, 1976

Carter said that if he becomes President, he will seek federal legislation to automatically grant permanent voter registration to every citizen turning 18.

Washington Post  
September 11, 1976

In reference to his outspoken opinions of the FBI Director Kelley issue, Carter stated, "I had some doubts on responding, but. . .I decided it would be the proper thing. . .I might be a little more reticent in the future about responding."

Washington Post  
September 12, 1976



"I just want to restore what I believe was an accurate picture of me in the primary season," Carter said in an attempt to placate the conservatives who feel he is far more liberal than he first appeared.

United Press International  
September 13, 1976

While Carter was accentuating the conservative themes of his campaign, his first political business was to accept the endorsement of the Liberal Party of New York.

Associated Press  
September 13, 1976

TAXES

Carter said that "the absence of leadership from the White House" is responsible for the failure of Congress to pass tax reform.

Baltimore Sun  
September 8, 1976

"We've got too many people who suffer, average working people, by paying too much in taxes while the rich and the powerful take advantage of special tax credits and tax shelters," Carter said.

"Comprehensive tax reform has been overdue in this country about 50 years," he said, claiming that some people buy old factories or farms, "and make a deliberate loss just to get tax benefits."

Carter said he did not have all the answers, "but, I believe the complete elimination of tax shelters would be beneficial to the country."

United Press International  
September 8, 1976

WELFARE

Carter said of the 90 percent of welfare recipients who cannot work full time: "We ought to encourage them to work part-time, if they can."

Los Angeles Times  
September 8, 1976

"We've got about 12 million people nationally, on welfare. About 1.3 million people on welfare are capable of working full time. There's nothing wrong with them.

"I would like to remove these people from the welfare system completely," Carter said. "Put them under the responsibility of the Labor Department. Give them job training. . . Give them the assurance that private or public job training agencies will. . . offer them a job.

"If they are offered a job and don't take it, I would not offer them any more benefits."

Los Angeles Times  
September 8, 1976

Carter said he would "take the welfare burden completely off the local property taxpayers and over a period of time also reduce greatly the amount of welfare paid for by the states."

He said the federal government should take over the burden.

Los Angeles Times  
September 8, 1976

"ON" CARTER

"I thought it was good to re-emphasize my basic themes of a balanced budget, strengthening local government, a maximum of personal privacy and a minimum of government secrecy."

"I just want to restore what I believe was an accurate description of me in the primary season," Carter said, recalling that he had been considered then a conservative, compared with other, more liberal Democratic candidates.

Boston Globe  
September 12, 1976

CARTER "ON"

Gerald Ford

"He's [Ford] not out meeting people in factory shift lines. . .or shopping centers. He's hiding in the White House, not willing to go out and face the people on the record of what he has done."

Boston Globe  
September 11, 1976

"Why, he's [Ford] vetoed Democratic bills that would have done precisely what he proposed in his speech. I think he's grossly underestimating the memory and the intelligence of the American voters."

New York Times  
September 17, 1976

Gerald Ford and Robert Dole

Carter said that "no one seems to be in charge" of the country, and in moments of crisis, "the captain hides in his stateroom and the crew argues about who is to blame."

Minneapolis Tribune  
September 4, 1976

"We might very well lose and have Gerald Ford or Bob Dole in the White House in the next eight years, and that would be a catastrophe."

Boston Globe  
September 11, 1976

FBI Director, Clarence Kelley

"Knowing what I know now, I would have fired him [Kelley]." Carter told a large group of reporters that he did not know what he would do about Mr. Kelley if he became President next January.

"I'll cross that bridge when I come to it," he said.

New York Times  
September 8, 1976

Republicans

"There was a time in the '60's when many of those here in this room were working together to try to build housing, to try to put people back to work, and to help senior citizens with their problems," he said, adding that Democrats also were involved in those endeavors.

"We were beginning to make progress. People were going back to work. . . We were beginning to move in the very areas that you've been working in by yourselves for these past 16 years. And then, what happened?"

"The Republicans impounded all of the funds and they illegally dismantled all of the programs that were there and which you had been promised would be available to you for your help."

Washington Post  
September 17, 1976

Governor George Wallace

"Governor Wallace's early support and friendship is something I'll always remember."

Associated Press  
September 13, 1976



Republican  
National  
Committee.

September 20, 1976

ERRATA

Please see page 8 in the ENERGY section of the Jimmy Carter Quotebook. During production of the Quotebook, the quote taken from Business Week magazine on May 3, 1976, was misspelled by us. It should read as follows:

" Breaking up the oil companies as a major goal would be counter productive. At the wholesale and retail level, I think divestiture ought to be considered unless I was assured as President...

There may be other such errors in this publication. Material taken from the Quotebook for dissemination through the media should be checked for accuracy. Please feel free to contact the RNC Research Division for verification of any information.

Richard R. Thaxton  
Director  
Political/Research Division



## JIMMY CARTER QUOTEBOOK UPDATE

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ABORTION

Carter approves of the Supreme Court ruling that made abortion a private matter.

New York Times  
December 14, 1975

Calling abortion wrong, Carter said, "the government shouldn't encourage it."

Indianapolis News  
March 9, 1976

Carter stated that he is personally against abortion. He would push hard for sex education and contraceptive programs intended to reduce the demand for abortion but would not favor a constitutional amendment outlawing it on grounds that such personal matters are not areas for government intrusion.

Chicago Tribune  
April 28, 1976

Carter personally opposes abortion but doesn't favor a constitutional amendment banning it.

Philadelphia Inquirer  
April 29, 1976

Carter favors government action to reduce abortions by supporting sex education, family planning and adoption programs.

L.A. Times  
May 9, 1976

Carter does not back a constitutional amendment to prohibit abortion, or to give states local option on the issues, but will use executive power to back the Supreme Court's 13-week option for mothers.

Washington Star News  
April 30, 1976

Mary King, a close Carter advisor, said:

"I helped him understand abortion as an alternative to failed contraception. He had only looked at it before as an ethical issue."

New York Times  
July 8, 1976

"We need to do something about illegitimate birth. We need to do something about teenage pregnancies. We need a strong family planning program, better adoption procedures, better education, strong moral leadership, to reduce or eliminate the need for abortion."

Speech, Manchester, New Hampshire  
August 3, 1976

"If Congress should pass a law or the courts should rule in a definite way that public funds should be used for abortion, I would have to abide by that law."

Boston Globe  
August 5, 1976

Carter said the government should do everthing possible to minimize abortions... "we need a comprehensive, nationwide program for sex education, for better adoptive procedures for family planning."

United Press International  
August 12, 1976

"I don't think government ought to do anything to encourage abortions, and I think we ought to have a nationwide effort through my own persuasion as President, if I am elected, through sex education and access to contraceptives, for those who believe in their use, family planning programs, better adoptive procedures, do everything we can to minimize the need for abortions.

"I see abortion as evidence of a failure to prevent unwanted pregnancies... I am not in favor of a constitutional amendment that would totally prohibit abortion or that would give the states a local option."

Los Angeles Times  
August 24, 1976

Carter told a meeting of Catholic bishops that he personally opposed abortion, but rejected their request that he should support a constitutional amendment banning it.

Philadelphia Inquirer  
September 1, 1976

"I've never said I would actively oppose every possible constitutional amendment that was proposed on the subject of abortion."

Washington Post  
September 2, 1976

"I can't say there are no possible amendments on the abortion issue that I would ever oppose or support. I can't be that conjectural when I haven't seen the draft of the amendment."

Chicago Tribune  
September 2, 1976

AGRICULTURE

Carter said he would be "cautious about using food as a so-called "weapon" in diplomacy. Asked to clarify the comment he said he would not "single out food as a bargaining tool."

Asked if that meant he would use food sales as one of several bargaining tools, Carter snapped that he had already answered the question.

Madison (Wis.) Capital Times  
March 25, 1976

In response to Udall's criticism of his earlier statements that he would support an 80% milk price support level, Carter said: "As President I would have signed the bill which President Ford vetoed raising price supports to 85 percent parity."

Madison (Wis.) Capital Times  
March 29, 1976

"Mr. Butz and some of his predecessors have permitted the major grain dealers to participate in the hiring of their own inspectors...I guarantee you that every grain inspector in this country...will be responsible only to the public."

Speech, Consumer Federal of America  
January 23, 1976

"A recent study by the University of Wisconsin said it should be 90 percent of parity. I don't know, but it should be tied down to whatever it costs to produce the products."

Atlanta Constitution  
March 31, 1976

Carter was asked about what he would do if George Meany intervened in a future grain deal. Carter said he would never let that happen again and he said he would never use food as a weapon.

News Conference  
Grand Island, Nebraska  
May 8, 1976

"We've had too much carelessness in the past, about putting new factories out in the beautiful outdoor suburban areas. I hate to see this land taken from agricultural production."

Washington Post  
July 12, 1976

Carter said that his agricultural policy as President would combine full production with federal subsidies to assure farmer's production costs are met in the prices they receive.

Carter said that his agricultural policy as President would combine full production with federal subsidies to assure farmer's production costs are met in the prices they receive.

Des Moines Register  
July 12, 1976

Carter stated that farmers are "sorry and disturbed," even "bitter" over grain embargoes and other Republican agricultural policies, Carter called for the creation of a 200-member "National Carter Committee for Food and Agriculture."

Des Moines Register  
July 15, 1976

Carter's food program calls for pressure to foreign governments to hold and purchase foods stocks to avoid famine. Likewise, Carter calls for a large domestic reserve.

Wichita Eagle  
August 9, 1976

Carter said that he favors legislation introduced by Senator Herman Talmadge (D-Ga.) and Rep. Dawson Mathis (D-Ga.) to cut peanut price supports and acreage allotments in an attempt to head off more stringent measures to reduce subsidized surpluses.

Washington Post  
August 19, 1976

"If I am elected we will make sure that our crop support prices are at least equal to the cost of production. That will not guarantee a profit - no real farmer wants that - but it will give the determined farmer a chance to stay in business...We need to guarantee a decent price for the farmer and a reasonable price for the consumer."

Chicago Tribune  
August 26, 1976

On Proposition 14, the farm labor initiative now being utilized in California, Carter said, "My own inclination would be to hold off on national farm labor legislation until I see how the California plan works."

Los Angeles Times  
August 24, 1976

"Under my administration, if I'm elected, there will never be another embargo that singles out farm products."

Associated Press  
August 25, 1976

"When a proposal was presented to the White House to have fair and honorable and independent grain inspection, Gerald Ford vetoed the idea and we still don't have honest inspection of American grain."

Washington Post  
August 26, 1976

Carter pledged to stop embargoes on U.S. grain shipments to the Soviet Union "once and for all" and accused Ford of allowing corruption to continue in the inspection of grain shipped overseas.

Los Angeles Times  
August 26, 1976

"To the extent that Proposition 14 follows a pattern of the established legislation, and I think it basically does, I would have no objection to Proposition 14 being passed.

"The cost of the program, the makeup of the farm labor board, the specifics about exactly how many hours per day labor organizers go into the farm, those are the things that I would like to see assessed on a test basis in California, looking at the rest of the country. The right of farm workers to organize the secret ballot concept, those I'm convinced already are the best approach."

Los Angeles Times  
August 27, 1976

"Congress tried to give our rural families a chance when it passed the Emergency Farm Bill in 1975. But one of the first things President Ford did was to veto that bill.

"Congress tried to give them a chance by setting milk support at 85 per cent of parity. But President Ford vetoed that bill.

"Congress tried to give them a chance by sharing conservation costs. But President Ford vetoed that bill."

Christian Science Monitor  
September 1, 1976

"Obviously there are some circumstances where if we had a complete failure of our grain, soya beans or wheat, we would have to restrict our exports."

Baltimore Sun  
August 27, 1976

AMNESTY

"...I think it's time for the damage and the hatred and the divisiveness of the Vietnam War to be over. I do not favor...a blanket amnesty. But for those who violated selective service laws, I intend to grant a blanket pardon. To me, there is a difference. Amnesty means that what you did was right. A pardon means that what you did, right or wrong, is forgiven. So a pardon, yes. Amnesty, no. For deserters, each case should be handled on an individual basis in accordance with our nation's system of military justice."

Speech, American Legion Convention  
Seattle, Washington  
August 24, 1976

BUSINESS

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

Sioux Falls Times-Argus  
April 20, 1976

"I think it's a very serious mistake when the President or other leaders of our country permit through incorrect knowledge or misapprehension or because of political expediency, the turning of our peoples' opinions against the business community, or multinational corporations, or oil companies just as a scapegoat. I'll do everything I can as President to keep the American people acquainted with the facts that relate to the advantages of international trade, that relate to the fairness or unfairness of specific tax regulations and the importance of the free-enterprise system within our societal structure."

The Wall Street Journal  
July 23, 1976

Carter endorsed legislation under which the attorney general could seek to block major corporate mergers in advance.

