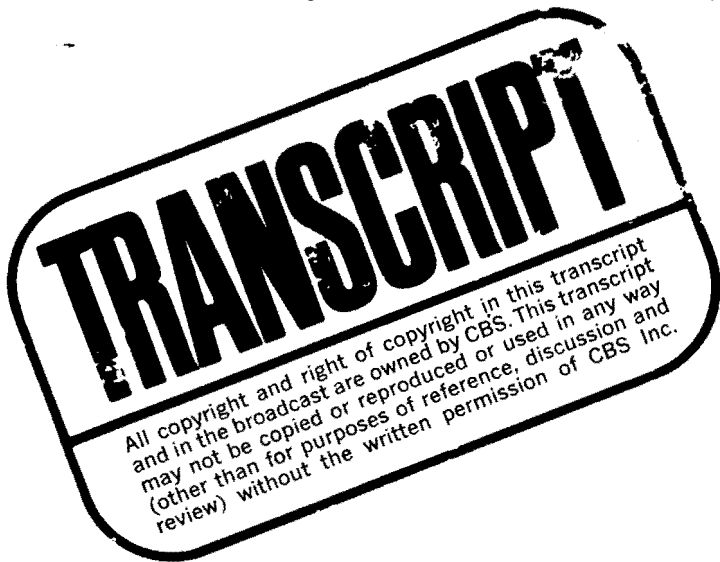


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J. Barbieri  
Pres Office*



CBS NEWS  
2020 M Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20036

FACE THE NATION

as broadcast over the  
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Origination: Washington, D. C.

GUEST: JIMMY CARTER  
Democratic Presidential Candidate

REPORTERS:

George Herman, CBS News

Jules Witcover, The Washington Post

Ed Rabel, CBS News

Producer: Mary O. Yates

Associate Producer: Joan Barone

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HERMAN: Mr. Carter, you had some very kind things to say about Governor George Wallace when you were campaigning for the governorship in 1970; you had some very kind things to say about Henry Jackson when you nominated the senator in 1972. What's happened to them since that you think they must be beaten?

MR. CARTER: The only thing I ever said about George Wallace was that he had a right to speak in Georgia, when my opponent who ran for governor against me had refused to let Wallace come into Georgia to make public speeches. But Jackson had a very good record back in the early days. He was a very strong supporter of John Kennedy; he was considered to be vice presidential material; he was the Chairman of the Democratic Party under Kennedy; had a good record on civil rights. But I think I am better qualified to be President, and am looking forward to beating both of them on issues, not on personalities, and don't have any apology to make about what I've done concerning the nomination of Jackson back in '72.

ANNOUNCER: From CBS News, Washington, a spontaneous and unrehearsed news interview on FACE THE NATION, with Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter, formerly Governor of Georgia. Governor Carter will be questioned by CBS News Correspondent Ed Rabel, Washington Post Reporter Jules Witcover, and CBS News Correspondent George Herman.

HERMAN: Governor, before we get on to where Jimmy Carter stands on certain issues, I'd like to go back to your first question and explore part of it. You were talking about Senator Jackson, and you said--and I think you used the past tense--he did have very good position on various things. Do you think he has changed and no longer does

have a good position on these issues?

MR. CARTER: Well, I think that Scoop Jackson, back in the '50's and '60's, when it was a very difficult question concerning civil rights and environmental quality, was an innovator there, and did a good job. In 1971, I think before Senator Jackson announced publicly that he would be a candidate, he asked me if I would nominate him at the Miami convention. I had never been to a Democratic Convention until then, and I said that I would. And I then had a good opinion of him and still do. I don't think that Scoop is the best qualified to be--person to be President of this country; I think I am--but I certainly wouldn't disavow a long-standing friendship. I've known Scoop since I was working under Admiral Rickover on the atomic submarine program and he was a junior member of Congress involved with atomic energy; so I don't have any apology to make about a long-standing friendship with Scoop. As I said, I don't think he's the best person to be President.

WITCOVER: Governor, concerning the other gentleman George inquired about, Governor Wallace--

MR. CARTER: Yes.

WITCOVER: --do you believe that George Wallace is physically fit to run for and serve as President?

