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[Sept. 1976?]

CARTER SPEECH TO B'NAI BRITH

"I have called for closer ties with our traditional allies....."

- Carter has proposed defense budget cuts, troop withdrawals from Europe and Korea, bans on allies' nuclear tests, ban on Concorde, and "massive retaliation" nuclear strategy -- policies that will invite a major crisis with all of our allies.

"I have stressed the necessity for a strong defense -- tough and muscular....."

- On the contrary, Carter has stressed \$5-7 billion defense cuts, withdrawals from overseas bases, abandoning our strategic bomber program, cutting off military aid to key allies, unverifiable test bans, nuclear disarmament and strategies which cast doubt on our willingness to come to the defense of our allies with nuclear weapons.

"...and 'national security' has sometimes been a cover-up for ...national scandal."

- Carter, who pledged not to raise Watergate, again violates his own promise.

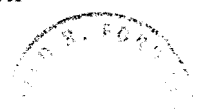
"We stumbled into the quagmires of Cambodia and Vietnam...."

- In a Democratic Administration.

"In Cyprus, we let expediency triumph over fairness, and lost both ways."

- Promising efforts to resolve the Cyprus problem by negotiation in late 1974 were undermined by rash one-sided counterproductive action by the Democratic Congress, against the President's strong recommendation.

to cut aid to Turkey



"We responded inadequately to human suffering in Bangladesh, Burundi, the Sahel. . . ."

- U. S. aid to Bangladesh both before and in the first year after independence was twice that of the rest of the world combined.

"We lessened the prestige of our foreign service by sending abroad ambassadors who were distinguished only by the size of their political contributions.

- The Ford Administration has emphasized career appointments in key ambassadorships, probably more than any recent Administration.

"We have allowed virtually unlimited sales of U. S. arms to countries around the world -- a policy as cynical as it is dangerous."

- Strong allies are an asset. Most of our aid goes to key countries like Israel and Iran. Undermining allies' security does nothing for peace, when Soviet arms in massive quantities are in the hands of radical enemies. Carter even condemned aid to Kenya -- until the Entebbe rescue raid.

"I find it unacceptable that we have, in effect, condoned the effort of some Arab countries to tell American businesses that... they must observe certain restrictions based on race or religion."

- The Ford Administration has done more against discrimination and boycott than any previous administration.

"I regret that an... Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, last week told Congress that efforts should not be made to address this basic issue of human rights."

- Our sole concern is counterproductive actions, like the Jackson Amendment, which backfire by worsening our relations with the country concerned and have only a worsening effect on the condition being addressed.

".....according to a recent House Subcommittee report, the Department of Commerce has shut its eyes...."

- The primary focus of the House Subcommittee report is on past conditions, after 1965, that no longer exist.

"The Republican Administration, with the Sonnenfeldt statement, has shown a lack of sensitivity to the craving of the Eastern European people for greater independence."

- The Administration's policy, as stated by Mr. Sonnenfeldt and others, is exactly the opposite. We regard the present relationship between the Soviet Union and its satellites as unnatural and dangerous. Mr. Carter apparently has not read any state-ments by Mr. Sonnenfeldt, Secretary Kissinger or the President. Nor is he aware that the President visited Yugoslavia, Poland and Romania in 1975 to demonstrate our stake in their independence.

"But since that elaborate signing ceremony in Finland, the Russians have all but ignored their pledge -- and the Ford Administration has looked the other way."

- The Administration has consistently called for further Soviet action to increase human rights as called for by CSCE. The President signed the bill establishing a joint Executive-Congressional monitoring committee, at a White House ceremony.

"Similarly, the American government has failed to make serious efforts to get the Russians to permit greater numbers of people to emigrate freely to the country of their choice, and I commend those members of Congress and others who have demonstrated a strong personal concern and commitment to that goal."

- This is cynical hypocrisy, another Carter flip-flop. In his interview in the New York Times, July 7, he said: "I think the Jackson Amendment and the Stevenson Amendment were mistaken. . . . I think the Soviet Union would have been much more amenable to quiet but firm diplomatic negotiation than the highly publicized pressure placed on the Soviet Union by an act of Congress." President Ford warned against these amendments in 1974. In 1974 he raised the subject personally with Brezhnev at Helsinki in an effort to restore the emigration levels that were prevalent before the Congressional action.

"The leaders of this administration have rationalized that there is little room for morality in foreign affairs, and that we must put self-interest above principle."

- A strange accusation to make against the Administration that has made great advances in banishing the spectre of nuclear war; bringing peace to the Middle East and racial justice in southern Africa; and making all the initiatives now on the world's agenda of dialogue between the industrial and developing nation, beginning with the World Food Conference.

"...we cannot look away when a government tortures people...."

- The United States proposed in the UN General Assembly in September, 1975 that the UN adopt the Geneva declaration condemning torture and appoint an expert investigative body to report to the General Assembly.

"You and I would not plot murder, but in recent years officials of our government have plotted murder....."

- As the Church Committee report made clear, there have been no U. S. Government-sponsored assassination plots since the Kennedy-Johnson Administration.

"We should quit being timid and join Israel and other nations in moving to stamp out international terrorism."

- The U. S. has been on the forefront of international efforts to draft international agreements banning terrorism. The President congratulated the Israel Government on the success of the Entebbe rescue. When the President acted in May, 1975 to rescue American civilians on the Mayaguez, he was condemned by many of the same people who today accuse us of "being timid."

NOT A TRANSCRIPT BUT
Speech DIFFERS VERY LITTLE

Remarks by Jimmy Carter - B'nai B'rith Convention, Washington, D.C.

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERY - 3:20 PM EDT, September 8, 1974

(4)

It is a special pleasure to be here today, because I believe we share a common heritage, and a common commitment, that brings us together.

In 1848, B'nai B'rith was founded by a small group of immigrants who sought to preserve for themselves and others the religious and personal liberty they had been denied abroad.

So it was with those who founded my church in this country, to insure liberty of conscience.

I am proud to meet with a group of men and women with whom I share a total commitment to the preservation of human rights, individual liberty, and freedom of conscience.

I would like to talk to you about my view of how our nation should encourage and support those priceless qualities throughout the world.

This is, as you know, a difficult question. It requires a careful balancing of realism and idealism -- of our understanding of the world as it is, and our vision of the world as it should be.

The question, I think, is whether in recent years our highest officials have not been too pragmatic, even cynical, and as a consequence have ignored those moral values that had often distinguished our country from the other great nations of the world.

We must move away from making policies in secret, without the knowledge and approval of the American people.

I have called for closer ties with our traditional allies, and stronger ties with the state of Israel. I have stressed the necessity for a strong defense -- tough and muscular, and adequate to maintain our freedom under any conceivable circumstances.

But military strength alone is not enough. Over the years, our greatest source of strength has come from those basic, priceless values which are embodied in our declaration of independence, our constitution, and our bill of rights: our belief in freedom of religion -- our belief in freedom of expression -- our belief in human dignity.

These principles have made us great, and unless our foreign policy reflects them, we make a mockery of all these values that we have celebrated in this bicentennial year.

We have not always lived up to our ideals, but I know of no great nation in history that has more often conducted itself in a moral, unselfish, generous manner abroad, and provided more freedom and opportunity to its own citizens at home.



Still, in recent years, we have had reason to be troubled. Often there has been a gap between the values we have proclaimed and the policies we have pursued. We have often been overextended, and deeply entangled in the internal affairs of distant nations. Our government has pursued dubious tactics, and "national security" has sometimes been a cover-up for unnecessary secrecy and national scandal.

We stumbled into the quagmires of Cambodia and Vietnam, and carried out heavy-handed efforts to destroy an elected government in Chile. In Cyprus, we let expediency triumph over fairness, and lost both ways.

We responded inadequately to human suffering in Bangladesh, Burundi, the Sahel, and other underdeveloped nations.

We lessened the prestige of our foreign service by sending abroad ambassadors who were distinguished only by the size of their political contributions.

We have allowed virtually unlimited sales of U.S. arms to countries around the world -- a policy as cynical as it is dangerous.

I find it unacceptable that we have in effect condoned the effort of some Arab countries to tell American businesses that in order to trade with one country or company, they must observe certain restrictions based on race or religion. These so-called "Arab boycotts" violate our standards of freedom and morality.

I regret that a senior official of the Ford Administration, and Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, last week told Congress that efforts should not be made to address this basic issue of human rights.

Moreover, according to a recent House subcommittee report, the Department of Commerce has shut its eyes to the boycott by failing to collect information on alleged offenses, and failing to carry out a firm policy against the boycott.

If I become President, all laws concerning these boycotts will be vigorously enforced.

We also regret our government's continuing failure to oppose the denial of human freedom in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

The Republican Administration, with the Sonnenfeldt statement, has shown a lack of sensitivity to the craving of the Eastern European people for greater independence. That is unacceptable.

Only 13 months ago, President Ford and Henry Kissinger travelled to Helsinki to sign the treaty of comprehensive security and cooperation in Europe. It was supposed to lead to greater personal freedom for the peoples of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, including greater freedom to travel, to marry, and to emigrate. But since that elaborate signing ceremony in Finland, the Russians have all but ignored their pledge -- and the Ford Administration has looked the other way.



Similarly, the American government has failed to make serious efforts to get the Russians to permit greater numbers of people to emigrate freely to the countries of their choice, and I commend those members of Congress and others who have demonstrated a strong personal concern and commitment to that goal.

Despite our deep desire for successful negotiation on strategic arms and nuclear proliferation, we cannot pass over in silence the deprivation of human rights in the Soviet Union. The list of Soviet prisoners is long, and includes both Christians and Jews. I will speak only of two: Vladimir Bukovsky and Vladimir Slepak. Bukovsky, a young scientist, has been imprisoned most of the last 13 years for criticisms of the Soviet regime. Slepak, a radio engineer in Moscow, applied for an exit visa for Israel in April of 1970. The visa was denied, and since 1972, he has been denied the right to hold a job.

I ask why such people must be deprived of their basic rights a year after Helsinki. And if I become President, the fate of men like Bukovsky and Slepak will be very much on my mind as I negotiate with the Soviet Union.