Miami Herald  
August 10, 1976

Carter said that of the 45 appointments to the nine most important regulatory agencies since 1971 "more than half have come from the regulated industries themselves."

He called such appointment an unprecedented abuse and a sign of contempt for the regulatory agencies themselves "and for the public they are supposed to defend and protect."

New York Times  
August 12, 1976

Pierre A. Rinfret, chairman of one of the nation's leading economic consulting firms, said, "Jimmy Carter is Senator McGovern in disguise. Today we are telling our corporate clients to watch it because sometime in 1977 he will demand standby wage and price controls. Why? Because it's obvious he wants to use them to threaten business... He might appoint to the Federal Reserve Board... John Kenneth Galbraith, a brilliant man but one who stands for total government control of the private sector."

Newsday Magazine  
August 16, 1976

Carter said that he will use his first state of the Union address to take a strong personal stand against overseas bribery by U.S. companies, as well as boycotts of Jewish firms by Arab nations.

Associated Press  
August 18, 1976

BUSING

"I'm not for the busing of any child against the wishes of his parents," Carter said. But on the other hand he said, "I would not oppose federal aid for any school that uses busing."

Boston Globe  
March 14, 1975

". . . I personally am not in favor of mandatory busing myself. I think the volunteer busing plan that we have in Atlanta is the best approach to it, and I also believe that the passage of the Civil Rights Act--Acts. . . are the best thing that ever happened to the South."

"Face the Nation"  
November 30, 1975

"I don't think we ought to amend the Constitution every time we have a transient problem, and that's what I consider the busing problem--transient."

". . . in most instances where busing orders have been put forth, the communities have eventually accommodated themselves to a workable procedure."

"I would hate to reopen the entire divisive question of busing for all the state legislatures in the nation to redebate. It would unnecessarily create disharmony, racial and otherwise."

"I don't favor mandatory busing simply to achieve racial balance. . . my preference is the Atlanta plan. . . as President if the courts ruled differently I would support the courts."

Washington Post  
March 21, 1976

"Mandatory busing, no. Voluntary transfers, yes. I do see a need, however, which I would honor, for the President to support the federal courts. And if the courts should rule differently from my own personal beliefs, of course I would support the federal courts. I do not favor a Constitutional amendment to prohibit busing. Ultimately, I think the best solution is voluntary transfers for students who want it, and adequate representation of minority leaders in the administration of a school system."

U.S. News and World Report  
May 24, 1976

"I thought he (Mondale) was in favor of forced busing. His record, which was confirmed to me by issues reports from Stu Eizenstat (issues director) before I met with him was that he was not. He's always tried to search for some alternatives to busing."

San Francisco Chronicle  
July 16, 1976

"We need to have better education as we consider sensitive issues like busing . . . And we need to always assure that children can go to school closest to their own homes so there can be a close relationship between the family and the school itself."

Speech, Manchester, New Hampshire  
Rally  
August 3, 1976

CITIES/URBAN AFFAIRS

Carter called New York a "horrible conglomerate of bossism."

Washington Post  
March 18, 1976

Asked about balancing the New York City budget, Carter said, "I would try to discern a time schedule during which that could be consummated. It would probably take, I would just guess, eight years."

Washington Post  
March 21, 1976

Carter would not support a federal plan to guarantee New York City's bonds during the heart of that city's financial crisis last fall. He also has refused to advocate a federal takeover of local and state welfare burdens and the passage of a Humphrey-sponsored bill that would make Washington the "employer of last resort."

Minneapolis Tribune  
April 4, 1976

Carter said, "I know of the sacrifice and the anguish endured because of massive layoffs of municipal employees. My objective is to see the city re-enter the public financial markets at the earliest possible time, subjecting its securities to precise safeguards for private investors."

He said he would consider the creation of a Federal Municipal Securities Insurance Corporation to assist localities in marketing their bonds and to reduce interest levels. "There will never be any newspaper headline, however, in any community as long as I am President telling it to 'Drop Dead.'"

Los Angeles Times  
May 27, 1976

Throughout his campaign, Carter has opposed direct federal aid to help cities out of financial straits. Last week, however, he promised Mayor Beame he would "study the creation of a federal municipalities securities insurance corporation to assist localities in marketing their bonds and reducing interest levels now faced by municipalities and to provide voluntary self-controls in municipal financial matters."

New York Times  
June 11, 1976

"Today, America's No. 1 economic problem is our cities," Carter told U.S. Conference of Mayors in Milwaukee. "I want to work with you to meet the problems of the rural South in the 1930's."

"There is no room in my concept of the Presidency for the politics of alienation and division," he said.

Carter's three basic elements for the partnership he is proposing to restore federalism and revitalize the cities are:

1. "The federal government must provide predictable and adequate financial support to assist communities in meeting legitimate fiscal needs, so that localities can avoid excessive service cutbacks and inordinate property tax increases."
2. Carter said local governments must be allowed the greatest possible degree of administrative freedom for innovative, creative use of federal funds.

"You, this nation's mayors, are the people in the firing line, fighting a hard battle against heavy odds," Carter explained, "and we cannot expect you to fight well if you are trapped in the bureaucratic straitjacket that categorical grants have too often imposed."

3. Carter said a balanced federal partnership must give governors and mayors a proper role in the earliest stages of forming national urban policy and in designing new machinery for carrying out the policy.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch  
June 29, 1976

"We need an automatic counter-cyclical assistance program with a long-term authorization. . ."

Speech, U.S. Conference of Mayors  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin  
June 29, 1976

"For eight years, our cities and their people and their elected officials have too often been used by the White House as adversaries, and quite often, political whipping boys."

Atlanta Constitution  
June 30, 1976

"I'll never tell the people of the greatest city on earth (NYC) to drop dead."

Los Angeles Times  
July 11, 1976

CONGRESS

"I'll be asking you for advice and counsel. If there's one aspect of my experience that's been neglected, it's my lack of knowledge about the workings of Congress."

New York Times  
June 25, 1976

"I have a great respect for the Congress, but I don't consider the Congress to be inherently capable of leadership. I think the Founding Fathers expected the President to be the leader of our country. The President is the only person who can speak with a clear voice to the American people and set a standard of ethics, and morality, excellence, greatness. He can call on the American people to make a sacrifice and explain the purpose of the sacrifice, propose and carry out bold programs to protect, to expose and root out injustice and discrimination and divisions among our population. He can provide and describe a defense posture that will make our people feel secure, a foreign policy to make us proud once again."

National Journal  
July 17, 1976

"And you've had in the Congress a superlative Congressional delegation. And I look forward next year to working with that delegation and with your new great Democratic Governor Jay Rockefeller."

Speech-Jefferson/Jackson Dinner  
Charleston, West Virginia  
August 14, 1976

"By default, the President's absence of leadership from the White House, Congress has moved forward, sometimes in a very fumbling way, and President Ford's achievement has been to veto these attempts by Congress to take the initiative in the absence of White House leadership."

New York Times  
August 21, 1976

"There is something seriously wrong when members of Congress, all of whom were elected by the people, repeatedly pass legislation the country needs, only to have it vetoed by an appointed President."

New York Times  
August 24, 1976

When asked if he had any effect on legislation at this point, Carter answered:

"No, I haven't tried to...I've never tried to call up individual members of the House or the Senate to influence their vote on legislation."

Congressional Quarterly  
August 31, 1976

"Historically, when Congress' reputation has been high in the public opinion polls it's been during those eras when there's been a maximum amount of cooperation between the White House and Congress."

Congressional Quarterly  
August 31, 1976

CRIME

"I see no reason for corporations to give bribes in this country or in other countries." Carter added that he'd like to see criminal penalties including jail terms for leaders of companies that engage in 'subversion of society,' by bribery or in other corporate abuses, such as actions that endanger public health."

Wall Street Journal  
August 10, 1976

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

"It was disgraceful that because of actual crimes within the Department of Justice and a lack of trust in the Attorney General, a special prosecutor had to be appointed just to enforce the law.

"As much as is humanly possible, the Attorney General should be removed from politics, and should enjoy the same independence and authority and should deserve as much confidence as did the special prosecutor during the last few weeks of Watergate investigation."

Speech, American Bar Association  
Atlanta, Georgia  
August 11, 1976

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

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

"The best deterrent to crime is swift and certain justice. Civil justice is of no practical value to the average citizen when cases are intolerably delayed.

"Of the \$4.4 billion spent by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration over the past eight years, only 6 percent was allocated to aid state and local courts. This is a grossly misdirected set of priorities.

"There are demands for complex and controversial changes in your own profession, and it is obvious that you are concerned about such issues as: reduced jury size, legal assistance for indigents, reorganization of the court system, administrative officers and balanced case loads, simplified civil and criminal



court procedures, compulsory arbitration outside of court, prepaid legal service, public legal clinics, the use of paraprofessionals, expanded class action rights, broadened definitions of legal standing, funding of public interest law, elimination of fixed fee schedules, and relaxation of advertising restrictions."

Speech, American Bar Association  
Atlanta, Georgia  
August 11, 1976

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

"So, with the cooperation of the Georgia Bar, I went to the legislature and was successful in implementing a series of reform in our judicial system: A nominating system to insure merit appointment of judges; mandatory retirement for judges and a method of hearing citizen complaints and removing incompetent judges from office; automatic review to insure increased uniformity of sentencing among judges; a unified and uniform court system. . . prison reform with emphasis on rehabilitation; a professional Georgia Bureau of Investigation; a reduction of emphasis on victimless crimes; expanded staff aid for judges and administrative officers for the courts.

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

Speech, American Bar Association  
Atlanta, Georgia  
August 11, 1976

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

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

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

Speech, American Bar Association  
Atlanta, Georgia  
August 11, 1976

"I know some of them [friends that are rock stars] undoubtedly use drugs. But I don't consider my association with them to be a subject of shame. . . or that it has besmirched my character."

Associated Press  
August 27, 1976

DEFENSE

"We can reduce our defense expenditures by at least \$5 billion to \$6 billion annually without endangering the defense of the nation."

Manchester Union Leader  
February 21, 1976

"The prime responsibility of any President is to guarantee the security of our nation with a tough, muscular, well-organized, and effective fighting force."

Chicago Tribune  
March 16, 1976

"I would remove all atomic weapons from Korea.

"I cannot see any circumstances imaginable under which we need or would use atomic weapons in the Korean area.

"But I would not be rash about the withdrawal of troops from South Korea. . . I'd make sure the Japanese knew what we were doing. . . I would make sure that in the four or five years when we get our troops in Korea substantially removed that Korea would still be able to defend itself against North Korea."

Washington Post  
March 21, 1976

"I think the cumulative strength of our own military forces, plus those of NATO and others, are still superior to the Soviet Union. I think that our vast economic capabilities in agriculture production, electronics and so forth gives us a decided edge and will for the next 15 years.

"I think that we're still superior to Russia even in the Navy. . . I think that ability to control the seas in a benevolent way is very important.

"We're still predicating our plans that the next war is going to be in the Far East. I think that's a mistake in basic premise."

Washington Post  
March 21, 1976

"I think we still have a superiority over Russia in the multiplicity of delivery systems for atomic weapons and our ability to defend ourselves compared to Russia."

Washington Post  
March 21, 1976

". . .as long as I am President, the American people will never sacrifice the security or survival of Israel for barrels of oil. Even if every other nation were forced by thirst for oil to desert Israel, we in this country, with our resources, our power, and our sense of decency can and will stand fast."

Speech to Jewish Leaders  
New York City  
April 1, 1976

"I think Park is much too autocratic and has very little concern about human freedoms and human rights. Our commitment is not to Park. Our long-standing commitment has been to the people of South Korea. I think that to reduce our land forces in South Korea gradually over a period of years would be an appropriate action to take. The South Koreans would have a competitive force with that of the North."

Newsweek  
May 10, 1976

"We have a commitment made by the Congress, the President, the people and the United Nations in Korea. I would prefer to withdraw all of our troops and land forces from South Korea over a period of years--three, four years, whatever. But, obviously, we're already committed in Japan. We're committed in Germany."

Los Angeles Times  
May 16, 1976

"I don't believe that our basic strategic interests have been reassessed since 1950. That needs to be done in a long-range fashion. We need to have a simplification of the purposes of the military. The military duplicates. There's an unbelievable bureaucratic hierarchy that's been established since the second World War. Some management improvements, I think, would restore to a greater degree the confidence of our people in the military. I think these management-improvement efforts would result in roughly a 5 to 7 billion dollar decrease in defense budget."

U.S. News and World Report  
May 24, 1976

"I do favor the extension of a GI Bill of Rights in education."

Press Conference  
Portland Oregon  
May 24, 1976

It will be possible to withdraw U.S. forces from South Korea over a time span to be determined after consultation with both South Korea and Japan, but the United States should make clear that "internal oppression" in South Korea is "repugnant to our people."

