

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON BUSING

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON THE CIA

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

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

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

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

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

February 17, 1974

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

These predictions, obviously, have proven to be incorrect.

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

These predictions of catastrophe also proved to be untrue.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you very much.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign



Telegram

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THIS MAILGRAM IS A CONFIRMATION COPY OF THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CONGRESSMAN ANDREW YOUNG, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

11:53 EST

MGMATLT HSB

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JANUARY 22, 1976

JIMMY CARTER ON CONSUMER AFFAIRS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Maximum personal privacy for private citizens should be guaranteed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- renew effective antitrust enforcement.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON CRIME

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

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

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON CYPRUS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON DAIRY FARMING

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

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

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

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

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON THE DEATH PENALTY

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

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

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON DEREGULATION OF GAS

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON OIL COMPANY DIVESTITURE


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

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

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

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON EDUCATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

GUEST OPINION

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

Jimmy Carter

Late one afternoon five years ago when I was campaigning for the Governorship of Georgia, I looked in my rear view mirror to see the saddening haze of black smoke draped over the city I had just left as I drove along the interstate. Suddenly, I saw a flash of bronze in the air. Twenty yards ahead of my car a turkey gobbler had set his wings to sail into the swampland to my right.

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The right of private businesses, in

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

of environmental life that I have mentioned.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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