Liberty is curtailed in non-Communist countries, too, of course. There are many cases of political persecution in Chile and reports of brutal torture that are too well documented to be disbelieved.

There are those regimes, such as South Korea, which openly violate human rights, although they themselves are under threat from Communist regimes which represent an even greater level of repression.

Even in such cases, however, we should not condone repression or the denial of freedom. On the contrary, we should use our influence to increase freedom in those countries that depend on us for their very survival.

Denials of human rights occur in many places and many ways. In Ireland, for example, violence has bred more violence, and caused untold human suffering which brings sorrow to the entire civilized world.

I do not say to you that these are simple issues.

I do not say that we can remake the world in our own image. I recognize the limits on our power, and I do not wish to see us swing from one extreme of cynical manipulation to the other extreme of moralistic zeal, which can be just as dangerous.

But the present administration has been so obsessed with balance of power politics that it has often ignored basic American values and a proper concern for human rights. The leaders of this administration have rationalized that there is little room for morality in foreign affairs, and that we must put self-interest above principle.



I disagree strongly.

Our is a great and powerful nation, committed to certain enduring ideals, and these ideals must be reflected in our foreign policy.

There are practical, effective ways in which our power can be used to alleviate human suffering around the world.

We should begin by having it understood that if any nation, whatever its political system, deprives its people of basic human rights, that fact will help shape our people's attitude toward that nation's government.

If other nations want our friendship and support, they must understand that we want to see basic human rights respected.

Our power is not unlimited, but neither is it insignificant, and I believe that if we are sensitive and if we are concerned, there can be many instances when our power can make a crucial difference to thousands of men and women who are the victims of oppression around the world.

We must be realistic. Although we believe deeply in our own system of government and our own ideals, we do not and should not insist on identical standards or an identical system in all other nations. We can live with diversity in governmental systems, but we cannot look away when a government tortures people, or jails them for their beliefs, or denies minorities fair treatment or the right to emigrate.

Let me suggest some actions our government should take in the area of human rights.

First, we can support the principle of self-determination by refraining from intervention in the domestic politics of other countries, but obviously, we are going to protect our interests and advance our beliefs in other nations.

We should not behave abroad in ways that violate our own laws or moral standards. You and I would not plot murder, but in recent years officials of our government have plotted murder, and that is wrong and unacceptable.

In giving trade advantages or economic assistance to other governments, we should make sure that such aid is used to benefit the people of that country. There will be times when we will want to help those who must live under a repressive government. We may refrain from giving general economic aid or military assistance to a government, yet wish to provide food, health care, or other humanitarian assistance directly to the people.

The United States should lend more vigorous support to the United Nations and other public and private international bodies in order to attract world attention, to the denial of freedom. These bodies are limited in power, but they can serve as the conscience of the world community, and they deserve far more support than our government has given them in recent years.



Insofar as they comply with our own constitution and laws, we should have pressed Senate ratification of several important treaties drafted in the United Nations for the protection of human rights. These include the Genocide Convention that was prepared more than 25 years ago, the Convention against racial discrimination that was signed during the Johnson administration, and the covenants on political and civil rights, and on economic and social rights. Until we ratify these covenants, we cannot participate with other nations in international discussions of specific cases involving freedom and human rights.

We should quit being timid and join Israel and other nations in moving to stamp out international terrorism!

These are some of the things our nation can do for a change to promote human rights in our imperfect world. The basic question is one of leadership. We have not had that kind of leadership in recent years. In foreign affairs, as in domestic affairs, we need leaders who are not only concerned with the interests of the powerful, but who are especially concerned with the powerless, with the weak, with the disenfranchised, and with other victims of oppression.

If I am elected President, I intend to provide it.

Thank you.

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WORK
SEPTEMBER 7, 1970



people. But in the same kind of neighborhood that you have
repeated over and over in different parts of Brooklyn. I came to
Brooklyn for the first time in 1943. I stayed in a private apartment
about two blocks from the St. George Hotel. I was a junior in high
school and I came to the world's fair. We were afraid to drive our
car. We spent most of the time on your subway system, half the time
lost. It took us two days to find the World's Fair. But we enjoyed
it very much. And ever since then I've had a feeling of the commonality
between my own life in a isolated rural area and your life here in this
greatest metropolitan center in our nation.

Brooklyn =
Plains

In Brooklyn, as in Plains, Georgia, neighborhoods are not streets
and fences and bricks and mortar and buildings. Neighborhoods are
people and families. And what affects me and my friends in deep
Southwest Georgia are the same kinds of things that affect you and
your neighbors.

The inflation rate is robbing us all. Its average in the last
eight years under Republicans more than 6 percent. Under Kennedy and
Johnson, it averaged less than 2 percent. When Truman went out of
office, it was less than 1 percent.

inflation

Thirty percent of American families in the last eight years,
under Republican leadership, have been affected by layoffs from their
jobs. Thirty percent of all the families. When Truman went out of
office, the unemployment rate was 3 percent. Johnson went out of office,
less than 4 percent. Today, it's 7.5 percent. And, under the present
incumbent in the White House, the unemployment rate has been the highest
since the Hoover Depression. Mismanagement has brought us disgrace and
shame and embarrassment. The latest revelations are about Medicaid.

employment

is this true?
Medicare

They're spending billions of dollars of your taxpayers' money to try to give our people better health care but 25 to 30 percent of it is wasted or stolen. There has never been an aggressive movement to correct these mistakes coming from the White House. You only hear about these mistakes when a Congressional Committee like under Senator Moss of Utah reveals what's going on in my government and your government. We have government programs that are designed to help people, like health care. Also, like pollution control, crime control, housing, welfare, education. But quite often in the administration of these programs, under President Nixon, under our present President, the sensitivity about human beings is lost. this is lost in any Bureaucracy.

All of us won't get transportation. We don't want to have our neighborhoods torn up. Have you ever seen an interstate highway go through a golf course? Never. But a new highway will take down 200 homes in a neighborhood that represents the life savings of the families who live there.

Housing programs have become stagnant. One of the goals that the opponent that I'm facing this year has set for himself is better housing. (The only program) that HUD has got going is not for home ownership, it's just for rental. The tax programs encourage slum landlords to get rich off the depreciation tax credit for their property. But when a home owner tries to improve the quality of the neighborhood, the property taxes go up higher and higher and it's a discouragement. So our tax laws encourage depreciation in quality, they discourage better neighborhood quality. We've had too much burden shifted away from the rich families of this country, the corporations, over the shoulders of the private working families. We've had too much burden

This is not true
housing
these are locks



*this is
10 cks*

on property tax, not enough on income tax. We haven't had a good working relationship between the local, state and federal levels of government and the present Republican administration's policy of cities was well expressed (when the President told you to drop dead.)

- Is that what we want in this country to continue for the years to come. No.

I'll make a prediction to you. I don't think that you'll hear between now and November 2 the President telling you to drop dead again.

I'd like to say a few more words about what we face this year and then I want to spend the balance of the time answering your questions.

Every action that the Federal Government takes on transportation, housing, crime control, or recreation, education, welfare, health, ought to be designed to protect families, to bind them together, and to honor the integrity of neighborhoods. This is the strength of our country and, to the extent that we, in a community, can bind ourselves together with a mutuality of purpose, to that extent we can have a delightful place to live. As I drove from downtown out here this morning, I saw a lot of places where the grass was not cut, where the trash was on the street. And I think that if the Government in Washington was genuinely interested in neighborhood housing programs that the whole spirit of a community could be boosted. And, if as people walked down the street and they saw a piece of trash on the sidewalk, they at least would pick it up and put it in the nearest trash container.

Family

We need to do something about redlining. It's not right in our country for banks to turn off the loudspeaker system when I'm talking about redlining. But it's not a legitimate thing for us to have someone in a secret room draw a red line about an area of our life and say we're marking this area off. There won't be any more loans made here. We'll

*This is
being done*



not even give --- (trouble with loudspeaker system.)

I think if we're going to have trouble with the loudspeaker system, maybe I ought to go ahead and get into the

I want to say this in closing. Every time I come to New York City, or to New York State, I want to try to go to a different community citizens who

(Loudspeaker system problem.)

Every time I come to New York City during this campaign, which I hope will be often, I'm going to go to a different neighborhood, listen to private families, walk the streets, with groups like this, answer questions, as a nominee of our party, how I can deal with your problems once I get in the White House. I need your help and support.

Now to have your questions. I don't care how ...

GRASS

The question is how do I feel about decriminalizing marijuana. I'm not in favor of legalizing the use of marijuana. I do favor decriminalization of it, which means if the government at the local, state and federal levels, all three, concentrate our attention on harder drugs and on the distribution of marijuana, it will not be legal to possess even small quantities of marijuana or to use it. If a person, young or old, is found with marijuana in his possession, or her possession, would be a fine. In Oregon, I think the fine is \$200.00. But there would not be a permanent criminal record for that person to carry the balance of his life. For second offenses, the penalty would be more severe. But for the first use or possession of small quantities of marijuana, no permanent felony offense concentrating stopping of on the/distribution of marijuana and drugs, that's the best approach.