Associated Press  
June 23, 1976

Carter said that if he were the Prime Minister of Israel, he would not be in favor of giving up the contested Golan Heights to Syria and that he would also be inclined to retain control of "Jewish and Christian holy places" in the city of Jerusalem.

New York Times  
July 2, 1976

Carter said that the readiness of current reserve forces is doubtful, adding that they lack both the training and the weapons to be an effective fighting force.

Associated Press  
July 27, 1976

Carter, describing U.S. military power as in "rough equivalency" with that of the Soviet Union, would make "a major commitment. . .to the American people" to never permit Russian military superiority.

Los Angeles Times  
July 27, 1976

Most Americans, he said, "tend to forget the unbelievable destruction of human beings in any sort of nuclear war." In reply to questions, he said he believed that there was no possibility of a nuclear "first strike" without "unbelievable destruction on the originator of the attack." He said he would seek a "mutual commitment" with the Soviet Union to avoid any use of atomic weapons.

New York Times  
July 28, 1976

Carter would not answer directly when reporters asked if those savings [of 5 to 7 percent] would be eaten up by a new weapons system. "I can't give you at this point an exact figure or next year's or the following year's budget."

Baltimore Sun  
July 28, 1976

Carter said that the United States should consider scaling down its current \$12 billion a year arms business to reduce the threat of war.

Atlanta Constitution  
July 30, 1976

"We must get about the business of arms control. The Vladivostok agreement set too high a ceiling on strategic nuclear weapons."

Human Events  
August 21, 1976

Carter said that the voluntary Army must be reassessed in light of the rise in employment which will make recruitment more difficult. At the news conference, he suggested that the terms of service might be reduced to a year or less to encourage volunteers.

Baltimore Sun  
August 25, 1976

"Our defense must come not only from our fighting forces but from our people's trust in their leaders. Only then can we in Theodore Roosevelt's phrase, 'speak softly, but carry a big stick.'"

New York Times  
August 25, 1976

"For us to accept that the United States should plan a limited nuclear war would be a serious mistake. The Russians have drawn a distinction between tactical and strategic war. They have always gone all-out in their planning on the first. But the Russians make the distinction that they would exclude direct attacks by them on the U.S.A. and direct attacks by us in the Soviet Union in such a conflict."

New York Times  
August 28, 1976

Carter said he would use atomic weapons if he were "convinced the security or existence of our own nation was threatened."

"The use of atomic weapons in Europe would certainly not be contemplated by me without agreement of the nations who would be most directly affected by retaliatory actions against the Soviet Union. . . I certainly couldn't imagine us using nuclear weapons in Europe without Germany and Austria and perhaps France approving their use."

Washington Star  
September 3, 1976

"We are a powerful nation, but we can be more powerful. We must have a strong defense--tough, muscular, simple, well-organized, supported and appreciated by all Americans, with waste and confusion, eliminated and with a sharply focused purpose: the ability to fight."

Los Angeles Times  
September 7, 1976

ECONOMY

Carter says he will present a plan for tax reform that "would reduce the tax rate by 40 to 50 percent and shift the tax load to those who have higher incomes."

Boston Globe  
February 26, 1976

"I would never, never do anything that would hurt the middle American wage earner."

Atlanta Constitution  
March 7, 1976

"We need to remove the tax incentives that encourage American multi-national corporations to manufacture products in foreign countries when their own employees in this country are out of work. This would save lost tax revenue for the United States."

Carter Campaign Issues Reference Book  
March 15, 1976

"As a last resort, public employment jobs need to be created similar to the CCC and the WPA during the depression years, particularly for young Americans 18-20 years old who have an extremely high unemployment rate--in excess of 40 percent for black young people."

"The net cost will be about \$20 per week for each young person hired."

Carter Campaign Issues Reference Book  
March 15, 1976

"I do not favor a tax cut for 1976. I believe most American people would much rather see some control over excessive spending. . . than to have a tax cut at this time with deficits in the neighborhood of \$70 billion."

Carter Campaign Issues Reference Book  
March 16, 1976

"most of my economic advisers--and I've got some darn good ones--tell me that you can come down to 4 percent unemployment or 4 1/2 percent and not have a tremendous adverse effect on the inflation rate. Almost invariably, though, they will tell me that if you try to go down to a 3 percent unemployment rate the way we measure it in this country, that you will inevitably have double digit inflation--above 10 percent."

Madison (Wis.) Capital Times  
March 29, 1976

Carter said that a government job-guarantee would be extremely expensive, and someone has to pay these salaries, and the ones who pay the salaries are the people who work outside the federal government.

Atlanta Constitution  
April 2, 1976

Carter dismisses the liberals' campaign centerpiece, the Humphrey-Hawkins full-employment bill as too "rigid" and likely to revive double-digit inflation.

Wall Street Journal  
April 2, 1976

Carter accepts the government as the employer of last resort, but prefers pushing tax breaks and sales to create jobs because employment is "the most eminent domestic priority."

Cincinnati Enquirer  
April 11, 1976

"...I have come to a position of being able to endorse the Humphrey-Hawkins bill."

Washington Post  
April 12, 1976

"I've always favored, in highly concentrated jobless areas [use of] federal jobs as a last resort, something like the CCC."

Washington Post  
April 12, 1976

Carter described a "comprehensive" economic plan he said would produce a balanced budget and reduce both unemployment and inflation to the 4 percent level by 1979.

Washington Post  
April 24, 1976

Q: Would you provide public jobs for people, other than those chronically unemployed, who weren't able to find jobs in the private sector?

A: "I don't believe we can afford that, on a permanent basis. This would create in our nation an inclination to circumvent the private sector, to depend on the federal government as a first supplier of jobs, and it would be extremely expensive. It costs about \$12,500 to supply a job for a person in the public sector. I would not want to use massive public-jobs programs except in an extreme case, and I believe that as President I could avoid that circumstance."

Fortune Magazine  
May 1976

"My economic advisers and I agree that until you get the unemployment rate down below 5 percent, there's no real danger of escalating inflationary pressures. I would also favor additional money supply. I don't see any reason why the permanent level of inflation can't be as low as 2 or 3 percent."

Fortune Magazine  
May 1976

"I think the major priority of the next administration has got to be employment. My own belief is that we can get the adult unemployment rate down to 3 percent, or the overall rate down to 4.5 percent, without any adverse effect on inflation."

Business Week  
May 3, 1976

"I didn't approve of it [Humphrey-Hawkins bill] the way it was originally written. With a mandatory total unemployment goal of 3 percent, taking in all age groups, most of my economic advisers thought that would mean double-digit inflation. And although in its original form the bill professed to make the government the employer of last resort, in effect it placed the government almost as an employer of first resort. . ."

Business Week  
May 3, 1976

"I would like stand-by wage-price controls. My guess is that I would never use them. But I would like them as a lever. I wouldn't hesitate to use them if I had to."

Business Week  
May 3, 1976

"While the Federal Reserve Board should maintain its independence from the Executive Branch, it is important that throughout a President's term he has a chairman of the Federal Reserve whose economic views are compatible with his own. . . . To insure greater compatibility between the President and the Federal Reserve chairman, I propose that, subject to Senate confirmation, the President be given the power to appoint his own chairman of the Federal Reserve who would serve a term coterminous with the President's."

Baltimore Sun  
May 6, 1976

"Increase productivity and we can grow without inflation. And we need a monetary policy that encourages lower interest rates, so investment capital will be available at reasonable costs."

U.S. News and World Report  
May 24, 1976



"The No. 1 domestic commitment of the next administration will be to create jobs and reduce unemployment. I would set a goal of bringing unemployment down to 3 percent among adults, 4 or 4 1/2 percent for the whole labor force. We have to pursue an expansionary fiscal and monetary policy in the near future--with some budget deficits if necessary."

U.S. News and World Report  
May 24, 1976

"I would put my emphasis on employment and take my chances on inflation."

New York Times Magazine  
June 6, 1976

"The monetary restrictions of the last few years did nothing but slow down the economy. It wasn't a sensible way to counteract the price rises that were occurring. For instance, there was an absolutely unnecessary pressure placed on the housing market through the disappearance of mortgage money. The consumer became frightened and it mushroomed and became a general setback to the formation of industrial capital--and, of course, the availability of jobs."

New York Times Magazine  
June 6, 1976

"I support, and as President I would sign, the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, as amended, given my current understanding of the bill."

Washington Star  
July 7, 1976

"I favor the principles of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill," said Carter. "I did not favor the Humphrey-Hawkins bill when it was first introduced. There have been some changes made that made it compatible with my own general and specific philosophy."

"But I will work eagerly with Congress to get the full-employment bill passed and when it's passed, of course, I will be glad to sign it into law."

United Press International  
July 13, 1976

"I see clearly the value of a strong system of free enterprise and the minimal intrusion of government in our free economic system."

Christian Science Monitor  
July 20, 1976

While he backed the present credit on United States taxes given to American corporations that pay foreign taxes, Carter said that he opposed tax deferrals on profits of American companies earned overseas until the money is brought into the United States. "At this point, my inclination would be to eliminate these tax deferrals," he said.

In response to a question about his attitude toward multi-national corporations, Carter responded, "I would continue, and strengthen if possible, American involvement in foreign countries and vice-versa," adding, "I would not do anything to minimize this."

New York Times  
July 23, 1976

Carter said that he was inclined to favor abolition of foreign tax deferral, a major tax break which allows U.S. companies overseas to pay no tax on their foreign earning until the money is returned to the United States.

He favors retaining the foreign tax credit which allows companies to subtract taxes paid to foreign governments from their U.S. tax bills.

United Press International  
July 23, 1976

Talking to a New York businessman, Carter said that he believes the loss of jobs in the United States caused by U.S. companies locating overseas is offset by the creation of jobs when foreign companies invest in the U.S.

Associated Press  
July 23, 1976

Larry Klein, chief economic aide to Carter, said that within four years, the Carter Administration could reduce inflation to 2% to 3%.

Wall Street Journal  
July 29, 1976

Carter pledged goals of 4 percent inflation, 4 percent unemployment, and 4 percent to 6 percent annual economic growth.

Baltimore Sun  
July 29, 1976

Carter said he would work for wage and price stability and call for a 30, 60, or 90 day warning period before wage and price increases.

Florida Times Union  
July 29, 1976

"Our economy, under Nixon-Ford leadership has been a terrible disaster, a terrible demonstration of the consequences of mismanagement."

Speech, Manchester, New Hampshire  
Rally  
August 3, 1976

"In the last 8 years of the Nixon-Ford Administration, we've seen a dismal failure of sensitivity about people. We now have an unemployment rate, a little more than 7 1/2 percent. Among the highest we've ever seen in the last 30 years. We've got an inflation rate a little more than 5 percent. It was never that high between 1952 and 1970. The deficit under the Republican Administration just for 3 years, 1975-1976 and fiscal year 1977, 170 billion dollars. That's more of an increase in the nation's deficit than we experienced from World War II all the way through 1974. And then the Republicans have the nerve to say that Democrats are fiscally irresponsible. That's a good political point. But the point I want to make to you is that when you have a problem like unemployment, the personal impact is the thing that worries me most."

Speech, Manchester, New Hampshire  
Rally  
August 3, 1976

"I believe that we will have a balanced budget at the end of four years of my administration, in contrast to the Nixon-Ford deficit accumulation of \$170 billion, the most red-ink in peacetime."

Chicago Tribune  
August 11, 1976

"But what do we want from government? We want to work. We want a job. We haven't gotten it. In 1968, when Richard Nixon defeated Hubert Humphrey, the unemployment rate was 3.6 percent. Today, it's more than twice that high, about 7.8 percent and going up. There has been a philosophy within the Republican Party that the best way to hold down inflation is to create a buffer supply of unemployed human beings. Any economic concept that thinks that the best way to control inflation is to keep people out of work is bankrupt and our country cannot tolerate this any longer. Even with an emphasis on inflation, let unemployment go where it will, what has been the record under John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson? Do you know what the average inflation rate was per year? 2 percent. 2 percent. Under Nixon and Ford, do you know what the average inflation rate has been per year? 6.9 percent. This is not progress. And it shows that the understanding of economics when the human factor is left out is not good for our nation in any respect. Recessions hurt those who are the weakest, who are already poor, who are rural or isolated, who have marginal educational opportunities, whose family ties are weak, who are timid and inarticulate. Under the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations for 8 years, we had zero recessions. Under Eisenhower, Nixon, Ford--5 recessions. The Republicans have always claimed, well in spite of these statistics, 'at least we don't waste money. The Democrats in their inclination to help human beings with social programs create enormous deficits.' But what's the record? In the last three years alone, the accumulated deficits are 170 billion dollars more than the last 30 years combined. Under Kennedy and Johnson, the average deficit was less than 4 billion dollars a year. I don't want to paint a black

or frightful picture of our country. I don't want to criticize those who struggle with these needs. And there is a legitimate question. Is anyone trying to do anything about human needs?"

