

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON FEDERAL JUDICIAL REFORM

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

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

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

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

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON GOVERNMENT GROWTH AND BUDGETING

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON GUN CONTROL

I favor national registration of handguns, a ban on the sale of cheap hand-
guns, and prohibition of ownership by anyone convicted of a crime involving a gun
and by those not mentally competent.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON HIGHWAY TRUST FUNDS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON HOUSING

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What can be done to meet our national housing needs?

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

We must restore idealism and purpose to our housing programs. We must make it clear that housing for low and moderate income people is an expression of concern consistent with the highest standards of the American people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON LABOR

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

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

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

JIMMY CARTER'S RECORD AS GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA

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

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

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

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

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

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

nevertheless disavowed the old methods of industry hunting that placed the burden on the working people of the state. Every speech before industrial prospects contained these words: "If you are looking for special tax breaks, cheap labor, or sub-standard environmental protection laws, you have come to the wrong state."

Perhaps even more importantly, he proved that this new approach to new jobs for Georgians worked. Despite a series of national economic crises during his Administration, he was able to attain the highest level of new jobs and new capital investment in the history of the state.

Governor Carter vetoed an attempt to raise the state sales tax. With labor support he was able to sustain that veto. Twice previously Carter and labor had worked together successfully to defeat bills in the legislature which would raise this regressive form of taxation.

As Governor, Carter also successfully promoted a bill to designate all high school principals as Deputy Voting Registrars. This program made it significantly easier for the young - particularly minorities and the children of working families - to register to vote.

More recently, as National Campaign Chairman for the Democratic Party, Jimmy Carter worked closely with organized labor to elect a larger Democratic majority in Congress in 1974. In a speech delivered to C.O.P.E., he said:

"The Democratic Party is one with a heart. But we have got to restore in this party and in this nation the Roosevelt Coalition of enlightened, patriotic, unselfish, dedicated, working Americans who don't want any benefits or special interest, but just want to be treated fairly and to have government minister to their needs and to the people who need those ministrations."

Jimmy Carter has always maintained a close relationship with state labor officials. He has likewise long supported and continues to support issues of vital interest to labor- the right of farm workers to organize, better working conditions for migrant laborers, reduction of unemployment through direct government assistance, postcard registration for voting, creation of a national health insurance system, development of a more just tax system, and passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Moreover, he has recognized that there is a housing crisis in America which has helped to create unemployment for nearly half a million construction workers. He supports direct government subsidies and other stimulation for the housing industry to put these workers back to productive employment.

He has called for a coordinated and aggressive program to sell American goods overseas, and an end to tax breaks which encourage the location of American industry overseas.

As President, Jimmy Carter would approve legislation to repeal section 14-b of the Taft-Hartley Act.

In Georgia, Jimmy Carter took positive steps to improve working conditions and work-related health and safety programs. As President, he would continue this commitment and strengthen or extend existing OSHA legislation so that

those who earn their living by personal labor can work in safe and healthy environments.

As President, one of Jimmy Carter's priorities will be to establish a comprehensive, nationwide system of health insurance. Quality health care must be made available to all our citizens on a regular basis, regardless of age, sex, economic status or geographic location, and at a cost all our citizens can afford.

Jimmy Carter believes that one of our government's foremost commitments must be to provide a job for every American who wants to work. In his own words, "We need to recognize that there are millions of jobs crying out to be filled, such as the installation and manufacture of solar units, the repair of our railroads, improvement of environmental quality and recreational opportunities, adequate health care for all our citizens, and mass transportation. These programs, with federal stimulation, will provide jobs in both the private and public sectors."

For areas and groups afflicted by acute unemployment, and for those areas where private industry fails to adequately relieve unemployment, Jimmy Carter favors a program of federally created jobs. The cost of such a program would be only slightly higher than existing relief programs, and the benefits in additional national productivity, taxes paid and human dignity would be enormous.

Jimmy Carter believes in the Democratic Party and its coalition with labor originating in the thirties. His campaign for Governor was waged on the streets and in the factory shifts. He is presently engaged in the same kind of one-to-one campaign for the Presidency. He is looking to organized labor for advice and support in his campaign. In this spirit, he concluded his speech to C.O.P.E. near the end of his term of Governor by saying:

"I want to tell you that our people are just as great now as they were when our nation was founded. If we can tap their generosity and their idealism and their courage and their fortitude and their intensity of commitment to the principles on which this nation was founded, we can restore that greatness to a major degree. Sometimes, the responsibility falls on the shoulders of the leaders of the great labor movement, which has always been benevolent in its attitude and courageous in its purpose."