Yes, sir. How do I feel about job creation as contrasted with the heavy cost of the welfare rolls? We now have a disgraceful welfare system. We've got about 12,000,000 people now drawing welfare on a permanent basis. About 1.3 million people on welfare are completely able to work full time. There's nothing wrong with them, mentally or physically. I would like to remove those people from the welfare system completely. Put them under the responsibility of the Labor Department or the Education Department, give them job training, literacy instruction if they can't read or write, use the services of private and federal job placement agencies and match them with a job, and offer them a job. ^{who, sor.?} If they are offered a job and don't take it, I would not give them any more benefits. The other 90 percent of the welfare recipients cannot work full time. (We ought to encourage them to work part time if they choose) ^{how} Let me give you an example. If a mother has three little children and the father is dead, if she can leave her kids with a grandmother or a neighbor, say 15 hours a week and get a part time job, (she ought to be encouraged to do it) ^{how?} and not have her welfare payments confiscated. We also ought to remove the elements of the welfare laws that force on children the father to leave the home or pretend to leave the home. The present welfare system is anti-work and anti-family and we need to have a simplified welfare system with a nationwide payment to the daily necessities of life just enough to accommodate cost of living changes from one community to another. And to shift the welfare burden completely off of the local property tax payers and, over a period of time, (also reduce greatly the amount of welfare that's paid for by the state) ^{how} I'm not in favor of the Federal Government paying the total bill.

on welfare or compensation?

welfare id jobs



Now, on jobs, the last thing is this. I favor the creation of jobs
as much as possible in the private sector, not in government. ^{how?}
 we'll never have a balanced budget, we'll never have an end to the
 inflationary spiral as long as that 8 or 9 million people out of work
 are looking for jobs. So the number one emphasis has got to be on
 jobs.

is the last part of my answer this. So
 urge a program for young people. We now have about a 35 percent
 unemployment rate among young people who speak a foreign language
 or who are black. So I favor sort of like a CCC program for young
 people, to put them to work in fruitful jobs primarily in the urban
 areas. So I think we ought to shift away from welfare toward work.

In the blue T-shirt, yessir. The question was did I hear your
 address about my early support of the Vietnamese war and Lt. Calley.
I have never supported Lt. Calley in any way. I think he was a
 disgrace to the Army and to the country. I think he was a scoundrel

and that people who were supportive of him should also have been
punished. There were two things that bothered me about the Calley
 case. One was that, for the first time so far as I know, in the
 military justice system of our country, a Lieutenant was punished
 for a terrible crime and his superior officers who either ordered it
 or knew about it were never punished. The second thing that I regretted
 very much was, that Calley was pictured by many people as being typical
 of the young American fighting people, the soldiers. He was not
 typical. The average American soldier is not a murderer. He would
 not have killed women, little babies and children. The war, itself,
 I think we made a terrible mistake going into Vietnam. I was not a
 public official then. But even the elder leaders of the South, like

Calley

But they had
 a trial of
 against justice



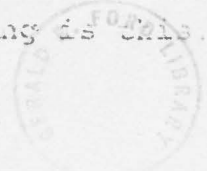
Senator Russell, who was Chairman of the Armed Services Committee, always said that it was one of the worst mistakes I ever made not to get into Vietnam to begin with. When we were there, I felt that we should have gone ahead tried to win the war. Plus, in 1970 when I was elected Governor, in March of 1971, I had a meeting with the editorial board of Time Magazine who were doing a cover story on me and I said we ought to withdraw from Vietnam completely, announce that we're won and never go back. So I don't have any apology to make for I didn't

. Thank you.

*but this
lying*

crimes = unemployment

I guess you're next with the pink shirt. The question is how about the number of Brooklyn and the Flatbush area who didn't come here because of fear and the high crime rate. We've had an unprecedented increase in the crime rate in the last eight years under the Republican administration. I don't blame all the crime rate on the Republicans. I would be happy to about that if it was fair. But, it's not fair. I think the number (one reason) that the crime rate has increased is the unemployment rate among young people. When you've got 34 percent of young, black men, young, foreign-speaking men who are unemployed, there's a on them to commit a crime. So unemployment is not (an excuse) for crime, but I think it's accurate to say it's (a reason for crime). There could be the most law-abiding young man you've ever seen, the best . Because he doesn't qualify for social security, welfare, or unemployment, he wanders around on the street a week, or two weeks, or three weeks, and he can't get a job, (the high life) is going to get that young person, man or woman, is going to start shoplifting, breaking in cars, pushing drugs, prostitution or some other crime. That's one thing we can do is put our young people back to work. The second thing is this. We've



This is already done!

got to have a good cooperation between the federal, state and local arms of government. Now there are a lot of things that we can do that don't cost much money. We ought to concentrate police officers where the crime rate is high, and the crime rate is quite often highest among poor people. Poor people commit more crimes, but poor people are also the victims of crimes. I would start a recruitment program, under a CCC type effort, for these young people to join in to be aides of police officers. We ought to have community committees made up of priests, of preachers, of schoolteachers and other leaders to be responsible for one or two blocks, to understand the young people who commit most of the crimes and try to get them to work for

However, we need better lighting, in high crime areas, for streets. We also need to have better recreation programs for young people. And

we need to have a tougher commitment on the part of the President to and support police officers ^{low} and also to stamp out

Is this true?

crime. *how?* (Now President Ford's recommendation for next year has to cut federal crime funds \$12 billion.) And another thing that we can do about crime is to set an example in our law enforcement agencies.

B.S.

There has been a great contribution to the crime rate in this country because of Watergate, because of the CIA revelations, and because of the disgraceful action in the FBI. I think the _____ in our top officials ought to set an example. I think the Director of the FBI, for instance, ought to be purer than Caesar's wife. We ought not to have Federal funds being given to the head of the FBI to decorate his home. This to me is wrong. There are a lot of these cases where?

There weren't federal funds put any type donations.



Education

Yes, in the T-shirt. The question is what is my stand on the government support for the arts and education. I notice when President Ford listed the top priorities, when he was at Vail, between golf games, it is said that he didn't name education as one of them. I think that's the best investment that our country can make for the future is in the education of our people. I've sat in my own political career on a local school board, Sumter County school board. I later became its chairman. I ran for the Georgia Senate. To protect the public education of our state, I asked for one committee in the legislature, to be on the education committee and we wrote the education laws in Georgia. If I'm elected President of our country, I'm going to keep my daughter in the public school system. I think that the President can do a lot

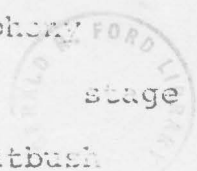
1. here. ^{like what.}

The President should also recognize the tremendous contribution that has been made by many citizens, particularly Catholics, who have sacrificed their own income to keep a good parochial school system. But in the framework of Supreme Court rulings of the law, the Constitution, I would give all the aid I could to parochial schools as well. We've got to have good

2. support ^{what kind?}

In the arts, will increase greatly my opinion of the arts, all the way from the Allmon Brothers and John Denver to the Atlanta Symphony orchestra, and the performing arts as well. But, what I tried to do as Governor and what I hope to do as President, it is to bring the enjoyment of the visual and performing arts to people throughout the country. I would not concentrate my efforts just in the Kennedy Center in Washington. I would like to make sure that the New York Symphony Orchestra, or the Washington Symphony Orchestra or the Atlanta Symphony orchestra could stage and perform, for instance, for the people who live along Flatbush

Arts



Avenue. But that's the kind of things I'm ready to do in the education and arts.

In the white sweater back there. The question was, the Democratic party platform calls for comprehensive tax reform, to shift the burden off the average working family on to the shoulders of those who have benefitted from tax breaks and tax shelters. The question was, since the Democratic Congress has had the authority for a long time to do it, why haven't they done something? I don't know. I don't know why the Democratic Party Congress Members have not acted. Many of them have tried to have sessions on tax reform to do exactly what the Democratic Party platform calls for, including those down here in the front row in front of me. But, in the absence of leadership in the White House, it's almost impossible for Congress to have a complete reform of the tax structure. If I'm elected President, and I intend to be elected, that will be a major goal of mine as President. I intend to take the leadership from the White House to completely reform the tax structure. I intend to work with the Congressional leaders. I've already had a 8 or 10 hour session with the Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, for instance. I've also been meeting with the Senate leaders ahead of time to work out a comprehensive reform effort. Right now the special interest groups are so powerful and so influential that as long as tax reform is kept secret from the American people, the special interest groups can prevail. But I think if the President assumes this responsibility, then comprehensive tax reform, not just one paragraph at a time but the whole system, to make corrections that all of us need that should be made, I believe that I can recruit your help and the help of millions of Americans around the country to induce their

Tax-reform.



Members of Congress, their U.S. Senators to join with me in making this correction. But, as long as the President sits quiet, and timid and hides in the White House, and takes no leadership role in correcting the tax problem, it is very difficult for 535 different Members of Congress to come up with an answer. But, if I'm elected President, I'll be responsible for to implement full tax reform for the first time in 50 years.

Okay, in the blue shirt with the beard. I think I understood the question. I have position papers that I think would be satisfactory to you and whatever issue you happen to have as a special interest, if you would write Box 1976, Atlanta, Georgia, I'll send you the position paper that I have on taxation, transportation, welfare, government organization, agriculture, foreign trade, or any other subject. The issues are prepared and available to you. Let me say this about the making a different statement in different parts of the country. I started campaigning the 20th of January, 1975. For the first eight months, no one paid any attention to me. I campaigned by myself with a few members of my family, in living rooms and in small meeting halls and farmers' markets, shopping centers. About October of 1975, last year, about a year ago, I began to get full time coverage from the national news media. And I doubt that any statement made since October of 1975 exists that hasn't been recorded on radio tape or television. If I should ever make a different statement in Iowa, compared to Florida, compared to California, compared to New York, and those two radio tapes could be played and compared and the difference revealed, it would be a catastrophe for my campaign and it would be political suicide.