Speech, Jefferson/Jackson Dinner  
Charleston, West Virginia  
August 14, 1976

Larry Klein, chief economics advisor to Carter, said, "We've come through an era of high consumption and there are compelling reasons to go into an era of high-level capital formation. So, I would like a tax package that gives some attention to increasing the share of national output going into capital formation."

Philadelphia Inquirer  
August 16, 1976

". . .based on a 4 percent annual growth in our GNP based on a 4 1/2 percent unemployment rate within the four years. . .I believe the budget can be balanced. That would give us at the end of that period about a \$60 billion extra amount of money that can be spent for improvement of services and still have the budget balanced."

Los Angeles Times  
August 24, 1976

Carter said the Ford Administration's idea of a free market means the lowest level of parity in decades because there is no government intervention when prices go down, but rather controls and export embargoes when prices go up.

Associated Press  
August 26, 1976

". . .with gross mismanagement based on an erroneous emphasis on tight constraint on the economy, let unemployment go where it will, we've cut down drastically the revenues for the federal government. I think that's a major origin of our serious deficits under the Republican Administration. So they've had a combination of inadequate attention to problems, very high inflation, very high deficits, and there's no way that Ford or Nixon can shift that responsibility to the Congress."

Congressional Quarterly  
August 31, 1976

Carter said that when the unemployment rate got down to "a level of, say, 3 percent. . .the inflation rate would probably rise above 10 percent."

Fortune Magazine  
September 1976

Carter said that since 1968, food prices have gone up 70 percent, health costs 60 percent, home ownership costs 70 percent and mortgage interest costs 30 percent. He noted that the 1968 dollar is now worth 60 cents.

Baltimore Sun  
September 1, 1976

Carter said that by phasing in new policies until 1981, a lid can be placed on government spending and national debt reduced--a deficit now costing each American family \$350 a year.

Christian Science Monitor  
September 1, 1976

Carter promised to "carefully target" government programs to reduce unemployment to "four percent or less" without inflation within four years.

Washington Post  
September 1, 1976

"We have an administration which talks about fiscal responsibility and succeeds only in having the slowest economic growth in over 30 years and the most unbalanced budgets in our 200-year history."

St. Louis Post-Dispatch  
September 1, 1976

"There will be no programs implemented under my administration unless we can be sure that the cost of those programs is compatible with my goals of having a balanced budget before the end of the term."

Chicago Tribune  
September 4, 1976

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

To reach full employment we must assure:

- a. Support for the Full Employment Act of 1976;
- b. Countercyclical assistance to cities with high unemployment;
- c. An expansionary fiscal and monetary policy for coming fiscal year to stimulate demand, production, and jobs;
- d. Stimulations and incentives for the private sector to hire the unemployed and to retain workers already employed even during periods of economic downturn. To provide an additional incentive, the unemployment compensation tax paid by employers should be provided for business which hire persons previously unemployed;

- e. An increased commitment by the federal government to fund the cost of on-the-job training by business;
- f. More efficient employment services to match people to jobs;
- g. Improved manpower training program;
- h. Creation of meaningful and productive public needs jobs for unmet needs in areas such as housing, rehabilitation and repairing our railroad roadbeds;
- i. We should provide 800,000 summer youth jobs and double the CETA program from 300,000 to 600,000 jobs.

Jimmy Carter's Presentation to  
the Platform Committee of the  
Democratic Party

EDUCATION

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

Speech, National Press Club  
December 12, 1975

"I would favor a heavy orientation of the federal portion of the education toward children who are deprived in some way -- I won't go into details, either. . ."

Washington Post  
March 21, 1976

Carter told a Jewish audience that he opposed government aid to parochial schools. "Baptists and myself," he said, "don't believe the government should support any sort of religious instruction."

Baltimore Sun  
June 7, 1976

"I would give the authority to the local or state government to deliver services and to control the mechanism of delivery to meet the needs of the citizens of individual communities. One area would be in the field of education. I see a growing role for the federal government in financing education to eliminate discrepancies in the amount of local financing available in a community for children who live there. But I would want to keep control of the school system as near as possible to the local government."

National Journal  
July 17, 1976

"We want to be sure we emphasize things like quality education. We need to emphasize individualized instruction."

Speech, Manchester, New Hampshire  
August 3, 1976

"Mandatory transportation of students beyond their neighborhoods for the purpose of desegregation remains a judicial tool of last resort for the purpose of achieving school desegregation."

Human Events  
August 21, 1976

"We've had too long in our country. . .a sharp division between academic and career education. . .I will try to weld the two together. . .We have an inevitable shift already underway toward more practical or vocational education. . . I want to make sure it's not completely divorced from learning about one's government and one's life or music, drama, literature."

Los Angeles Times  
August 24, 1976

ENERGY

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

"Energy imports and consumption must be reduced, free competition enhanced by rigid enforcement of antitrust laws and general monetary growth restrained."

Speech, National Press Club  
December 12, 1975

Carter is for limited imported oil, holding down prices on domestic oil and gas, and effective energy conservation programs. He backs research on new energy sources.

Cincinnati Enquirer  
April 11, 1976

Carter said he would reply to an Arab embargo with "a total economic embargo against the Arabs--no food, no arms, no oil-drilling rigs, no pipes, no nothing."

Philadelphia Inquirer  
April 26, 1976

Carter says that where energy development and environmental quality clash, "I would go with the environment."

He also emphasized the need "to derive maximum energy from coal while "preserving environmental quality."

Baltimore Sun  
May 6, 1976

"We can get 4 or 5 percent of our energy from the sun in the next seven or eight years if we concentrate on it."

Baltimore Sun  
May 6, 1976

"Let us hold a World Energy Conference under the auspices of the United Nations to help all nations cope with common energy problems--eliminating energy waste, and increasing energy efficiency; reconciling energy needs with environmental quality goals; and shifting away from almost total reliance upon dwindling sources of nonrenewable energy to the greatest feasible reliance on renewable sources."

New York Times  
May 14, 1976

"We've not got. . .an adequate enforcement of the anti-trust laws. . .It's almost impossible to tell when the FEA stops and the major oil companies start."

News Conference  
Portland, Oregon  
May 24, 1976

"We've got a lot of unused power coming directly from the sun, wind, geothermal in the earth. . .As a last resort we ought to continue to use atomic power."

Speech, Akron, Ohio  
June 3, 1976

Carter's policy in western coal is to go slowly."Any long-term commitment to U.S. coal production must be based in expanding deep mining in the cost."

Deep-mined eastern coal "would cause far less damage than western strip mining." Carter supported the strip mine bill, but not the coal leasing bill, according to Neal Sader, an aide.

"I am not convinced that the demand for coal is great enough to justify massive development of non-renewable resources for energy production."

But Carter doesn't necessarily oppose the leasing act amendments, said Carleton Neville, head of Conservationists for Carter. "It sounds to me that he might favor (them)," Neville said.

Carter and the platform committee agree in the need for a strip mine bill. "I support a tough strip mine bill that would discourage a crash program to develop western coal."

He supports federal subsidies for expansion, improved efficiency rail transport, and better health and safety conditions in deep mines.

Western strip mining, he concludes, would cause more damage, and would require even greater federal help.

Carter backs strict enforcement of the "non-degradation" clause in the Clean Air Act Amendments now before the Senate. All power plants, he thinks, should be required to install so-called "best available control technology" in removing sulfur dioxide, and should be sited to preserve air in national parks and wilderness areas.

Coal Outlook  
July 5, 1976

Carter says a new cut-off of oil shipments to the United States would be "an economic declaration of war" and that he would "instantly and without further debate" suspend U.S. exports of food, weapons, spare parts, oil drilling rigs and oil pipes to the offenders.

Associated Press  
July 8, 1976

"Unless we make a major shift to coal and substantially increase our use of solar energy, we will have no alternative to greatly increased dependence on nuclear power, with all its perils. We do not want that." He is skeptical of shifting coal mining from Appalachia to the Rockies and northern plains because of economic impacts. He prefers to see coal converted into oil or gas in the Midwest, where there is abundant water, rather than the arid West.

Associated Press  
July 8, 1976

"We should deregulate the price of only that natural gas not currently under existing contract (less than 5 percent) for a period of five years." But Carter feels that the price of "all domestic oil should be kept below that of OPEC oil."

New Orleans Times-Picayune  
July 15, 1976

Carter supports legal prohibitions "against ownership of competing types of energy, such as oil and coal." But he says "there may be limited instances in which there should be a joint responsibility for any phase of production of competing energy sources."

New Orleans Times-Picayune  
July 15, 1976

Carter has stated that national energy policy "must include a combination of energy conservation and energy development together with price protection for the consumer."

Birmingham News  
July 16, 1976

"I don't see any prospect of national self-sufficiency in energy any time soon. I think that is a false hope. But I would try to shift the nation away from oil to increased power as a last resort, and we also must pursue solar energy as aggressively as possible."

Time  
August 2, 1976

Nuclear generation of electric power in the country, Carter said, "should be reserved to the last priority." He stated that he does not favor the government turning over uranium-enrichment operations to private industry.

Los Angeles Times  
August 10, 1976

Carter said that he would "drastically reduce" government expenditures on fast-breeder reactor research and await developments abroad.

Los Angeles Times  
August 10, 1976

"One [problem] I know is the energy problem. As I've traveled and campaigned . . . I've pointed out that we must have a comprehensive energy policy for our country. That the major thrust of it is inevitably going to be a shift from primary dependence on oil to primary dependence on coal.

"As that change takes place, we must be very careful to honor and protect the courageous men and families who have for generations gone into the deep mines. About half the coal now is produced from deep mines in this country, the other half from strip mines. I was distressed to read a speech that J. Rockefeller made recently pointing out that an average for the last five years, that West Virginia has lost 40 men per year in coal mine accidents. Our present laws are not being adequately enforced, inspection is not rigid enough and this tragic loss must be reduced or eliminated.

"A lot of people say that we haven't got any ability to expand production because in the last few years we've not seen it expand at all. But a study by the American Institute of Engineers, says that by 1985 we can be producing 1250 million tons of coal, about twice as much, that's clean burning and efficient and near the point where the energy must be consumed. That is the eastern freeboard. So the future of West Virginia Appalachian coal is indeed bright, if we can have a government policy that recognizes this tremendous resource, has research and development money going into better extraction, better safety, cleaner burning coal supplies. I'm committed to that proposition and you can depend on it.

"In our country alone we've got a 600 years, at least, supply of coal, 300 years of which is clean burning and readily accessible. And as you know, major portions of it are in the Appalachian region. One statement that I've made throughout the country too is that as we shift our emphasis toward increasing the use of coal, the emphasis ought to be on the extraction and use of coal from Appalachia and not some far western deposit."

Speech, Jefferson/Jackson Dinner  
Charleston, West Virginia  
August 14, 1976

Carter advocated that the government, to obtain the maximum revenue, should separate exploration from development of the off-shore oil so that information about the resources available could be obtained before leases are granted.

Baltimore Sun  
August 18, 1976

Carter stressed the importance of switching to coal as an energy source and did not rule out the tapping of major western coal reserves though he said he would prefer to concentrate coal mining efforts in the Appalachian Mountain region.

Washington Post  
August 18, 1976

Jimmy Carter supported Oklahoma governor David Boren's proposal to force oil companies to disclose their profits at every stage of business, from extraction to retail sales.

Washington Post  
August 18, 1976

Jimmy Carter said that the nation should not close the door on exploration of any long-range energy sources, including nuclear power. But he also criticized the Ford Administration's position to Congressional proposed strip-mine controls and said the administration is moving too fast in leasing off shore oil drilling rights for outright production rather than simply for exploration.

Washington Post  
August 18, 1976

Carter said that he favors federal sale of leases for exploration, but not for production.

"I would be reticent to sell leases on the Outer Continental Shelf until after exploration is done."

Newsday Magazine  
August 18, 1976

Shifting away from his previous consumer-oriented perspective, Carter said that he favors "vertical accountability," rather than divestiture of oil companies. He also now opposes any moratorium or development of nuclear power.

Los Angeles Times  
August 18, 1976

Carter said, ". . .if we have vertical divestiture where we separate investment and extraction and refining and pipeline distribution and wholesale and retail sales, one from another, it would possibly cost us a lot more in the long run."

Los Angeles Times  
August 24, 1976

"There are two areas of oil company investment that concern me. One is horizontal investment in the coal industry and in uranium and geothermal areas, and the other one is at the wholesale and retail level. I don't think there is adequate competition in those areas now. Unless I can provide adequate competition through other mechanisms, I would stay with divestiture."

Los Angeles Times  
August 24, 1976

"These natural resources are the property of the people of this country. I oppose any crash program for massive leasing to the oil companies. I support the proposition of the Energy Action Committee to assure that the earnings from the public resources go principally to the public.