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY

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

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

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

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

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

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON RAILROAD REORGANIZATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON REVENUE SHARING

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

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

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

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

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND THE SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY

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

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

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

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON SENATE BILL 1

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON THE ELDERLY AND SOCIAL SECURITY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But our program for senior citizens cannot stop here.

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

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

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

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

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

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

January 22, 1976

JIMMY CARTER ON SOVIET JEWRY

The official suppression in the USSR of the "Journal of Jews in the USSR" is but the latest tactic in the relentless Soviet harassment of the Jewish emigration movement and its activists. Thirty-five prisoners languish in Soviet prisons in reprisal for their Jewish activities, in some instances after their relatives left for Israel.

Over a thousand "refuseniks" and their families are known to have been repeatedly denied exit visas for reunification with their families. New applicants for exit visas find obstacles continually placed in their way. Emigration of Soviet Jews both to Israel and the United States has dropped drastically since the high point of 35,000 in 1973. Scores of Soviet Jewish activists have been summoned to KGB offices and threatened with trials. Students are expelled from technical schools and universities and are threatened with military draft for their expressions of Jewish identity. Mail and telegrams from the West to Soviet Jewish activists and their families, and to the families of religious prisoners are often undelivered, and telephone calls are jammed or refused by Soviet operators.

I protest these and similar acts of oppression. I support full religious and cultural opportunities for Soviet Jews, including essential Jewish institutions and the free flow of ideas, information, and people. Violations of basic human rights are no longer the internal affair of any one nation. We must be strongly committed to the securing of basic human rights for all people, including the three million Jews in the Soviet Union.

We must make it clear to the Russians, in every endeavor, that their treatment of Jews is unacceptable to us. In our Bicentennial year, our responsibility for world leadership in this effort becomes even stronger.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON TAX REFORM

Our national tax system is a disgrace. Carefully contrived loopholes let the total tax burden shift more and more toward the average wage earner. Some of our largest corporations with extremely high profits pay virtually no tax at all. The average family earning \$10,000 per year pays a larger portion of its income in taxes than a family with an annual income of \$1 million or more. When a business executive can charge off a \$50 luncheon on a tax return and a truck driver cannot deduct his \$1.50 sandwich -- when oil companies pay less than 5% on their earnings while employees of the company pay at least three times this rate -- when many pay no taxes on incomes of more than \$100,000 -- then we need basic tax reform.

I am considering a drastic simplification of the income tax system that would lower taxes on middle and low income families. To do that you would eliminate hundreds of tax breaks and greatly reduce the tax rate. A recent study says such a plan would allow a reduction of as much as 40% in the tax rate.

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

The only people who have anything to fear from any Carter tax reform plan are the special interests who do not pay their fair share of taxes and who are responsible for the disgracefully unfair tax system we now have.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON WELFARE PROGRAM

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

JIMMY CARTER ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS

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

I have great concern for the woman who chooses to stay home and devote full time to caring for her family. She is one of the most vulnerable members of our society. Faced with a seriously high divorce rate and the prospect of widowhood at age 55, the average homemaker without a marketable skill has a very difficult time and legal protection is almost non-existent. We must insure that we do not demean the roles of homemaker and rearer of children. I firmly believe that there is no higher calling for a man or woman than the care of the children they bring into the world. I also believe that there is much that our educational, legal and other institutions can do to prepare and support both parents in this extremely crucial role in our society. As we remove the barriers which have denied women participation in business and education and other fields, we also have the tremendous opportunity to give men the opportunity to be fathers and husbands in the finest sense of those terms.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

STATEMENT BY JIMMY CARTER ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS

PRESENTED JUNE 13, 1976

BEFORE THE COMMITTEE OF 51.3 PERCENT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Committee of 51.3 Percent will have three basic purposes.

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

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

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

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



MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Copyright in the Walter F. Mondale Papers belongs to the Minnesota Historical Society and its content may not be copied without the copyright holder's express written permission. Users may print, download, link to, or email content, however, for individual use.

To request permission for commercial or educational use, please contact the Minnesota Historical Society.



www.mnhs.org