*Different statements
at different places*



I don't ever intend to do that, I don't have to. Anything I said to you today obviously has been recorded on all three television networks, Mutual Broadcasting System, the radio, New York Times, and so forth. And people all over the country will hear about it tonight and know about it. So it would be ridiculous for me to make a different statement here from what I've made for people that have heard me all over the country. I would never do it. I don't have to and I

Yes, the blue shirt. Let me say this to you. The first question was about am I still adamant or eager about the debates. What did I think the issues are? And the other one is what I'm going to do to help New York

I've been in New York City three times in the last two weeks. I come here because I do have an interest in you. I come here because I recognize for years, your city has been written off by the Federal Government. There has been a lack of attention given to the fact that if I'm elected President, that Mayor Beame, Governor Carey and Jimmy Carter will all have you as constituents. There might be no difference among us in our responsibility to meet your needs. No matter what the subject of those needs might be. You mention education, welfare, health, transportation. I myself, immediately after the election if I'm successful, and before Inauguration Day, to meet with your leaders, including Mayor Beame and Governor Carey, of course, to work out a long range commitment or solution, first of all to the economic problems. Then my . . . But I want everyone in this country to know ~~that~~ in Iowa and Georgia, in Minnesota and California, that I, as President, representing them, am committed to New York City ^{re} to/solve your problems. ^{how?} Secondly, just that awareness of that would

NYC



help a great deal. You are in interest payments because of the doubt about the future, exceed the amount that you spend on welfare and the total amount that has been saved by laying off thousands of municipal employees. So just the sureness about the future would cut down on the interest rates tremendously. The second thing is this, third thing, I want to be sure that the business leaders, the professional leaders, know that the President of the United States is committed to the future of New York City and that I can induce them not to move jobs away from your community. As you know, a problem is debt, interest rates, lack of attention feeds on itself. It gets worse and worse. The people who love this city are not thinking about moving out because they don't what the future incurs. But I want to be sure that they know that the future holds ^{like what} (complete support) from the White House and from the Congress to solve New York City's problems. I want to be sure that when there's a housing program that most of the money goes to help housing in the downtown, urban centers for people who need it most and the money is not channelled out into the suburbs where the citizens might be richer, more influential and have stronger voices. I am very eager to have the debates beginning in a couple of weeks with PresidentnFord. This will be, I think, a good chance for the people of this country to compare us, our stands on issues, our leadership capabilities, our visions of the future, our specific knowledge of the needs of human beings that comprise our nation who have felt neglected. And I hope that all people watch the debates. I don't claim to know the answers to all the complicated problems but I think I know the people of this country. In my strength and my political success, my knowledge and my advice, my present and future support, my criticisms come from people like you. At the end of the primary season, we figured



that I had rec with and made speeches to groups like this, often of course much smaller, 2,000 different times and I learned in the process. But I want to continue to learn and I want to be sure that when I'm in the White House that I still have that close relationship with the people of our country. Black and white, rural and urban, ~~many~~ agriculture or factory, men and women, There can be a trust, confidence in our own government. We've lost that. And I'll be a good President to the extent that I can stay close to you. And I hope that you'll stay close to me. I need your advice and your counsel and your active political support. I'll try I'll try to make you proud of me and also make us all proud of our country in the future.

Thank you very much. I've got to go.

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CARTER - MACHINISTS - FLORIDA

September 10, Speech to International Association of Machinists, Hollywood, Florida.

The last time I met with the Executive Committee of the great machinists of this country, I had the strong arm put on me for a few dollars for ale and, on the way back from Milwaukee today I guess I gotta .

I think because of the action you just took in this political organization that the machinists and our state workers have , that/~~the~~ the best ten dollar investment I ever made.

I'm glad to be here with all of you, but I'm especially glad to be here because of your great president, ~~Ed~~ ^{REd} Smith. As you know, he's been a stalwart, an adviser, worker, a supporter of the Democratic Committee of the national organization for a long time. He's out there on ~~the~~ the Advisory Committee. For all the campaigns that are going on throughout this nation, the President, U.S. Senate, Governor, , state officials, state legislators. And it's the kind of great people like REd Smith that makes the Democratic party so great and I'm thankful to you, Ed, for helping us in this way.

Today I want to talk to you about two things. The Republican Party and the Democratic Party. But I'm going to be fair and totally objective. I~~k~~ to think of a story that would illustrate the relationship between the Republican Party and what it's done to us and the working people of this country.

to illustrate the point. It's about this young truck driver who ran a restaurant. Get it?

To get government aid and motorcycle cop
But motorcycle is exactly what's going to
the Republican Party .

Anywhere I've appeared in the country the last few weeks, I've been asking the person in the audience, how many of you in your own family have had somebody laid off from work in the last three years. Came down to about 20 percent of the people raised their hands. As a matter of a fact, about 30 percent of all the families in this country have had somebody laid off from work in the last three years. Now a lot of people have been laid off but they don't want to hold their hand up, because these people feel that it's something to be ashamed ~~of~~ of when you're out of work even though a wife or an husband or an older child is looking every day for a job, there's something kind of shameful in some people's minds, about not being able to work every day and support one's own family. I think we have seen in the distance a typical example of what was inherited in the last eight years from a Republican administration whose chief economic ~~advisers~~ advisers said, in the depth of the depression, what you still hear, that the people who are suffering most are the Wall Street brokers and not the working people of the country. We're gonna change that attitude next January.

In the 1960s, 61, 2, 3 , 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, every year the purchasing power of the wage earners salary dollar went up. The first time it went down in 11 years was in 1969 the first year that Nixon went into office. It went down again in '74, went down again this year in '76, and now the average purchasing power of an hour's work by a laborer or a skilled mechanic or anyone else in this country is

less than it was in 1968. We've got kind of a slapstick approach in the Republican administration toward the economy. There's no relationship of cooperation between government, industry, labor, agriculture, science, education, private citizens. To assert the ~~fewer~~ that we have, we will try to do something about them.

I happen to be ~~born~~ a farmer and an engineer. And in 1972, I remember the embargo that was placed on the of the farm goods and the over sale of scarce commodities to Russia to be hauled in foreign ships and it cleared it in one year, 1973.

An increase of food prices of 20% in one year. The farmers could always--- at a loss. But the food processors, the grain speculators in the Soviet Union got rich~~xxx~~. This 20% increase was more than we had seen in all the 8 years of Johnson and Kennedy administrations, in the increased price of food. At the same time, we have seen inflation since back in '68. Inflation, by the way is not just an economic word. Inflation is a real personal word, that

everyone of you here every time the prices go up. I know how tough you are in your negotiating contract. I know how closely you stand together, when there's a disagreement between your own union ~~xx~~ and your employers. And, when there's a difference among you, you bind yourself together and you forget about differences, if you have to go on a picket line or fight hard for your position. But you lose more every year that inflation and the increase of the cost of the national debt than you can possibly gain by the most successful contract. And we all to forget in an election year, it is time again for working people of this ~~xxxx~~ country to

bind ourselves together and to fight just as hard, just as unified as you do in the tough negotiation days of a new contract. Since 1968, alone,, your food prices have gone up 70%. The price of a home has gone up 70%. The price of health care has gone up 60%. The average home in 1968 cost \$30,000. The average home now, the same home, costs \$46,000. That's a \$16,000 increase in the price of exactly the same quality home. At the same time, interest rates have gone sky high. , as you know, that these days it is much more difficult for the average family to own a home. For 70 years, mostly under Democrats, we've built up the concept of home ownership in our country. The FHA, the low interest rate, the encouragement of was very good. And, by 1970, we had over 50% of all the American families in this country to own their own home. In just 8 years, the work of those 70 years has been wiped out by Nixon and Ford. And now less than 1/3 of the American people own their own home. We ~~xxx~~ talk about fiscal responsibility. I've worked all my life on a farm. My families been in Georgia for a long time, over 200 years. We've all been farmers, have all worked with our hands. I know what it means to have a good life because my father and my grandfather didn't have - I'm the first personx in our family that ever finished high school. And I feel very deeply the need for us to have firm money management. When I've earned my salary, I've never wasted any of it. When I was Governor of Georgia, I never wasted any of the taxpayers money. So we've had a devastating blow to us working people the last 8 years. We've had more increase in the national debt in the last 8 years, almost all the other administrations in the history of our 200 year republic put

Just the interest on the increase in the national debt in the last 8 years cost every family represented here \$350 per year. That's what you pay in taxes just to pay the interest. And that's a

. That really hurts us deeply. Another thing that I'd like to point out is this. The present incumbent of the White House was interviewed by U.S. News and World Report a week or so ago, and they said why should anybody vote for you, Mr. Ford, in Florida. And he said because I've turned the economy around. Mr. Ford took office in August of 1974. There were 5 million people out of work. Now there are 7-1/2 million people out of work. - He's turned it around all right. There's a 50 percent increase in the number of people out of work in just 2 years. Just 2 years.

why he was so reluctant to let Government do anything about jobs. Why his vetoes jobs bills. Why a proposal of his own. Well, he said, I prefer to have jobs in the private sector. That suits me, too. It suits most of you. always rather have jobs in the private sector than we would have the taxpayers paying our salary. - But let's look at that. Not counting farm labor, we have fewer people employed in the private sector now than we did in August of 1974, when Mr. Ford office. This is a very bad situation. And I'm just trying now for Mr. Ford to come forward and explain about his policies on unemployment, on inflation, on health care, welfare, medicaid. But he's not done that. The time to debate tough issues as you know is during the election campaign. But he's not out meeting people in lines, shopping centers, in the streets, union halls. He's hiding in the White House, not willing to face the American people and to account for what he's done.

We Democrats have always run on our record. Sometimes we make mistakes. But we've never been afraid to go out there and listen to questions and give our excuses or our reasons. And learn in the process how to be better in the future. I saw in the newspaper about two weeks ago that Mr. Ford had had a joke writer. He paid him \$40,000 a year. I guess many people feel better who are ^{out} of jobs that were paying so much more for . Well, it's one joke that a joke's , because we're paying a salary for that \$40,000 a year joke writer. You're paying it and I'm paying it and he's my opponent. Well, ~~kk~~ he's not going to have much to laugh about between now and January.