"I support legal prohibitions against ownership of competing types of energy, oil and coal for example. However, I cannot promise to oppose any joint responsibility for any phase of production of competing energy sources. Fuel oil and some propane, for example, are produced from crude oil. Their production clearly cannot be separated until after extraction and refining take place.

"I support restrictions on the rights of a single company to own all phases of production of oil. However, support of this proposition as worded in find [sic] print would make it illegal for the same company to explore for oil and then extract that oil from the ground once discovered. This would clearly result in tremendous price increases to the consumer.

"I support legal restrictions to allow a reasonable profit on oil and natural gas rather than allowing prices to be set without restriction. I oppose deregulation of old oil. Price for domestic oil should be kept below O.P.E.C. price levels. I support . . . limit[ing] deregulation of natural gas to that small portion (less than 5%) of production not under existing contracts.

"I oppose the creation of this new federal agency [Federal Oil and Gas Corporation]. . . Agencies designed to regulate and control special interests have almost invariably become tools of those very interests. The Federal Energy Office is the best, most recent example. . .

"I would consider such a proposal, only after a thorough reform and reorganization of the Federal Executive Branch [sic] particularly the so-called Regulatory Agencies."

1976 Campaign Literature

ENVIRONMENT

"We should not be diverted from our causes by false claims that the protection of our ecology and wildlife means an end to growth and a decline in jobs. This is not the case."

New Orleans Times-Picayune  
July 15, 1976

"No one knows the answer (to the Kepone problems). But I guarantee you that if Andy Miller or Henry Howell were governor and Bud Zumwalt were in the Senate, something would have been done long ago about the Kepone disaster."

Washington Post  
September 7, 1976



FOREIGN POLICY

"The Soviet Union, with the exception of street skirmishes in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, hasn't lost a single soldier in combat since the Second World War. We lost 34,000 in South Korea and 50,000 in South Vietnam, basically trying to tell other people what kind of government they ought to have, what kind of leader they should have -- and it doesn't work."

National Democratic Issues Conference  
Louisville, Kentucky  
November 23, 1975

"I think in the recent administrations, there has been a vivid demonstration of our attitude toward other people and our lack of respect for them in the quality of diplomatic officials appointed. When I go into an embassy and see sitting as our ambassador, our representative there, a fat, bloated, ignorant, rich, major contributor to a Presidential campaign who can't even speak the language of the country in which he serves, and who knows even less about our own country and our consciousness and our ideals and our motivation, it's an insult to me and to the people of America and to the people of that country."

"I doubt if you would find any diplomats in Washington who don't speak English. But you go into a small country that's embryonic or weak or dark-skinned, and you very seldom find a diplomat who can even speak their language..."

National Democratic Issues Conference  
Louisville, Kentucky  
November 23, 1975

"I will assume personal responsibility for the intelligence activities of our government."

New York Times  
February 12, 1976

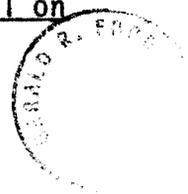
"At Helsinki, we signed an agreement approving the takeover of Eastern Europe. I would be very much tougher in the following years (in negotiations) with the Soviet Union."

United Press International  
March 11, 1976

"We have all been deeply disturbed by the drift of the United Nations and the other international organizations, and by the acrimony and cliquishness that seems to have taken hold. But it would be a mistake to give up on the United Nations."

"We should make a major effort at reforming and restructuring the U.N. systems."

Speech, Chicago Council on  
Foreign Relations  
March 15, 1976



"I believe that the foreign policy spokesman for our country, should be the President and not the Secretary of State."

Newark (N.J.) Star Ledger  
March 16, 1976

"We should remember that eastern Europe is not an area of stability and that it will not become such until Eastern European countries regain their independence and become part of a cooperative European framework.

Carter explained that while he favored more U.S. "intrusion" into Eastern European affairs, "I do not want to rekindle the Cold War by calling on the Poles to overthrow their Communist government."

Atlanta Constitution  
March 21, 1976

"I did say I was in favor of adequate aid to the Saigon government to get our troops out safely, but I never had any inclination to continue support beyond that point."

Washington Post  
March 21, 1976

"I see no reason why we should go to Russia and meet with Brezhnev and not also get to know the attitudes and hopes and strengths and reasons for the strengths of these Communist parties in the European countries."

"If we decide the other, more competitive democratic parties would be better for world peace," then the United States should encourage those parties through diplomatic means, trade negotiations and statements in NATO.

"But we ought not to freeze out the American people's knowledge of the Communist parties."

Madison(Wis.) Capital Times  
March 25, 1976

Carter opposes oppression of Soviet Jews but doubts whether "laws passed by the American Congress" can do much.

Cincinnati Enquirer  
April 11, 1976

"...a cornerstone of American foreign policy has got to be the preservation of Israel's right to exist, its right to exist in peace. As President, I would provide Israel with whatever economic or military aid is necessary to permit them to successfully defend themselves against any foreseeable attack."

Philadelphia Inquirer  
April 12, 1976

Carter told reporters that if he were President, he would "leave open the option of normalizing relations with North Vietnam after they have assured me of a full accounting" of the MIA's. He said he would offer no reparations and no economic aid to Vietnam in the foreseeable future.

Washington Post  
April 25, 1976

"I don't believe that I would have participated in the Helsinki meeting. I don't see that we got anything tangible in return from the Soviets. I think also that in the Vladivostock agreement, on nuclear arms control, the Soviet Union simply out-traded us."

Chicago Tribune  
May 8, 1976

"I would move away from powerblock confrontation and would pursue much more singular bilateral relationships with the countries of the world. I would consult much more closely and continually with our natural allies and friends in Europe, this hemisphere, and Japan. There would be much less keeping secrets from them about basic changes in our orientation toward the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China."

"We would seek relations with (the other nations of) the world on an equal basis with ourselves, with greater respect to them and with much closer attention paid to best interests of their citizens. I would probably stay in this country most of the time and not travel so much abroad. But I would encourage them to come to visit me."

Chicago Tribune  
May 8, 1976

"I would like to see the NATO countries assume more and more responsibility for the defense of Western Europe. But I would not make an immediate withdrawal of troops. It should be a slow, very careful change in relative strength."

Newsweek (European Edition)  
May 10, 1976

"I would strive to normalize relationship with Vietnam after I was convinced that it had made a full accounting for all the American service people who were missing in action. I think it would be to our advantage to normalize relationships. I would not consider the payment of any reparations, and I would not single out the Vietnamese for any special aid."

Newsweek  
May 10, 1976

"I am not seeking to place any restrictions on the sale of nuclear power reactors. What we must prevent, however, is the sale of small reprocessing plants, which sell for only a few million dollars, have no commercial use at present and can only spread nuclear explosives around the world."

Washington Post  
May 14, 1976



"I call on all nations of the world to adopt a voluntary moratorium on the national purchase or sale of enrichment or reprocessing plants," until a study of proposed multi-national fuel centers is completed.

The necessity of reprocessing plutonium should also be re-examined by the U.S. and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) he said.

Until then, the start-up of the first U.S. reprocessing plant, at Barnwell, S.C., should be delayed, Carter proposed, and he said the plant could eventually be operated as a multi-national facility by the IAEA.

Atlanta Constitution  
May 14, 1976

"There is one step that can be taken at once. The United States and the Soviet Union should conclude an agreement prohibiting all nuclear explosions for a period of five years, whether they be weapons tests or so-called 'peaceful' nuclear explosions, and encourage all other countries to join. At the end of the five-year period the agreement can be continued if it serves the interests of the parties."

New York Times  
May 14, 1976

"We have little right to ask others to deny themselves such 'nuclear' weapons unless we demonstrate meaningful progress toward the goal of control, then reduction and ultimately elimination of nuclear arsenals."

The elements that can be used to produce nuclear weapons -- enriched uranium and reprocessed plutonium recovered from nuclear energy reactors -- must be strictly controlled by international safeguards, Carter warned, so that the spread of nuclear power reactors doesn't continue to promote the spread of nuclear weapons. And the United States should submit to that control.

Atlanta Constitution  
May 14, 1976

"For many nations, we have two policies: One announced in public, another pursued in secret. In the case of China, we even seem to have two Presidents."

He accused Kissinger of "slapping in the face all those Americans who want a foreign policy that embodies our ideals, not subverts them."

Chicago Tribune  
May 16, 1976

"...I'm going to make it clear to the Arab leaders that if they ever again impose an embargo on us or try to blackmail this country, that we will consider it... an economic declaration of war."

Question and Answer Period  
Portland, Oregon  
May 24, 1976

"As President, I would adopt a position that the ambassador to the U.N. would be the most important ambassador of all."

Bangor Daily News  
May 30, 1976

Specific proposals by Carter on foreign policy:

- Periodic summit meetings among industrial democratic powers
- Strengthening the International Monetary Fund to govern the new system of flexible currency exchange rates
- Reduction of trade barriers
- Creation of a world development budget under the World Bank for under-developed countries
- A review of the "increasingly antiquated NATO strategy and force postures" along with standardization of NATO weaponry.
- Carter deplored the lack of human rights in Russia and South Africa and added, "By our example, by our utterances and by the various forms of economic and political persuasion available to us, we can quite surely lessen the injustice in this world."
- Carter proposed supplying new air defense and antitank weaponry to NATO, while pledging at the same time to "spare no effort to bring about a reduction of the forces that confront one another in Central Europe."
- Carter said he is "particularly concerned by our nation's role as the world's leading arms salesman...sometimes we try to justify this unsavory business on the cynical ground that by rationing out the means of violence, we can somehow control the world's violence.
- "The fact is that we can not have it both ways. Can we be the world's leading champion of peace and the world's leading supplier of the weapons of war?"

Atlanta Constitution  
June 24, 1976

"We have made highly publicized efforts to woo the major Communist powers while neglecting our natural friends and allies."

Charlotte Observer  
June 24, 1976

Carter noted that he has not had a "great deal of experience" in foreign affairs but said that a foreign policy "that would make us proud again" could be based largely on "sound judgment and common sense and intelligence and openness."

Washington Post  
June 29, 1976



Carter called for a "bipartisan congressional leadership" in establishing American foreign policy.

Atlanta Constitution  
June 29, 1976

"We must respect the results of Democratic elections and the right of countries to make their own free choice. We must learn to live with diversity."

Charleston Gazette  
July 10, 1976

"I think that the federal government, working with the local governments particularly, could orient new manufacturing and factory jobs in downtown more than in the past. We've had too much carelessness in the past about putting new factories out in the beautiful outdoor suburban areas. I hate to see this land taken from agricultural production."

Washington Post  
July 12, 1976

Carter told a French television interviewer he doesn't believe that communism could be a threat to justice and freedom, and I believe the average feeling of the French tends toward a more Democratic government. But in any event, the French know how to vote, and I am not going to tell them how to do it."

Associated Press  
July 13, 1976

"I think a crucial prerequisite of an effective foreign policy is to restore the confidence and morale and commitment of our people in their own domestic affairs. So I would not use foreign affairs or foreign trips as an escape mechanism to avoid responsibilities on the domestic scene."

"The main thing that's missing now is confidence by the Secretary of State in the sound judgement, common sense and integrity of the American people."

Q: Would your Secretary of State be there to make foreign policy or to carry out the foreign policy that you make?

A: "Both. I would retain the responsibility of making the final decisions. I would insist on being clearly informed. And I would retain the role of being spokesman for this country. But I would consider the Secretary of State to be a partner with me, as adviser, an administrator of the complex foreign affairs mechanism that falls within the responsibility of the Secretary of State. But I would be the ultimate one to make the decisions."

National Journal  
July 17, 1976

"The fact is that we cannot have it both ways. Can we be both the world's leading champion of peace and the world's leading supplier of the weapons of war? If I become President, I will work with our allies, some of whom are also selling arms, and also seek to work with the Soviets, to increase the emphasis on peace and to reduce the commerce in weapons of war."

Los Angeles Times  
July 18, 1976

"Peace is not the mere absence of war. Peace is action to stamp out international terrorism."

Times-Argus  
Barre-Montpelier, Vt.  
July 20, 1976

Jimmy Carter said he would push for a multi-national agreement to reduce the sale of arms around the world if he were elected president.

If not possible, "I would not hesitate as President to assess unilateral reductions of arms sales."

Associated Press  
July 29, 1976

Carter charged that Secretary of State Kissinger and the Republican Administration have neglected the problems of developing nations.

United Press International  
July 29, 1976

"I would not hesitate as President to assess unilateral reductions in arms sales over-seas."

Baltimore Sun  
July 30, 1976

Carter said that the U.S. should use American investments in South Africa as a lever to end racial discrimination there.

Baltimore Sun  
July 30, 1976

Carter said that he is "putting the control and reduction of nuclear weapons at the top of the foreign-policy agenda."

New York Times  
July 30, 1976

Carter said that the U.S. and other arms suppliers ought to seek an agreement to impose "a ceiling in arms transfer of tactical armaments."