As all of you know, I began my campaign 21 months ago from alongside as a candidate who didn't have an organization, not much money, very few people knew who I was, I didn't hold public office. Therefore, I can be . I thought I understood the American people well enough to sell myself to them. And I went from one to another, sometimes met 3 or 4 people at a time. And one labor hall to another, sometimes ~~3xxxx3xxxx~~ people would ~~xxxx~~ be there.

just telling people who I was. And after telling them who I was they would go before I would have a chance to tell them what I was running for. But I tried and just a few at a time knew that I was listening to their problems and take their advice and that I was genuinely interested in them. to build a campaign organization and many of you helped me all over the country and I appreciate it. But my strength and my support and my advice

and my counsel and my criticism have come from people like you all over the country. And I want to make a flat statement to you. I owe the special interests nothing, I owe the people like you everything and I'm going to keep it that way.

all of us in this room. And that's a basic difference between the two parties. Now we have a lot of differences in the Democratic party, you all know that. You probably have differences within your own labor union. Maybe I've exaggerated too much. The Democrats can be different but we don't change very many things. And neither do you. The basic thrust of the labor movement in this country, the basic thrust of the Democratic party, has been the same. Monday morning I went to Warm Springs, Georgia, to make my opening speech of the most important election campaign that I'll ever run. I thought about where to go and I finally decided to go there for two reasons: (1) Fifty years ago this year Franklin Roosevelt, handicapped and stricken down by polio, purchased Warm Springs and those years, back in '26, '28, '30, he would go there for treatment, to pray, to think, to study, to learn. He was a rich man, as you know, his family was very prominent. But because he was afflicted physically, he understood the consciousness of people who were afflicted under the Hoover administration. He decided to run for President in 1932. He ran against a decent man in the White House, a well-intentioned man, Mr. Hoover. But, , he was timid He

without
to understanding the people's jobs, that needed better health
care, better self-respect, better hope for the future and to eliminate

fear. There was no minimum wage then. Roosevelt, and the Democratic Congress, insisted on the minimum wage. Some of you as old as I remember it - 25 centsx an hour. 95% of the Republicans in the Congress voted against a minimum wage of 25 cents. I got my first job before the war when I finished high school in 1941. the wage had gone up to 40 cents an hour. Republicans still opposed it.

Rural Electrification

Administration established to set a *minimum* in my home and so we could have running water in the house. The Republicans opposed it. He put forth the proposition of social security. There were 95 House members who were Republican, 94 of them voted against social security. This was a man *through* with the strength of the labor movement behind him, with the concept of the Democratic party as his base, and he understood and worked for the average people in this country

died at Warm Springs. Harry Truman became President. He was a common man but he was an uncommon President. He had a lot of courage, he fought for us and we believed in him. I don't believe he ever told us a lie. Truman had a motto that he stuck with - thick or thin. He had a flag on his desk, in the oval office. Does anybody know what it said? The buck stops here. Nowadays the buck goes all over Washington looking for a place to stop.

Everytime there was a problem when Truman was President in our own ship of state we knew who the Captain was, right? But now a days when the ship of our own state runs a gorund Watergate, CIA, iFBI, Medicaid, , Unemployment, inflation, the Captain and the course

sets around on how to lay the blame on somebody else. THIS is the kind of leadership we had in Washington now and that is where our country is just drifting. We have no leadership I believe in a strong congress. Ibbelieve in a strong President and the right to run an office with mutual respect and mutual appreciation

exactly the same constituents. If I run for President I intend to be your Congressman,will have you as a constitutant, your Mayor will have you as a constituent your Governor will have you as a constituent, and I will have you as a constituent. It is very

you, Mayor, Congress, Governor, kPresident all share the responsiblity for the defect in our everyday lives and not because of holding each other at arms, arguing, throughly blamed for the country and gets worse and worse. we have strong

leadership and then a course came with John Kennedy. He made one stop in Georgia that stop was in Warm Springs. John Kennedy came there in 1960 to campaign. Leader advisors told him not to come they told him he was from a Northern state because he was liberal, because he was Catholic, because he was young and inexperienced but he came down to Warm Springs because of and he asked the Georgia people give me your support and when the returns came in John Kennedy got over 62% of the Geogria votes

more than what he got in Massachussettes which shows that the American people often are under estimated when the political _____ and the news media and others say that there is a prejudice that exists in the minds of the American people because of sections, because of race or religion they are wrong. It was proven in 1960 with John Kennedy and it has been proven so far in 1976 with Jimmy Carter and it better continue that way and that's not a surprise. I would like to give you just three statistics and I wish you would take them home with you. And every time you get a chance to talk to your own union leaders leadership, or to your friends or neighbors three basic problems that we have budget, gross management, inflation and unemployment. Under Jerald Ford he has made two budget proposals to the Congress. The average deficit was 50 billion dollars or more. The average with all of Nixon's and all of Fords 8 years over 24 Billion dollars in deficits, every year. Under Kennedy and Johnson even with the extra ordinary costs of the Vietnam war the average deficit was definitely less than 4 billion dollars a year. Harry Truman was President for 7 years, we didn't have an average deficit. We had an average surplus of 2 billion dollars. This shows the need for tight management, a close relationship between the President and the people and I believe that when people are productive that the FEderal Government can meet its needs and also not have run away deficits in our country. Inflation under President Ford the average inflation rate has been over 6% a year. Under President Kennedy the average inflation rate was less than 2% a year. When Harry Truman went out of office in 1952 the inflation rate was less than 1%. This shows again that in addition

for caring for people the Democrats have had good, sound, tough, confident, and business-like management in our government. Just take unemployment as a last statistic. When Truman went out of office, the unemployment rate was less than 3%. After Kennedy's and Johnson's term when Johnson went out of office the unemployment rate was less than 4%. Today, the last statistics of last month the unemployment rate was 7.9%. This again robs us all. We got 500 thousand more people out of jobs today than we had 3 months ago. This is a serious proposition. This is a dramatic difference between the basic concept of the two parties. If we can go on looking backwards in our records we don't mind looking forward either. We have got to have some basic changes in this country. The back of the store on Monday on the second day of November throughout this country I think we can make these changes without any trouble. We need a nationwide proper health care system for our people first of all. We now spend over \$550 for every man, woman and child in the United States for health care. But it is not good health care. When the Medicare bill was passed forward the Congress passed it, Jerald Ford voted against it and now he is in charge unfortunately of administering the Medicaid program. The Medicaid program stands almost 15 billion dollars. And furthermore just last week in Vail in all of that 15 billion dollars of your tax money and my tax money more than half of it was wasted or stolen. - We don't have even the present delivery of health care services measure up to the standards the American people ought to expect. Our Welfare system is a disgrace. We now have about 12 million people who are chronically on welfare on a regular bases. About 1/4 of them can't work full time, there is nothing

wrong with them physically or mentally. My proposal would be to get those people that can work out of the welfare system all together, put them under the responsibility of the Labor Department, Education Department, give them job training, education,

job placement agencies match them with a job. Offer them a job. If they are offered a job and they don't take it. I wouldn't pay them any more benefits. The other 80% can't work full time. You ought to treat them with respect and compassion and love.

teey build in he welfare system so that a mother can work parttime. She ought to be able to do it and not have her welfare payment compensated. Further un form nationwide pyaments and meet the basic necessities of life. They not only to accommodate cost of living changes from one community to another and we ought to prove the aspects of the welfare system is

leave the home or pretend to leave the home. The present welfare system is antiwork and antifamily. I believe that everything the Governmen does in pollution control, welfare, education, health crime control, transportation, taxation ought to be designed to combine standards together not separate them and protect our neighborhoods and if I am elected that's what's going to be done also. And one thing I know is a shame for a long time and that is the unfair tax structure. Our tax structure disgrace to the human race. The average family in this country that makes less than \$10,000 a year pays a higher proportion of income taxes than does a family that makes more than a million dollars a year. Last year we had 622 people that made over \$100,000 that paid zero taxes. and when they don't pay their taxes, do you know who

pays them for them? (We do.) Absolutely. We need comprehensive, total tax reform. You can't do it one paragraph at a time because if you do it one paragraph at a time and there are 40,000 pages in the tax goal, you don't know and I don't know what's going on. For the special interest group that has a privilege there is about to be a little bicker of what's going on. And they focus their full attention from that change from being made. So if I am elected this November I trust you we are going to have comprehensive, total tax reform and make it fair for a change.

9/15/76

TO: RON NESSEN

FROM: FRED SLIGHT

For your information

JIMMY CARTER SPEECH
Phoenix, Arizona
September 14, 1976

CARTER: "(joke about Republican something -- ~~inaudible~~) Well first of all I'm very glad to be here with you. This is one of the earliest community health care centers in the country. I was informed just a few minutes ago that Mrs. Roosevelt -- Eleanor Roosevelt who had the idea, who pursued it and who got a special ruling during the second World War assurance that you can have better health care. This is a problem that we struggled with in our country for many, many years. I grew up in an isolated farm area. My mother was a registered nurse. She still is, as a matter of fact. She's 78 years old this year and she's still young as anyone in this audience or on the stage. When she was 68 years old she volunteered to go to the Peace Corps in India and she served in India for 2 years as a registered nurse, actually as a doctor. We've had an opportunity in our country to learn the hard way about where you can get good health care and where you can't. I think even in Roosevelt's time there was a realization that health care was not adequate for us. Franklin Roosevelt, as you know, put forth the idea for Social Security to give those who had reached the retirement age to live in dignity and with self-respect in those long years after their working days were over. I might hasten to add as a Democrat that 95 percent, as a matter of fact we had 95 Republican Congress members in the House of Representatives -- 94 of them voted against Social Security and this has been a historic commitment of the Democrat to provide better health care for our

our people. Later on we came up with the Medicare program which was a promise of John Kennedy when he was President. He was not able to get Medicare passed, but he ran on that program. And of course Lyndon Johnson was able to get the Medicare program confirmed. I might add that then Congressman Gerald Ford voted against Medicare and all of you in this audience know how important it is to have some help with your rapidly increasing medical bills when you reach retirement age. Medicaid is another program, of course, that's come along that provides health care for those who are poor -- who may not yet have reached the retirement age, but who have no money to pay for health care. And Medicaid now is a program of about \$15 billion and we've been very concerned lately about the lack of proper administration of the Medicaid program. The Republican Administration in Washington has just not provided the tough, competent management to make our scarce health dollars go to help patients or to prevent disease. This is a national disgrace. We now have up to \$15 billion -- about $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ that's either stolen or wasted -- between \$4 and \$7 billion are wasted (off side comment -- plane flying overhead -- 'I'll wait then, looks like a lot of people are coming to see me and I don't mind') between \$4 and \$7 billion are wasted in the Medicaid each year according to a study by U.S. Senator Moss. This is not the kind of health care our people need. When an administration opposes the basic concepts of helping with public funds to provide good health care for our people, it's almost inevitable that the health care program will not be operated properly. Now the Congress saw

very early that there was a possibility for fraud, for stealing and for waste in our health delivery system. Recently the General Accounting Office, as a branch of the Congress, **has told HEW** to carry out 59 different corrective actions to insure that the end of fraud and stealing was a part of our health care program corrections. Only 11 of those, even after tremendous pressure, have been carried out. This is a very serious problem in our country too, because we haven't moved aggressively to correct those mistakes. We need to have tough fiscal and quality control in health care delivery. Fiscal to account for the money spent -- quality to make sure that people get the kind of health care that you need. We need to have an aggressive investigation within Health Education and Welfare Department to stamp out fraud -- a tough fraud unit to go into areas where good health care is not delivered, but where health care specialists ask for money to make sure that the waste is eliminated. We need to have simple penalties for Medicaid fraud. We now have several hundred-more than 400 doctors in this country that get over \$100,000 for Medicaid charges. There was one doctor in New York, according to Senator Moss, that got over \$500,000 in one year for health care that he was supposed to have delivered. Well, this not only robs the tax payers, but more importantly it hurts people who need good health care to prevent disease and who don't get it. We need to reorganize and reform HEW. I was just talking to your hospital administrator, the chairman of your board about the biggest problem that you have here and they said, Governor the biggest problem we have is that we don't know where the regulations

are coming from. We have different regulations at the local level, different regulations at the state level, different regulations at the federal level, they're always changing, **the're so complicated** nobody can carry them out. We spend too much time with paper-work -- not enough with actually dealing with people's needs. Medicaid is in one agency of the government -- Medicare is in a different agency of the government. Neither one of those agencies, by the way, have a thing in the world to do with health care. So you see that we have a very serious problem in the health care system. Now we need a President who understands this problem and who will do something about it. When I came home from the Navy back in 1953 I was asked to serve on the Sumpter County Hospital Authority and I served for a number of years -- about 10 years. Before that my Mother had that position. Before that my Uncle had that position -- now my Brother has that position -- to try to deal with health care for our people in our own area. I understand, I believe, the special problems of nursing homes, of in-patient care, of hospitals, of emergency care, of the relationship between nurses and doctors, administrators, the public funds paid in by taxpayers and the Medicaid and Medicare programs. What we need to do is to bring some order out of this care in providing good health care for our people. The average person last year -- every man, woman, and child -- paid \$550 each year for health care. This year the average family of 4, with their tax money (to direct payments?) will pay \$2,400 for health care. Now this is enough to give us a good health care system. But we don't have a good health care system in our country. You are

fortunate because you live near this good medical center that's been here so long, that's served so well in an area where the need is great. But even here the occupancy rate **only runs about** 82% and everytime you have those 18% of the beds empty, the ones who are in the 82% of the beds, they have to pay for those empty beds too. We don't have any close coordination in the provision of hospital beds. Another thing that we need, and this is the final thing that I would like to say before I answer some questions from you, is that we need a nationwide, comprehensive, mandatory health care system to make sure everybody in our country has good health care. Then we can be sure that poor people have a chance for health care before they actually get sick. As I mentioned last night at a fund raising for Congressman Udall, we did a statewide study in Georgia about health care. We found that poor women in rural counties had 20 times more cervical cancer than the wealthier women in the urban counties, the white women in the urban counties. This is just because women in the urban counties have some chance at least to see a doctor before they get sick, but those who live in isolated areas where doctors don't exist very seldom see a doctor until they get seriously sick. And if they don't have money and don't have transportation to go to a medical center, as you can well image, they wait until the last minute when it's a very serious problem before they seek medical care. Now other developed nations of the world -- everyone except us -- has a comprehensive, nationwide health care program, but we don't. If I'm elected President, that will be

one of my major responsibilities to you -- to provide this comprehensive health care system, and you can depend on it, and I want you to help me get elected so I can do it. **We need to** preserve the personal relationship between our doctors and our patients. We don't want government to take over the running of our entire health care system. We want patients to have a chance to choose where you're going to be treated, whether you're an in-patient or an out-patient, which doctor you prefer. That can be done very easily under a health care center for our country -- health care program. We also need to make sure that we have good correlation between public funds coming from the taxpayers and money coming from those who can afford health care -- from employers, from employees and from public funds. As you know now, a lot of the taxpayers in this country help finance the best part of your health care with Medicaid and Medicare and recent public opinion polls have shown that if there's one program that the American people are willing to pay for out of tax funds is good health care. Most of them are even willing to raise their taxes to make sure that they, their children, their parents, their relatives, their neighbors have good health care. So our country's ready for it, I'm ready for it, you're ready for it, we're going to have it. Let me say just a couple of more things and then I'd like to hear from you. I've come here to Arizona. This is my third trip since January of 1975 when I began my campaign. Congressman Udall said last night that so far as he knew almost the first time in Arizona history a Presidential nominee has come here to stay overnight to make several speeches to get to know people.

The last Presidential nominee that came here was in 1964 when President Johnson spent a couple of hours at the airport. I come here because about you. My own campaign is run among people listening, talking, letting you know what I stand for, trying to understand your problems, your needs so that when I'm in the White House next January I can serve you well. Now I need your help. It's not an easy thing to run against an incumbent President with a unified party. A lot of you have to work every day, 8 hours a day, a lot of you -- that only leaves you 16 hours a day to work for me and to get some rest. A lot of you have already retired and you love your country and you're looking for something good to do for your community or your nation and to be involved in shaping your own future or the future of your own children and grandchildren. Well I hope you'll be involved in the election this year. As you know, in the last few years we've been very disappointed with our country -- with Watergate, with the CIA revelation, with Viet Nam, with Cambodia, with the Medicaid scandal, with high unemployment, with high inflation -- we feel that something's happened to our country that we don't like. Well our country's still strong. It still can be in your hands. You can help shape what your nation is. You can help shape your own future lives. I've had a good time with our 21 month campaign. I've gotten to know a lot of people. A lot of people have gotten to know me. I'm still trying to learn. I'll be trying to learn when I'm in the White House. I don't claim to know all the answers, but I do need your help and if you'll help me together we'll have a nation that's great once again, of which we can be proud once

again, that doesn't cheat our taxpayers anymore and that gives good health care to our people. Thank you very much."

AUDIENCE MEMBER: " that I thought perhaps one of the challenges we were facing generally is to coordinate better planning efforts in the health care field generally, and particularly planning in the area of hospitals. Are there alternatives to the construction of hospitals? Might we want to pay attention to things such as care centers and could we please have your views on that?"

CARTER: "One problem that we have now is that there is no planning for the future and everytime somebody says that, unfortunately the federal buracracy in Washington creates another planning agency. We need a planning agency just to take care of all other planning agencies to make sure that their plans fit one another. This is a problem -- we now 72 different agencies in the federal government responsible for physical health care. We've got 37 that I know of responsible for mental health care. As I told you awhile ago these are in 10 major departments, different departments. Medicaid's in one agency, Medicare's in another one. Neither one of those has anything to do with health care. There's no way to decide in your lives or in your neighbor's life whether you get care at home, which is obviously the best place to get health care. I think many of your know from experience that no matter how good the hospital is, once you go to the hospital and get in a bed and say there 4 or 5 days it just seems like it's much more difficult to get over your affliction or your disease or your problem than if you could get some good health care

in your own home or come into an out-patient clinic like the fine one that you have here to get treatment and then go back home a live. In the (provision?) for food there's **another way that** elderly citizens, poor people, get better care at home. For the first part in any health care system ought to be to let our people live at home, be visited at that home, or come into an out-patient clinic or emergency care if they needed it or to call their doctor on the phone or have a nurse visit them under the direction of a doctor. We also need to make sure that we have an emphasis on the prevention of disease. If you can have a good medical examination every 6 months or every year an early detection of cancer, an early detection of high blood pressure, can be a very quick and very easy way to hold down the cost to you and your life, to hold down the cost to the taxpayers. Another part of our health care study in Georgia, for instance, term was this: we found, after testing 30,000 Georgia people with a communicable disease center, which happens to be located in Atlanta for the whole world, that it only cost \$3 to detect someone who might have a stroke. With a simple blood pressure test and a cholesterol analysis we can tell someone, no matter what their age might be, you might have stroke, and if you'll go to your family physicial he can give you or she can give you simple medication to hold down your blood pressure to prevent a terrible stroke. Once a person has a stroke, if that person has no money, it costs several thousands of dollars every year to take care of that person at public expense. So the prevention of disease if another aspect of health care that's not presently stressed.

I mentioned last night, and I mention often, when I was a young man growing up on the farm most of my relationship with doctors was to prevent disease. At that time some of you **who are as old** as I am remember that there was a terrible threat to us from typhus, typhoid, cholera, whooping cough, tetanus, even smallpox, diphtheria, polio -- most of those diseases now have pretty well been done away with because they were prevented by inoculations and immunizations. But you can still prevent stroke. You can still cut down the affliction of cancer with early detection to that regular physical examination is very important, is very inexpensive to all of us. We don't have that on a nationwide basis now. Another thing that we need to do is to have the additional use of non-medical doctors when the medical doctors are not there or when there are not enough of them -- registered nurses, practical nurses, physician's assistants and others, can provide good check-ups for you under the direct supervision of medical doctors. As you know we do this in many states now in mental health programs, but we don't have enough psychiatrists and people have been trained under the supervision of psychiatrists to take care of mentally retarded children and others who have mental disorders. So that's another place where we can improve greatly our health care system with proper planning -- is the use of others in addition to medical doctors to take care of your routine needs, medical doctors always supervising. Another thing that we need to do is to hold down the cost of drugs. Now quite often there's an additional cost to you because you have to buy certain brand names of drugs when exactly the same drug can be acquired by a local

hospital or a local pharmacist that doesn't have that particular brand name and this needs to be addressed very thoroughly. Way back in the early 1950's Senator (Keyfarber?), you know, **conducted** studies to show how much patients had to be charged over the regular price for drugs. We still haven't adequately dealt with that problem. And the last point I want to mention is this -- the insurance aspect. We need to have everybody in this country either paying for it themselves or their employers or from deductions from their paycheck or from public funds, have complete insurance coverage. There ought to be a package available to all of you -- all Americans -- to guarantee a minimum amount of health care. If there are special things that a patient wants to get, for instance, fact lifts for women and so forth they ought to pay for that themselves in my opinion, unless its a very serious disfigurement that might affect their lives adversely. But we need to move toward this comprehensive nationwide health care program with the realization of the federal government with a simple set of regulations that are adequate with emphasis on treatment in homes, secondly an out-patient clinic, third only inside hospitals and nursing homes with a new increased use of non-physicians and comprehensive insurance coverage. Those are some of the things that would have to comprise a good health care system in our country and that's what we're working on now in my own campaign, that's what we will implement in my administration within the four year period that you elect me next year."