Baltimore Sun  
July 30, 1976

"Too long our nation has betrayed the trust of our own people...the character, stability, common sense, sound judgement of the American people and also the trust that's placed in us by our allies. Under Nixon-Ford-Kissinger we've had too much of a secret lone ranger type foreign policy. Next year we're going to change that and have a foreign policy derived from you with bipartisan support from the Congress, one that we can trust again and let our nation's character, for a change, be the same as the character of the American people. That way we can avoid a lot of the mistakes in the past that have been put on us by Nixon, Ford and Kissinger. And let us be proud once again of our country in the community of nations."

Speech  
Manchester, New Hampshire  
August 3, 1976

Carter said that we should move quickly toward recognizing the Communist government now ruling Vietnam, demanding only that he feel assured the Vietnamese have given all information concerning Americans missing in action.

Pittsburgh Press  
August 5, 1976

In a recent interview Jimmy Carter took a stand which, if implemented, would represent a major shift in U.S. foreign policy. Carter was asked, "In the case of the Soviet Union doing things like intervening in Angola, would you favor using our economic leverage and urging our allies to use their economic leverages to get the Russians to cease and desist?" He replied, "Yes, I would." Carter went on to explain in the New York Times interview that he would put the Russians on advance notice of the possibility of "a total withholding of trade." Carter made it clear that he was talking about deterring aggressive Soviet foreign adventures and not about measures such as the Jackson Amendment, which he opposes as interference in Soviet internal affairs.

Washington Post  
August 8, 1976

"There are several nations around the world who are known to be aiding terrorists deliberately...and I think that our nation ought to be more forceful in international councils like the United Nations...Also, I think that when a nation is guilty of cooperating with international terrorists that we should cut off any foreign aid or trade with those nations."

Charleston(W.Va.) Gazette  
August 17, 1976

Carter noted that the United States was far behind most nations in the percentage of the gross national product it allows for foreign aid. Against the generally agreed interim target of 70/100 of 1 per cent for industrial countries, the United States allocates less than one quarter of 1 per cent.

Washington Post  
August 19, 1976

Jimmy Carter said that as President he would make sure that foreign aid reaches those who need it and that it isn't "to buy another Cadillac for tinhorn dictators."

He also said that the U.S. shouldn't adopt a policy of withholding sales of grain or other commodities to gain diplomatic leverage with nations with which it may disagree.

Wall Street Journal  
August 19, 1976

"There can be no deleterious consequences to keeping the people and Congress informed. If national security is involved on some special issue and it is therefore inadvisable to publicize details, at least Congress must be kept advised."

"After all, our Secretary of State would speak to the world with a hollow voice if he didn't speak for the people. That is one of our troubles now. The people don't even know what Kissinger is talking about much of the time. And, as foreign nations become aware of this, it weakens our position overseas. They doubt the value of our proclaimed positions."

New York Times  
August 22, 1976

Carter said that he hoped the countries of the Atlantic alliance will be able to make the Italians and French "understand that the Communists have a double loyalty which is mostly likely to favor the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe and this constitutes threat to their peace and security."

Associated Press  
August 22, 1976

"The Secretary of State must be the President's number one advisor on foreign policy. But I would like to help him out by improving the quality of our major diplomatic appointments. I want these to depend firmly on merit. I am not under obligation to anyone and I don't believe people should be paid off for helping elect a President by getting embassies."

New York Times  
August 22, 1976

Jimmy Carter says he would take a much tougher bargaining line with the Soviet Union and would never again have this country militarily involved in the internal workings of another nation unless American security was directly threatened. Carter criticized the policy of detente with the Russians, calling it a "public relations effort on the part of the Nixon, Ford, Kissinger administrations."

United Press International  
August 23, 1976

"I think in many cases, they [Communist victories in Western Europe] are due to the weakness of the ineptitude of democratic forces to govern suitably. In certain cases, corruption has been a factor for Communist successes while in others there has been a certain incompetence or inability to keep close links between those who govern."

Philadelphia Inquirer  
August 23, 1976

"I would never again get militarily involved in the internal affairs of another country unless our own security was directly threatened," said Carter.  
"I don't think that this is an isolationist policy at all. I don't think that that's what the American people want."

New York Times  
August 23, 1976

Carter said France and other nations should join the United States in limiting the sale of nuclear installations to non-nuclear countries and vowed "to do everything in my power either by private negotiations or by public statement to reduce these sales."

Philadelphia Inquirer  
August 23, 1976

Responding to T.V. star Carroll O'Conner's distress over mounting anti-Kissinger rhetoric, Carter said he agreed with "almost everything" O'Conner had said.

"I think we ought to proceed aggressively with detente," and added that he felt Kissinger's words didn't "have the force they used to."

Washington Post  
August 24, 1976

"When I took a European trip sometime ago, only a small percentage of our ambassadors were trained, competent people. I am and have been disgusted by this. I know of cases where we are represented by ambassadors who don't speak the language or know the country to which they are assigned, but only got the assignment through political influence at home."

New York Times  
August 25, 1976

"If Communist leaders do obtain major roles in allied governments, it need not necessarily be a catastrophe, from our viewpoint, although it would undoubtedly be a source of major concern. Nevertheless, the United States shouldn't withdraw its support from such a country in such an event; that would only compel it toward the Soviet Union."

New York Times  
August 29, 1976

"I think the members of Congress are overwhelmingly committed to a strong Israel, and I know that I'm committed to guaranteeing a strong Israel.

"This is not just a political statement; as a Christian myself, I think the formation of Israel is a fulfillment of biblical prophecy."

New Jersey Star Ledger  
August 31, 1976

He spoke of suggestions made by others that "might possibly give access to Moslem places" in Jerusalem for Moslems. He also said, "I do think Moslems should have access to their own holy places."

New York Times  
July 2, 1976

"I have no militaristic tendencies myself."

Baltimore Sun  
July 9, 1976

Carter said a "pre-emptive" nuclear strike would only be used if he were convinced the security or existence of the United States was threatened.

Associated Press  
July 24, 1976

Carter called the nuclear submarine "the most important strategic element in the entire defense mechanism of our country..."

Associated Press  
July 24, 1976

Carter said he favors current plans to build 11 highly advanced Trident submarines at the rate of three every two years.

Associated Press  
July 26, 1976

"...If I felt that the security of our own nation or the security of a nation with whom we had a binding alliance was threatened, under those circumstances, I think we would have to consider using atomic weapons."

Associated Press  
July 26, 1976

"I don't think we're second-best militarily. As you know, we've got some areas where we are second best. The total amount of throw-weight for atomic weapons is one area where the Soviet Union is superior to our own. Ground forces, the total number of personnel and total number of tanks is superior to the Soviet Union.

"We are superior, I think, in the deployment of strategic weapons at sea. We have much higher accuracy per weapon. We're much further advanced in the MIRV (Multiple Independently Targeted Reentry Vehicle) missiles. We also have cruise missile capabilities that the Soviet Union does not have. We are far superior to them in manned bomber fleets, primarily B-52s."

"So the overall statement is that we do have rough equivalency and in some areas we're superior and in some areas they are superior."

Los Angeles Times  
July 27, 1976

In an address to Jewish Supporters, Carter pledged his "undeviating, unequivocal" support for Israel, a strong American guarantee of defense for the Jewish state and a peaceful settlement of Mideast hostilities that does not put Israel at a disadvantage and would absolve Israel of blame for the problem.

Washington Post  
August 31, 1976

"On foreign affairs, quiet strength is the best avenue to lasting peace. We must face the Soviet Union with the hope and expectation of a constant struggle but without the use of arms."

Los Angeles Times  
September 7, 1976

Jimmy Carter said that U.S. foreign policy could be more effectively used as a lever to advance human rights in Communist nations and in repressive regimes that are friendly to America.

He also said that President Ford and his advisors had "rationalized that there is little room for morality in foreign affairs and that we must put self-interest above principle."

New York Times  
September 9, 1976

GOVERNMENT

"There are many who have made almost a full career out of castigating the federal government and who have a natural inclination to blame every possible failure or defect or contrivance or regulation or guideline on the federal government, and they use the Congress and the HEW as whipping boys."

Speech, Tri-State Conference  
Atlanta, Georgia  
February 13, 1974

The big thing about being governor, however, is the power. "It's greater than I thought," Carter said. Much of it comes from laws which make Georgia's governor one of the strongest, statutorily speaking, in the United States, but there is another type of authority inherent in the position.

"The main power that the governor has that I learned to use after a few frustrating experiences is the ability to speak with a single voice for the state," Carter said. "When the legislature, for instance, is opposed to some major portion of a governor's program, he has the option of going directly to the people.

"It's not my nature to get individual legislators in my office and twist their arms and try to induce them through reward to vote a certain way. My inclination was to take my case to the folks who live in the legislators' districts, who are my constituents, too.

"The legislature has about 250 people, each one of whom is quite competent and sometimes very articulate, but its voice is always fragmented. So when an argument comes up between the governor and the legislature, the governor speaks with a single voice, but different legislators have different reasons for their opposition--and they don't have access to the public news media as clearly as the governor does."

So a governor's power is pretty much what he makes it. His responsibilities, too, are what he makes them, Carter said. It is a rather surprising thought.

"The responsibilities almost entirely depend on the nature of the governor," Carter said. "Some who are elected governor look on the office as a means for self-gratification, others as a means of personal enrichment. Others look on it as a mechanism for reelection to the position over and over by being careful not to aggravate anybody. Others enjoy the prerogatives of the office to travel around, go to conventions, play golf or whatever they choose.

"But there's a tremendous reservoir of constructive contributions that can be tapped by any governor who wants to work full-time at the job. I don't know that any one person can adequately fill all of the demands that could be legitimately placed on a governor. So he has to decide whether he really wants to work at being governor and how broad a realm of responsibilities he wants to assume and how wide a diversity of interests he wants to have."

Being governor means dealing with temptations. "It's easy for a person in public life to be seduced by the opportunities for social elevation or financial

enrichment," Carter said. "I made a strict policy before I came into office not to earn a nickel off any sort of business arrangement related to the governor's office. I could have made several million dollars.

"I haven't bought or sold any property or participated in the formation of any new companies or accepted any bank stock or let any bank do me any favor. It's not particularly a matter of pride for me, but I point it out just as an indication that there are different, legitimate and legal ways to take advantage of the power of the office."

Atlanta Constitution  
August 11, 1974

"Pinpointed federal programs can ease the more acute pains of recession, such as now exist in the construction industry. We should consider extension of unemployment compensation, the stimulation of investments, public subsidizing of employment and surtaxes on excess profits."

Speech, National Press Club  
December 12, 1975

"I presented the legislature with two budgets with the same services. The new organization plan saves \$60 million. We cut administrative costs by 50%, and shifted personnel to more productive jobs. Though highly controversial, it was approved by the legislature and 30 Constitutional amendments were passed by the people of Georgia. Neither the present administration nor the legislature have made any attempts at substantial change."

Newsweek  
February 2, 1976

Carter calls the "zero based" budget system he instituted in Georgia "the most remarkable thing that's been done in state government in the last decade."

He promises, if elected President, to use zero-based budgeting to "strip open" sprawling departments like Defense and Agriculture and combine 1900 federal agencies into "200 at most."

Los Angeles Times  
February 3, 1976

"The first piece of legislation I will send to Congress will initiate a complete overhaul of our federal bureaucracy and budgeting systems. By Executive Order, I will require zero-based budgeting for all federal departments, bureaus, and boards.

"The second part. . . would initiate the reorganization of our federal bureaucratic structure."

Carter Campaign Issues  
Reference Book  
March, 1976

"The total federal payroll might not go down," Carter said, but "I can certainly guarantee the administrative costs in federal government would be reduced."

United Press International  
March 15, 1976

"I don't ever say that government's too big. I have never said that. I do talk about efficiency. There's a distinction between the two."

"I'm not afraid of government," he said. "My government in Georgia, as has been widely published by Udall and Jackson, grew considerably while I was governor, but I guarantee that it was infinitely more efficient and economical and simpler in structure than when I took over. And that's the way I intend to approach it as President."

Philadelphia Inquirer  
April 12, 1976

"We can have a balanced budget by 1980 if I'm President. There is no way now to estimate benefits to be derived from top competent management of the government."

Asked if he could cut spending sufficiently to balance the budget by improving the operation of current government agencies, Carter said, "That's obviously part of it. Also by harnessing the tremendous economic resources of our country to stimulate government income. We're operating now at maybe 70 percent or less of capacity in our plants, and we have 8 million to 10 million people out of work."

Business Week  
May 3, 1976

"The first piece of legislation I will send to Congress will initiate a complete overhaul of our federal bureaucracy and budgeting systems;" the second would "initiate the reorganization of our federal bureaucratic structure."

Newsweek  
May 10, 1976

"You need to have an open government. You need to tell the truth. A minimum of secrecy. Let the people have a maximum part in the evolution and consummation of our domestic and foreign policies. That gives you a safety net under an incompetent or distorted President--the people themselves. And I think, had we told the people the truth about Vietnam, we would have been out very early. Had the people had the truth about Watergate, it would never have happened."

Los Angeles Times  
May 16, 1976

". . .to exclude the people completely, as we have tended to do in recent years, removes that common sense judgement, character, safety that can preserve our country. And it also destroys the concept of our government which did say that the government ought to be controlled by the people--and not by a powerful, secret, hidden, isolated, mistaken President."

Los Angeles Times  
May 16, 1976

His allies in state government estimated that his reorganization resulted in savings of at least \$45 million in the first year and around \$30 million in the years that followed.

Carter's appraisal of it as a "radical piece of surgery that restored the patient's health."

New York Times  
May 17, 1976

Speaking on Watergate, Carter said he would not use it or President Ford's pardon of Nixon as campaign issues. "I don't consider Ford responsible for Watergate."

"As for the pardon to President Nixon, when he did it, he did what he thought was right."

Newark (New Jersey) Star Ledger  
June 25, 1976

Jimmy Carter says that, as President-elect, he might ask Congress to authorize him to begin his promised government reorganization as soon as he is inaugurated.

St. Louis Post Dispatch  
June 30, 1976

"In the 30 years following President Roosevelt's death, we have seen a steady expansion of the role of the federal government. It has been an era of some good beginnings and of some great national triumphs--in health care and social services to the indigent and elderly and in civil rights. But a great deal remains to be done.

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

Los Angeles Times  
July 7, 1976

"I have never claimed that at the end of a four-year period we'll have a smaller government than we have now. We'll have a better one."

New York Times  
July 12, 1976

"With the present bureaucratic mess we've got in Washington, the experience of trying to administer an unmanageable bureaucracy must be extremely frustrating to anyone. I believe that my record in Georgia, with tremendous stability at the leadership level, would be a good indication of what might very well materialize in the next administration if I'm President."

National Journal  
July 17, 1976

"I've never raised the question of the pardon at all myself and I don't intend to," Carter said. "I'm not wiping the pardon out of the national consciousness. When you ask me a question about the pardon and then criticize me for answering the question, now that's a little improper."

New York Times  
July 21, 1976

Carter said that Ford should have awaited the conclusion of a "public trial" of Nixon and said the trial would have resulted in Nixon's "inevitable conviction" on charges growing out of the Watergate investigation.

"I have never thought that President Ford granted the pardon to President Nixon with anything but what he thought was best for the country. I think he was mistaken but I don't intend to criticize him for it because I take him at his word."

Carter stopped short of criticizing Mondale for attacking the Nixon pardon. He said he had not attempted to check the speech and at one point called the remarks "appropriate."

Washington Post  
July 21, 1976

"I intend to make some profound changes in the structure of the government," Carter said. "There's a lot of waste, inefficiency and too many of our people are being excluded from the process of government."

But he said the reorganization would take at least a year of planning and it then would take three or four years to implement the plan.

United Press International  
July 23, 1976

In a little noticed press conference, Carter was sharply critical of Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon. Had he been in Ford's place, Carter would have pardoned Nixon only after the ex-President's "inevitable conviction" in an "open trial." He did not suspect "a secret deal" between Ford and Nixon, but he did note that Ford "was very deeply indebted to President Nixon for choosing him to be the future President."

Newsweek  
August 2, 1976

"We're not going to have any favors in government to big shots. And we're going to have our government organization completely changed and made efficient, economical, purposeful, and manageable for a change."

Speech, Manchester, New Hampshire  
Rally  
August 3, 1976

Q: Do you think you can refer to administration scandals as you did this week without talking about the pardon?

A: "I think so. The Republican Administration was afflicted by the worst scandal we've ever had in our country. I think that it's part of a legitimate political presentation to the public as it makes a choice between me and the Democrats and Ford and his party."

"The dissatisfaction with the present administration, the absence of leadership that's been exhibited by President Ford, the continuity of his own administration with that of President Nixon, are major advantages for me, leaving all sorts of personal things out of it. The uncertainty about my character, my possible performance as a leader of this country, is a major handicap that we have to overcome. People are not sure what I'll do if I'm President. And they are sure about President Ford. He may not be strong and bold and innovative and dynamic and able to work with the Congress, and so forth, but they know what he'll do. He's predictable. And that's the biggest thing we have to overcome."

Washington Star  
August 5, 1976

"From my assessment of it, purely from a political and selfish viewpoint, I think that the average voter reacts adversely if I raise the pardon, if I try to castigate Ford because he pardoned Nixon. My personal point of view is that I think it's completely fair to criticize Ford for his lack of leadership, for his continuation of policies that Nixon established and never having departed from them. I think that's a legitimate reason to say that the Ford-Nixon administration is one administration. I think it is."

"Political expediency is part of it, but I also have a personal feeling that Ford didn't do it as a fulfillment of a commitment to Nixon or in violation of his principles. I think he was a new President who had a tremendous inclination to clean up the Watergate mess and I think that he thought that an abrupt pardon of Nixon would get rid of it in a hurry. I think he also had a genuine feeling of obligation to Nixon that may not ever have been expressed. Nixon made him President. I think this is a good, decent thing, too, as a form of recompense. I'm willing to give him the benefit of the doubt and in the process my attitude is that it's also advantageous politically."

Washington Star  
August 5, 1976

Q: Did you and Senator Mondale work out a position on this (the pardon issue)?

A: "No. Senator Mondale knows how I feel about it. I think it's politically disadvantageous to raise the pardon issue."

Q: He raised it at the convention.

A: "I know that. But I think, in general, he knows how I feel about it. But there are things I wouldn't try to dominate him on. I don't know whether he intends to raise that issue any more. The issue is there. The American people know who pardoned Nixon, they have their doubts about what Ford did."

". . . Senator Mondale may have a very strong feeling that Ford did it deliberately or that he traded beforehand with Nixon to do it. I have never discussed it with him. It might be legitimate to raise it but I haven't. I have no aversion to attacking my opponent if necessary, if I think it's right. It might have been politically expedient to make the pardon a major issue. As I said in one interview, the pardon is just like having an illegitimate child in the family: You know it happened, you might even know who did it, but to raise it again is a disquieting sort of thing. It's the same way the South felt about the race issue. . . It's the same thing with the Watergate thing. Everybody knows it happened, they know that the Republicans were in office, everybody knows who pardoned Nixon. But to raise it, it's kind of an embarrassing thing for our country."

Washington Star  
August 5, 1976

"I would like to see Congress pass a law to make it illegal for the movement of members of regulatory agencies back into from which they've come. . ."

Los Angeles Times  
August 10, 1976

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

Speech, American Bar Association  
Atlanta, Georgia  
August 11, 1976

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

Speech, American Bar Association  
Atlanta, Georgia  
August 11, 1976

"Regulatory agencies and other important government positions are still used as dumping grounds for unsuccessful candidates, faithful political partisans, out-of-favor White House aides, and representatives of special interests.

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

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

Speech, American Bar Association  
Atlanta, Georgia  
August 11, 1976

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

Speech, American Bar Association  
Atlanta, Georgia  
August 11, 1976

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

Speech, American Bar Association  
Atlanta, Georgia  
August 11, 1976

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

Speech, American Bar Association  
Atlanta, Georgia  
August 11, 1976

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

Speech, American Bar Association  
Atlanta, Georgia  
August 11, 1976

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

Speech, American Bar Association  
Atlanta, Georgia  
August 11, 1976

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

Speech, American Bar Association  
Atlanta, Georgia  
August 11, 1976

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

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

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

Speech, American Bar Association  
Atlanta, Georgia  
August 11, 1976

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

Speech, American Bar Association  
Atlanta, Georgia  
August 11, 1976

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

Speech, American Bar Association  
Atlanta, Georgia  
August 11, 1976

"As much as humanly possible, the Attorney General should be removed from politics, and should enjoy the same independence and authority and should deserve as much confidence as did the special prosecutor during the last few weeks of the Watergate investigation."

Los Angeles Times  
August 12, 1976

"We should decentralize power. When there is a choice between government and private responsibility, the private role should have priority."

Philadelphia Inquirer  
September 7, 1976

HEALTH

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

Speech, National Press Club  
December 12, 1974

Specifics in his health plan, he added, "are not very important to the voters-- what they want to know is, are we going to have a national health program."

United Press International  
March 15, 1976

Carter criticized the government for trying to meet unexpected cost increases in Medicare and Medicaid by trying to "shift part of the inflation back to the poorest of our citizens in the form of increased deductibles, co-insurance and consequently reduced benefits."

Associated Press  
April 16, 1976

"Several steps should be taken to attack rising health care costs. First, we should reorient our delivery system to emphasize preventive care. In addition to preventive care, it is important to emphasize effective and low-cost treatment methods. Further, we must simplify, coordinate, and integrate federal health care programs to avoid overlapping efforts and duplication.

"Finally, we should encourage insurance companies to write coverage in such a way that it does not stimulate the use of expensive medical procedures and hospital care when less expensive care will be responsive to the patient's needs.

"The federal government should help to encourage the placement of doctors in medically underserved areas."

Impact (AMA)  
June 28, 1976

"The only major program that could be possibly expensive is a comprehensive health program, but I've been very conservative about this. I would phase it in very cautiously and without much increase in what we are spending overall now."

Time  
August 2, 1976

"As we move to a comprehensive health care, we need to be sure we have an emphasis on the care for children, on prevention of disease and on a comprehensive approach to the cripples and killers of American people."

Speech, Manchester, New Hampshire  
Rally  
August 3, 1976

Carter said "that the only major additional expenditure" would be for comprehensive health care, costing a net \$12 to \$15 billion per year.

Pittsburgh Press  
August 5, 1976

Carter said that only the cost of a comprehensive mandatory health insurance program might increase the government's share (20%) of the GNP in his administration.

Baltimore Sun  
August 17, 1976

"I have not wedded myself to the Kennedy-Corman bill. I have my own--my ethic would be to minimize government responsibilities as long as I could guarantee an equitable quality of health care for our people throughout the country. If it took extra money, I would provide it through increased tax revenues or from some other mechanism. I think that the net increase in cost of health care would be relatively minor. By that I mean less than \$10 billion."

Los Angeles Times  
August 24, 1976

"We've got too much emphasis on in-patient care--sometimes almost forced on the patient--by the unwillingness of the insurance companies to pay unless a patient is an in-patient. I think we need more emphasis on out-patient care. . . We've got too much on the treatment of disease once it's become serious and inadequate routine preventive care."

Los Angeles Times  
August 24, 1976

"If we see that we can accommodate no co-payments in the basic health care package at the end of the period, then I would like to see that done."

Los Angeles Times  
August 24, 1976

Regarding the report of the Senate Special Committee on Aging which found a 25% to 50% waste in elderly health care programs, Carter said:

"Where was the President during the investigation? Where were the officers in the executive branch of government that are supposed to administer the programs?"

"I don't know. Sitting in the White House, perhaps, fearful,  
afraid to lead, afraid to manage."

Los Angeles Times  
August 31, 1976

HOUSING

"I'm not trying to keep black and white people apart. I'm not trying to keep Czechoslovakians and Polish people apart. I'm not trying to keep neighborhoods apart. I'm not trying to subvert anyone's right to live where they choose. In fact, I'm trying to insist on the right of people to live where they choose. I'm very adamantly in favor of all the civil rights legislation that has been passed."

Associated Press  
April 7, 1976

"I'm not trying to say I want to maintain with any kind of government interference the ethnic purity of neighborhoods. What I say is the government ought not to take as a major purpose the intrusion of alien groups into a neighborhood, simply to establish that intrusion."

Associated Press  
April 8, 1976

"I have nothing against a community that is made up of people who are Polish. . . Czechoslovakians. . . French Canadians or Blacks, from trying to maintain the ethnic purity of their neighborhoods."

"I don't think the government ought to deliberately try to break down, deliberately, ethnically oriented neighborhoods by artificially injecting into it someone from another ethnic group just to create some sort of integration."

Philadelphia Inquirer  
April 11, 1976

What I'm saying is that I'm not going to use the federal government's authority deliberately to circumvent the natural inclination of people to live in an ethnically homogeneous neighborhood."

Providence Journal  
April 14, 1976

Carter stated that he would use federal funds to help stimulate housing, construction, especially low-cost rental homes or apartments. He said he would favor a federal subsidy to keep home mortgage interests at about 7 percent for 25 years.

San Francisco Examiner  
July 25, 1976

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

New York Times  
August 22, 1976

POLITICS

"I don't feel quite as much at home with the ADA. (Americans for Democratic Action). . ."