AUDIENCE MEMBER:

and good health care
how do you feel about the directive(on the?)
the many chemicals we eat

and good health care
about
you just don't know

what you buy and how do you feel about policing

the FDA

?"

CARTER: "As you probably know, I'm sure you do, the Congress, in the last few years, has been trying to have much stricter requirements on adequate testing of drugs before their put on the market. We still don't have a law that requires that the drug manufacturer make available to the public the result of their tests of new medicines. They don't have to reveal that unless they want to. Now I don't think it's right to make a new drug manufacturer reveal the formula for that drug, which means it could be stolen. But I do think it ought to be required to reveal the tests that they've conducted on animals and perhaps sometimes on human beings to show whether the drug is safe or not. This has not been done. We also don't have an adequate program for the elimination of toxic substances. As you know, the keypone disaster in Virginia has put 3,500 fishermen out of work. It's been a deadly poison that's released into the waterways -- the James River around Norfolk, Virginia -- because our government didn't have adequate supervision over the use of new poisons that were involved in industrial uses and they've now affected the lives of people. So we need to have a much tougher law on testing of new medicines, revealing of the results of the tests and I think we should expedite to some degree the beneficial new medicines by at least partially using the results that have been derived from tests in foreign countries. In countries that we trust, like for instance, West Germany or England or France or perhaps Japan, if they've done tests on a drug for 7

years, I think we could cut down our time of tests to make it two years, combine our tests results with theirs and expedite very beneficial new drugs that could come to you. But **this whole drug** program is a hodge-podge and a mess and quite often we have new drugs put on the market that aren't tested adequately. We have beneficial drugs that are withheld from the market too long and the toxic substances or poisonous substances that are not used in drugs are also made available to the public and quite often create devastating consequences in the deterioration of our environment and the actual threat to our lives."

AUDIENCE MEMBER: "In the up-coming debate with President Ford..."

CARTER: "Did all of you hear that? The question was 'do I intend to raise the problems of the aging in the up-coming debates with President Ford?' And the last part of the question was 'please do.' That's an excellent question. I would like to do this. It's hard for me to anticipate what the debate format will be or which subjects will arise. Most of the comments will be in response to questions proposed to us. Of course, in answering the questions we have three minutes to answer the question and then the person who asked the question has two minutes, I believe, to follow-up with an additional question, and then either President Ford or I that didn't answer the question has a chance to cross-examine for two minutes. I'm sure that we'll have an adequate chance to discuss the special problems of the aging. So the answer's yes, I will raise it and I think it's a very important and a very strong position that the Democrats have as contrasted with the Republican record. I'd like to know, for instance, why

the Republicans -- almost 100% of them -- voted against Social Security. I'd like to know why President Ford voted against Medicare. I'd like to know why, after 8 years of a **Republican** Administration, we're still losing 25% to 50% of all the Medicaid -- Medicaid -- money that's supposed to be for good health care and why HEW in the Republican Administration hasn't enforced a law or listened to the GAO that says that these are 59 things you can cut down on fraud. I also would like to know why we haven't had a good comprehensive program of dealing with our senior citizens who are healthy. This is a very important consideration. We don't have an adequate assurance that the Social Security program will be sound. We don't have an adequate involvement in the White House decision-making processes of those who represent the elderly. And I have promised the retired citizens in Florida, during the primary there last March, that when I'm elected President, in the White House on my top staff, always at my shoulder there will be someone who has only one responsibility -- to the senior citizens of our nation. And everytime I make a decision about housing or transportation or welfare or Social Security of health care or taxation, I want to be sure that the senior citizens are always remembered when those decisions are made. And I guarantee you that in addition to that White House staff member my Mother always lets me know what I ought to do to take care of our senior citizens. But don't let anybody tell her that I called her a senior citizens, because she thinks she's just as young as I am. We have time for one more question ... "

CARTER: "The massive spending of the military as it relates to health care. The number one responsibility of any President is to guarantee the security of our country. A freedom of the fear of the successful attack or blackmail and an ability to carry out our nation's obligations to our national allies in France in Europe in this hemisphere, in Japan and otherwise. So I would never do anything to weaken our country. I'm a graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy. I was in the Navy, counting my college years, for 11 years. I served most of my sea duty in submarines, and I know how important it is to have a good military capability to protect our country. But we have a gross amount of waste and confusion in the military now -- in the Pentagon. So I'm going to try to combine an elimination of the waste and confusion, at least 5% of our total military budget and let the function of our military be narrowly focused on an ability to fight and have a tough muscular well-organized fighting force, so that we can make sure that with that strength we can insure peace and we don't have to fight. So I'll keep a good strong military, but I'm going to try to eliminate the waste and confusion which I would estimate this year would amount to \$5 to \$7 billion dollars which is about 5%. Now we've got too many military bases overseas, about 2,000. We've got too many Admirals and Generals. As a matter of fact, we've got more Admirals and Generals now than we had at the end of the second World War. (So) we have 5 times as many people in uniform. We've got too much impetus on moving military personnel from one base to another..." (end of tape)

It's a tough job to defeat an incumbent President backed by a unified Party and that's what we face in this next 7 weeks. Both the Ford ticket and my ticket with Senator Mondale, will have the same amount of money to spend - about \$21.8 million. We don't have to get contributions because the campaign is financed by people like you - 44 million Americans who over a 4 year period have contributed \$1 per person when you filed your income tax returns. So the incumbent President and I will have the same amount of money to spend. Our advertising budget will be about the same. Our travel schedule, our field workers, all about the same. The difference lies in you - the people of this country who are not powerful, not influential, not selfish, but just want to be treated fairly for a change. The degree to which you help this next seven weeks can determine not only the outcome of the election, but the future quality of your lives, the lives of your children for generations to come. Now you've been often involved in tough contract negotiations for wage settlements and retirement benefits and the prerogatives of working people. And you stick together and you work hard, and if a strike has to be called, you back one another, as a unified effort in the labor movement.

But even larger stakes are involved in the election of a President and in the choice of a party.

James Carter - In Dearborn Michigan

September 15, 1976

.. but even larger stakes are involved in the election of a President and in the choice of a Party to lead this country for the next four, five or eight years. Think back - McKinley, Coolidge, Hoover, Nixon - think back - Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, Johnson. The more you look back to those men's lives - it makes so much difference in your lives - to the stream that flows to the political structure of our country that doesn't change every time an election is held. We are going to be talking about tough issues in the next seven weeks. I am prepared to debate them -- daily and on the TV spectaculars that will start in about a week. I urge you to listen carefully, get involved, fight hard, be unified and explain to those who look to you for leadership how lives can be affected by the choice of a leader of this country. Sometimes two candidates can debate and the audience stays confused. I have tried to think of a story to illustrate this point. The only one I could think of was about a young divinity student who was very proud of his pure reputation. He always went to church, he studied hard, he never had dates and he wanted to be sure that everyone thought he was very, very holy and very pure. One night he went to a restaurant. The restaurant was crowded. He sat down at one of the booths that were available - there were four seats - he only took one of them. After while a nice looking young girl came in and she looked all around and couldn't find another place to sit, so she sat down with him. He was very embarrassed. He leaned over and said, "I'm very glad to have you here. I'm a divinity student, I don't have a date, but I think we can sit together because it is so crowded." She screamed in a loud voice, "To your hotel room!" He said, "No, I didn't say anything about a hotel room, just that I'm glad we're sitting here together." She shouted, "To spend the whole night?" He said, "You've embarrassed me terribly, what are you talking about?" She said, "Well, to tell the truth, I'm a psychology student and my professor said I had to say something startling to someone I met and see what

the audience reaction was. I didn't mean any harm by it." So he shouted at the top of his voice, "\$50!" You can see from this story that sometimes in the heat of a debate, one side says something, one side says another, and those who are listening are quite confused. Quite often the facts can be concealed. Tonight I want to talk to you about the two parties and about this campaign. Over the last eight years the Republican Administration has given the American people the worst economic record since the great depression. And don't forget it. I have described before many times, the culmination of high unemployment, high inflation, high budget deficits, a combination unprecedented in the history of our country, which has brought lay-offs to one-third of all the families in the United States. It's imposed a tax, a hidden tax of inflation, on us all, and has lowered the American workers' family standard of living for the first time in over 25 years. Tonight I would like to discuss the reasons why. I would like to tell you about nine (9) economic errors over the Nixon and Ford years - 9 mistakes that have caused our current economic crisis. Richard Nixon made the first mistake almost as soon as he took office. He announced in 1969 that the government would have no interest when major companies decided to raise their prices whether they were warranted raises or not. The result was predictable - prices rose faster than at any time since the Korean War the first year of Richard Nixon's term as the prices would rise later through inflation. Nixon made his second mistake by overreacting to the first one. After less than a year in office he decided it was time to fight inflation by putting people out of work - high interest rates, tight fiscal policy, manufacturing slowed down and workers were laid off and soon the unemployment rate rose from 3.4% when he took over to 5.9% in just two years. During Richard Nixon's first two years in the White House, 2.2 million Americans joined the unemployment roles. Later, Gerald Ford rushed to beat that record in just six. Having created a recession, the Republicans overreacted again and made their third mistake. It was called "The New Economic Policy" and it was designed to