Indianapolis Star  
July 10, 1976

"Conservatives quite often in the past have been stigmatized by racism. That's no longer the case. I think many conservative people are now fully committed to the principles of human rights and civil rights and equality of opportunity. On the other hand, many liberals who have been categorized in the past as eager to waste money or have a complicated, overbearing bureaucracy now see that services which they're interested in. . .have to be delivered with tough management."

Washington Post  
July 12, 1976

"I know one of the very serious problems of political leaders is they develop a kind of dependence on the center of power. . .You tend to lose stability and you tend to have your roots torn and damaged."

Florida Times Union  
July 17, 1976

"I have never made a private promise or commitment to any person, any special interest group, and I believe I'll be successful in going all the way through the November election with only one obligation, and that's directly to the American people."

ABC News  
August 3, 1976

"I think it will be very difficult for the Republicans to challenge me successfully in the South, and it may be that President Ford just decided not to try."

New York Times  
August 20, 1976

PRESIDENCY

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

"Requests to the IRS for income tax returns by anyone, from the President down, should be recorded."

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

Carter Campaign Issues  
Reference Book  
March 15, 1976

". . .when I'm President, if the CIA or the FBI or other secret organizations should ever make a mistake, I'll call a press conference and I'll tell the American people what happened and be personally responsible that there is no recurrence in the future."

Bangor Daily News  
May 29-30, 1976

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

"I see an America poised not only at the brink of a new century but at the dawn of a new era of honest, compassionate, responsive government. I see an American government that has turned away from scandals and corruption and official cynicism. . .I see an America with a tax system that does not steal from the poor and give to the rich. I see an America with a job for every man and woman. . .I see an America in which my child and your child and every child receives an education second to none in the world. I see an American government that does not spy on its citizens. . .I see an American President who does not govern by vetoes and negativism, but with vigor and vision and affirmative leadership, a President who is not isolated from our people but feels their pain and shares their dreams and takes his strength from them. I see an America on the move again, united, its wounds healed, its head high, a diverse and vital nation, moving into its third century with confidence and competence and compassion, an America that lives up to the majesty of its Constitution and the simple decency of its people."

Baltimore Sun  
June 2, 1976

"You're nobody's boss, you're nobody's chairperson. You're a servant and your job is to look up to those who are giving us help. That's what I want to be--the servant of the 215 million Americans I hope will choose me to be their President."

United Press International  
July 16, 1976

Sunshine Laws

Asked if Cabinet meeting minutes should be made public, Carter said, "There would have to be some exclusions. States have done this. When you have staff members advising a superior, that ought to be an area that would be kept private, because you've got to have the freedom of debate."

"I would like to see, for instance, Cabinet members go before joint sessions of Congress to be examined and questioned about foreign affairs, defense, agriculture and so forth."

Asked if he would send his secretary of state to Congress to answer questions from the floor, Carter said, "Yes, I would. If the Congress would accept this, I will be glad to have it done. The President ought to tell the truth always. I see no reason for the President to lie, and if any of my Cabinet members ever lie, they'll be gone the next day."

"I favor strong sunshine legislation. Also, I intend to restore frequent press conferences. I would say every two weeks, at least 20 times a year. And also restore the format of the fireside chat."

Carter would plan "to maintain a staff with free access to me an encouragement of an almost unrestricted debate within White House circles."

Washington Post  
July 18, 1976

"Cabinet members in my Administration will be independent, competent managers, advocates for the Americans served by their own departments, able to share with me the responsibilities of evolving long-range, consistent purposes for the Administration. I do not intend to run the affairs of government through the White House staff."

Time  
July 19, 1976

"I have a great respect for the Congress, but the Congress is not capable of leadership. I think the founding fathers expected the President to be the leader of our country."

Indianapolis Star  
July 20, 1976

Carter promises that if he's elected President, he won't "use foreign affairs or foreign trips as an escape mechanism to avoid responsibilities on the domestic scene."

Charleston Gazette  
July 22, 1976

Carter pledged he will be "a President who is not isolated from the people, but who feels your pain and shares your dreams, and takes his strength and wisdom and courage from you. I see an America on the move again, united, a diverse and vital and tolerant nation, entering our third century with pride and confidence--an America that lives up to the majesty of our Constitution and the simple decency of our people. This is the America we want. This is the America we will have."

Acceptance Speech  
July 26, 1976

Open Presidency

"I don't favor government planning for the private sector, but as President, I would start immediately to lay down what I intend to call goals for America. There will be a series of public meetings around the country--much like the ones I held when I became Governor of Georgia--to help plan programs on transportation, energy, health, agriculture, education, welfare and so forth. Cost figures will be put on those programs for the first five years and this would encompass what the government would do under my leadership. Then, the private sector--the doctors, the schoolteachers, the railroad managers and so forth--can make their own plans accordingly. One of the major problems in the private sector now is that there is no way to project what the government is going to do next."

Time  
August 2, 1976

"I read a funny article the other day. It said that Jimmy Carter faces the same prospect of losing the campaign, that Thomas Dewey faced in 1948 when he thought he was going to beat Harry Truman. Well, that obviously is a cause for consideration, and perhaps some concern, but there is no parallel at all between my own campaign and that in 1948. In the first place, I'm not a member of the Republican Party, I'm a Democrat. I know where my strength is and so do you. In the second place, like Harry Truman, I'm going to be running against the terrible record of the Republican leadership in the Nixon-Ford Administration. And I believe again the people are going to say, 'We're dissatisfied, let's turn the leadership of our country back to the Democrats.' Secondly, I believe that we understand the need for a change now that we've experienced almost 8 years of a Nixon-Ford Administration. An Administration of vetoes and not vision. An Administration of scandal and not stability or pride. An Administration of rhetoric and not reason. An Administration of 'WIN' buttons and empty promises instead of progress and prosperity."

Speech, Manchester, New Hampshire  
August 3, 1976

"In the past few months, we've seen an almost unbelievable spectacle in Washington. The President of the United States, deeply concerned about an ex-movie actor, traveling all over the nation to get a handful of delegates here, a handful of delegates there, which is okay, but neglecting the basic responsibilities of leadership in governing the greatest nation on earth and 215 million Americans. And the lack of leadership is the biggest single handicap the Republican Party will face this year. We've drifted too long. We've delayed action too long. We've left our people discouraged too long. We've failed to answer questions too long. We've delayed tough decisions too long. We need now, new leadership, new ideas, new vision, a new commitment to the basic principles that have made our nation great."

Speech, Manchester, New Hampshire  
Rally  
August 3, 1976

He feels his big political problem is that "there is no certainty about what kind of President I will be. There is no way to prove before you are in office what you will do as President. You can commit yourself to certain themes, or even to specific programs." But, in the end, the voters must accept on faith and trust what they will be getting.

Atlanta Constitution  
August 8, 1976

". . .I would not show favoritism to Georgia (as President). I don't think that would be right or fair."

Florida Times Union  
August 9, 1976

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

Speech, American Bar Association  
Atlanta, Georgia  
August 11, 1976

"If I should do anything to betray this trust that's been put in me, it would have a devastating impact on this country. The smallest lie, the smallest misleading statement, the smallest betrayal of confidence, would be enormously magnified. I'm not a perfect man. I'm sinful like everyone else. I make my mistakes. But I think I can minimize my mistakes in the future by trying myself as I have in the past directly with you. I don't ever want there to be any powerful big shot political intermediary between me and the average citizen of the country."

Speech, Jefferson/ Jackson Dinner  
Charleston, West Virginia  
August 14, 1976

TAXES

Carter says he will present a plan for tax reform that "would reduce the tax rate by 40 to 50 percent and shift the tax load to those who have higher incomes."

Boston Globe  
February 26, 1976

"We need to remove the tax incentives that encourage American multi-national corporations to manufacture products in foreign countries when their own employees in this country are out of work. This would save lost tax revenue for the United States."

Carter Campaign Issues  
Reference Book  
March 15, 1976

While he backed the present credit on United States taxes given to American corporations that pay foreign taxes, Carter said that he opposed tax deferrals on profits of American companies earned overseas until the money is brought into the United States. "At this point, my inclination would be to eliminate these tax deferrals," he said.

In response to a question about his attitude toward multi-national corporations Carter responded: "I would continue, and strengthen if possible, American involvement in foreign countries and vice versa," adding, "I would not do anything to minimize this."

New York Times  
July 23, 1976

Carter said that he was inclined to favor abolition of foreign tax deferral, a major tax break which allows U.S. companies overseas to pay no tax on their foreign earning until the money is returned to the United States.

He favors retaining the foreign tax credit which allows companies to subtract taxes paid to foreign governments from their U.S. tax bills.

United Press International  
July 23, 1976

Carter, speaking to 52 top business executives, said his "inclination is to retain the foreign tax credit that is the single biggest tax advantage currently enjoyed by U.S. corporations in their overseas earnings."

He also said, in what appeared to be a change in his previous emphasis of discouraging foreign investments by American firms, "I would not do anything to subvert foreign investments," declaring that he thinks it probably helps the country as much as it hurts it economically.

At the same time, he said that in studying tax reform, he "will have to address another tax advantage enjoyed by American companies; the ability to defer taxes in income earned abroad until the money is brought back into the U.S."

Baltimore Sun  
July 23, 1976

"Basically subject to some exceptions, I favor a simplified tax system which treats all income the same, and a system which does not encourage corporations to locate plants abroad while people who want to work are begging for jobs back home."

Washington Post  
July 23, 1976

Carter said that he would limit the full deduction of mortgage interest to the single home owner, especially those in lower income brackets. Persons owning more than one home would not be permitted the full mortgage interest deduction.

Chicago Tribune  
August 11, 1976

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

Speech, American Bar Association  
Atlanta, Georgia  
August 11, 1976

Carter said that his reform will not cost an alleged \$200 million annually to taxpayers, adding that his goals could be met within his stated budgetary "parameters" of keeping Federal spending at its present level of about 20 per cent of the gross national product.

New York Times  
August 17, 1976

"When the tax structure is modified which Congress does almost every year, you can rest assured that powerful people who are well organized, who have good lawyers, who have lobbyists in the Capitol in Washington, don't get cheated, but there are millions of people in this country who do get cheated and they are the very ones who can't afford it."

Washington Star  
August 24, 1976

TRANSPORTATION

"The task of rebuilding the existing transportation system is so massive, so important and so urgent that private investment will have to be supplemented with substantial direct public investment."

Hartford Times  
July 16, 1976

"I do not favor the use of supersonic aircraft under foreign flags to the U.S. in as far as the Congress and the government rejected the SST which could have been built in the U.S." He said he opposed the SST because of its "enormous consumption of energy per passenger, the enormous cost of the necessary investment and also the risks it contained for the environment, particularly its noise."

Washington Star  
August 23, 1976

WELFARE

Welfare reform requires the separation of those capable of working from the unemployable, the aged, the blind, physically and mentally disturbed and mothers with dependent children.

Indianapolis News  
Carter Position Paper  
March 9, 1976

"There is no reason why states should not continue, at least for the foreseeable future to pay the portion of welfare programs that they presently pay. And this over a period of time can be phased out."

Cleveland, Ohio  
June 3, 1976

Carter said he would "take the welfare burden completely off the local property taxpayers and over a period of time also reduce greatly the amount of welfare paid for by the states."

L.A. Times  
September 8, 1976

WOMEN

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

Carter Campaign Issues  
Reference Book  
March 15, 1976

"As a candidate for President, I am fully committed to equality between men and women in every area of Government and in every aspect of life."

St. Louis Post Dispatch  
June 14, 1976

"I am fully committed to equality between men and women in every area of Government and in every aspect of life. As President, I will live up to that commitment...I intend to see the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment...I will vigorously enforce laws prohibiting sex discrimination in hiring...I will continue to oppose any constitutional amendment to overturn the Supreme Court decisions on abortion."

At a meeting of the Convention Rules Committee, Carter spokesmen worked actively against a proposal the women were pressing which would have assured that half of the delegates to the 1980 convention would be women.

The compromise adopted in its place, to "promote", not "require", equal numbers of women, "leaves us right where we are now, with affirmative action," says Millie Jeffrey of Michigan, head of National Women's Caucus Democrat task force.

Washington Star  
July 5, 1976

Carter said that in his part of the country, the women who had been out in the job market had worked "not out of a frivolous inclination toward establishing a degree of equality but to earn enough to put bread on the table for their families."

The word "frivolous" angered some of the women present, who felt it showed that Carter failed to understand motives, other than the economic, for women's employment.

New York Times  
July 13, 1976

Carter said he would favor "compensatory action" to women, including cabinet posts and judgeships.

Baltimore Sun

July 13, 1976

"I want to be remembered as the President who eliminated discrimination against women," Carter said to the women leaders of the Democratic Party.

Bangor Daily News

July 15, 1976

"While we have seen some progress in changing our laws to prevent discrimination against women, these steps must not be used as an excuse to withhold from women the full guarantees of the Constitution."

Philadelphia Inquirer

August 28, 1976