reduce unemployment by holding down prices through wage and price controls. But it was a short-sighted plan by an operation. The sporadic freezes and the different phases disrupted the economy and paralyzed its growth. Rigid, over-bureaucratic control schemes created bottle-necks and shortages throughout the economy and such poorly controlled controls could not be allowed forever. And when they were taken off, prices soared again. The aftermath of a new economic policy of Richard Nixon was a 13% inflation rate, the worst of modern times. The fourth mistake came in 1972 when Nixon tried to play the expedient game of election-year politics. He tried to pump up the economy using massive federal spending and politics in an attempt to get people back to work before election day. But this unplanned, careless influx of money did nothing to restore the economy's basic health. It created further bottle-necks and while unemployment remained high, inflation got even worse. After the election Nixon made his fifth major mistake. A poor harvest around the world and international shortages of certain commodities had already set the stage for further inflation, but Republican policies quickly made it much worse. The massive clandestine secret sale of wheat to Russia not only cheated the American farmer, it left the American consumer fully unprotected against inflation. During the year following this grain sale food prices rose by 20%, more than they had risen during the whole eight years of the Kennedy-Johnson Administrations combined. The Republicans then made their sixth economic mistake. It was the last swing back to fighting inflation. Beginning in the summer of 1973, the Federal Reserve Board tried to cut back the money supply. Interest rates soared, buying anything was very expensive, but buying a house was worse. Tight money meant that you had to put up a larger down-payment and then take a mortgage of 10% interest or more, if you could^{at} one at all. In three years, the number of new housing units fell by 60%. The unemployment rate in the housing industry, as you well know, is still above 17%. When Richard Nixon resigned, Gerald Ford inherited a difficult situation. But in a few short

weeks he turned difficulty into disaster. In October of 1974 Ford made his first economic mistake, the seventh of the Republican Administration. On the verge of the Nation's first post-war recession, Ford put on his WIN button and asked the government to raise taxes. Listen to this: By the end of Ford's first six months in office, 2.3 million more Americans were unemployed. No more was heard of the famous WIN button. If Congress had agreed to these disastrous plans to raise taxes, many more millions of people would have been out of work. Congress also refused to join in the eighth and probably the most disastrous of the Nixon and Ford errors -- the deliberate attempt to raise energy prices. The nation does need to preserve and conserve fuel, but Mr. Ford's crude^{petroleum} were designed to save gasoline by making sure that no one had a job to drive to. That's the wrong way to deal with unemployment and energy policy. Typical of President Ford - he was still not satisfied. Unemployment increased by another \$800,000 in the next six months of Gerald Ford's term. If Congress had agreed with this energy price increase mistake, the recession of 1974 and 1975 would, of course, have been much worse. In this last 18 months, Ford has made the ninth, and hopefully, with your help, the last, economic mistake. His policies have carefully and consistently destroyed precisely the programs that could reduce unemployment and increase productivity by training and placing workers in jobs that the Nation needs to have done. That is the Republican record. The Republicans have had their innings - no runs, few hits, nine errors.

Recently in a U. S. News and World Report interview Mr. Ford said he was proudest of the way he had turned the economy around. It is hard to believe, but it's true. Let us look at this a little more closely for just a minute. Let's compare the rhetoric with the reality. Unemployment - Only a few months ago Mr. Ford's advisors predicted that unemployment by the end of this year would be down well below 7%. Since then, it has only gotten worse. The unemployment rate reached 7.3% in May and 7.9% last month. Only once since the Hoover depression has the unemployment rate ever been higher. That was also under the administration

of Gerald R. Ford. Mr. Ford says there's a recovery. He says he ought to be elected President again (or for the first time, rather) because he has turned the economy around. Well, there are 50% more people out of work now than on the day he took office and there are 500,000 Americans who are now out of work more than there were just three months ago. There is no way to balance a budget, there is no way to end an inflationary spiral as long as we've got 8 ½ million Americans out of work and looking for a job. The reason unemployment remains so high is that this Administration is willing to tolerate it. They have become the party of welfare instead of work and we've got to change that, beginning next January.

Let's talk just a minute about inflation. The Republicans say that they are the party who have found sound fiscal management that can control inflation. Yet the last eight years has brought on the worst inflation in a generation. During the entire period from 1949 through 1969 when Nixon went into office through war years and peace years, through Democratic years and Republican years, the inflation rate averaged 2.2%, about 2% a year. This Republican Administration produced 6% inflation in 1969, their first year in the White House, and we still have a 6% inflation rate today. If we judge them by their record, as they want us to, we can only assume that the Republicans will continue to rob our people 6% every year as long as they're in office. That has got to be stopped. Next year, with your help, we'll stop that too.

Now, to set the record straight, let's talk just a minute about balanced budgets. The Republicans say they are the party of fiscal responsibility. But their record shows the worst fiscal management in the history of our country. The White House budget alone has increased by almost 350% since Richard Nixon was elected President. The deficit for this year ended at \$65 billion, the largest deficit in history. His average requests to Congress is over \$50 billion deficit a year, a billion dollars a week. It is larger than the deficit for all eight Kennedy-Johnson years combined. This proves something very important and we'll remember it. The best

way to halt our budget problems, to meet the needs of our people, to control inflation, is very simple -- to put our people back to work.

Let's talk about housing. The Republican stand on housing is one of their campaign issues. If I were they, I would be embarrassed to say the word "housing". But they threw the construction industry, as you know, into a depression. The cost of a new house, to your family and mine, has increased an average of 50%, from an average of \$30,000 in 1969, to an average of \$46,000 for the same house in 1976, an increase of \$16,000. Interest rates - also up - 50% in eight years. When Lyndon Johnson left office more than half the American families could afford to buy a new house. Now, eight years later, less than 1/3 of the families in this country can afford to buy a new house. Talk about economic growth. The Republicans say they are for strong, economic growth. But, the economy has grown more slowly in the last eight years than at any time since the Hoover depression. The real value of the gross national product actually has declined each year that Gerald Ford has been President of our country. The average worker's weekly paycheck buys less today than it bought in 1968. Now, that sets the record straight on what the Republicans have brought us.

Let's talk just a minute about this campaign. I understand that my opponent made his kick-off speech today in Michigan and some people say that tonight marks the official opening of the campaign of 1976. I am glad to see this final and reluctant emergence from the Rose Garden. But I think in a larger sense this Presidential campaign began a long time ago. My opponent and I and the two parties we represent do not exist in isolation, but we are part of a current of history. In that sense the campaign was on the way in 1932 when his party nominated Herbert Hoover and ours nominated Franklin Roosevelt. This campaign continued in 1948 (go ahead and clap). As you might know, I started my campaign last week in Warm Springs. Warm Springs was purchased by Roosevelt in 1926, fifty years ago. His life had almost been destroyed by polio and he went down there to restore

his soul and his body, to pray and to think and to plan for the future. When he ran for President in 1932 he defeated Herbert Hoover. Hoover was a decent man, a well-intentioned man, perhaps, but he didn't see his responsibility to try to ease the handicap of people without jobs and without hope and they were discouraged.

But Roosevelt moved/ ^{forward} in the tradition of the Democratic party. He had confidence in us and he helped us. He proposed a \$25¢ an hour minimum wage - 25¢ - the Democratic party platform. 95% of the Republicans in Congress voted against it. He gave rural electrification to farm homes like mine. He thought people should have security in their old age and he put forth Social Security. There were 95 Republican House members, 94 voted against Social Security. That draws a distinct difference between this good man, Franklin Roosevelt, in the tradition of the Democratic Party, and Herbert Hoover, in the tradition of the Republican party. That's where this campaign began. Our campaign continued in 1948 when their party nominated Thomas Dewey and ours nominated Harry Truman. Harry Truman was a common man, like many of you and like myself, but he was an uncommon President. He understood and he was courageous. He made tough decisions and never backed off. He never separated from us. I never thought he told us a lie. He didn't hesitate when he came to NATO, Marshall Plan, Aid to Turkey and Greece, recognizing his role for the United Nations, dealing with businessmen, workers, lives were at stake. He had a sign on his desk in the oval office. Does anyone know what it said - "The Buck Stops Here". We knew that he was President. Nowadays the buck can run all over Washington looking for a place to stop. Nobody is in charge, nobody is responsible - for Watergate, CIA, unemployment, inflation, the medicaid scandals, nobody's in charge. That's in the tradition of the Republican party.

Our campaign continued in 1952 when his party nominated Dwight Eisenhower and ours nominated Adlai Stevenson. The campaign continued in 1960 when his party nominated Richard Nixon and ours nominated John Fitzgerald Kennedy. John Kennedy also came to Warm Springs, Georgia. It was his only stop in our region.

His staff said, "Don't go there because Georgia is a conservative state. A lot of Protestants, they don't know you. You're a liberal, you're from Boston. But John Kennedy came down to Warm Springs and made one speech. He asked the Georgia people to give him our support. When the returns came in in 1960, John Fitzgerald Kennedy got his biggest margin of victory not in Massachusetts, but in the State of Georgia. Our campaign in 1964, Ford's party nominated Barry Goldwater and ours nominated Lyndon Johnson. The campaign continued in 1968 when his party nominated Richard Nixon for the second time and ours nominated Hubert Humphrey. The campaign continued in 1972 when his party turned again to Richard Nixon, for the third time, and ours nominated George McGovern. Now, we haven't won all those elections, but the point is that if you look at the difference between the parties and what they stand for, judged by the nominees, there is a constant reminder to the working people of this country about which party and which candidate are best for you. This campaign has been joined a hundred times over, wherever our party has fought for legislation that would benefit the average American, for Social Security, for minimum wage laws, for rural electrification, for voting rights, for civil rights, for Medicare, and our opponent's party has fought against all that progress. This year the lines are drawn with special clarity. For my opponent during his long career in Congress, has distinguished himself not by any legislation as I can recall that bears his name. His congressional record can equal his record in the White House.

all the great legislation that bears the names of Democrats who cared for people and who were not controlled by special interests. There has never been an American election quite like this one. We have had economic problems before. We have had poor leadership before, but we have never had such wide-spread lack of trust among the American people in their own government. Because of a war the people did not vote, because of scandal our people did not vote, because of economic mismanagement