MR. CARTER: Well, that's not a judgment for me to make. I personally believe that the tough campaign for President, as has presently been described by the state legislatures and the Democratic Party, is an adequate testing program for him, and for me and the other candidates. We'll have about thirty primaries. He claims that he'll be in all the



primaries except New Hampshire. And I'll be there to meet him head-on in every one of those primaries. I'm going to enter all the primaries. And I think this is a kind of an ordeal for some people--it happens to be a pleasure for me--that will be a screening-out process, that's a normal part of the American political scene. And I think that Wallace's physical ability is best determined by how vigorously he campaigns, how he demonstrates his ability as a candidate, because obviously, he can't be any better President than he is a candidate. So his stand on issues and his physical vigor will be determined there, I think, adequately.

RABEL: Governor, in an earlier response, you said you had invited--or would invite Governor Wallace to Georgia. A lot of people looked upon that as opportunism, and as a matter of fact, you've been criticized because in October of '70, when you were running for governor, you attended a Lester Maddox appreciation dinner in Columbus, Georgia, which--and Maddox, of course, was running on the same ticket with you for lieutenant governor--and you were quoted then as saying that Maddox is the essence of the Democratic Party, he has compassion for the ordinary man, I am proud to be on the ticket with him. Now did you say that, and why?

MR. CARTER: Well, the essence statement was made because--I said that Maddox's inclination to go directly to people individually and not be endorsed by nor supported by political big shots was the essence of what the Democratic Party was politically. You have to remember that in Georgia the Democratic nominee for governor and the Democratic nominee for lieutenant governor are not associated at all in politics together. Each one runs individually; there's no collusion

between them; they run their own campaigns and quite often are bitter enemies. After he and I were both nominated, of course, we were the Democratic ticket. And I think anyone who knows Georgia politics would avow that he and I have been bitter and constant political enemies. But as the other member of the Democratic Party ticket, I did support his election, and I think that was a normal and a right thing to do.

RABEL: Well, you characterized yourself at that time as being a redneck, and as a matter of fact, did you not say that you were proud to have him on the ticket?

MR. CARTER: Yes, well, I was. You know, compared to the Republican ticket, both running against Maddox and the one running against myself, I thought we had the best ticket.

HERMAN: Governor, you said in your nomination of Senator Jackson, he will give every child the right to develop his God-given talents without force or coercion or restraint. Does that apply--is that a hidden code-word reference to busing?

MR. CARTER: No, I don't look on that at all as that--

HERMAN: Where does force and coercion and restraint come in in the school?

MR. CARTER: Well, that quote was designed to point out that in the 1950's and when integration of the schools was a very vivid and very important issue, that Jackson was, I think, in the forefront of spelling out logical approaches to integration, which were later adopted by the Congress. I think Scoop did a--had a good record on that. I personally am not in favor of mandatory busing myself. I think the volunteer busing plan that we have in Atlanta is the best

approach to it, and I also believe that the passage of the Civil Rights Act--Acts--some of which were supported by Senator Jackson, are the best thing that ever happened to the south.

HERMAN: Are you in favor of obeying court orders for mandatory busing?

MR. CARTER: Yes, although I do favor voluntary busing instead of mandatory busing, I will be, as President, sworn to uphold the law. And if a federal court rules differently than I personally favor in school busing, I would certainly support the courts.

WITCOVER: Governor, one of the places where busing certainly will be an issue will be the Florida primary, where you're going head-on against Governor Wallace. Why shouldn't you be expected to win down there? After all, you've been in the state about 20 times; it's a neighboring state; I think your wife has a lot of friends in Florida. Why shouldn't you win down there?

MR. CARTER: Well, I--have I said I wouldn't win? I'm just not predicting, you know, point-blank, how I'll do in any of the primaries. But I've got a good chance to win in Florida.

WITCOVER: I thought you said you didn't expect to win, that you expected to run a good second.

MR. CARTER: Week before last was the first time that I ever said that I thought I would win in Florida, and I was trying to be accurate about it, and think I was. But the later developments that have taken place as we have repeatedly gone to Florida, and have sized up my own strength compared to that of Governor Wallace--who will be my only major opponent, I believe, in Florida--have convinced me that I have an excellent chance now to win. But until two weeks ago, I had a very

serious doubt that I could beat Wallace in Florida.

WITCOVER: Well, do you think your campaign may collapse if you fail to beat him in Florida?

MR. CARTER: No--

WITCOVER: Why not?

MR. CARTER: --there's no way that I would withdraw from the race. As I said we have 30 or 31 primaries--we don't know exactly how many yet--and I'll be in all of them. And one temporary setback in Florida, which I don't expect to occur--would not deter me at all. I'll be there when the last vote's counted in Madison Square Garden next July, and expect to be the President.

HERMAN: I take it from what you've said that you do not think Senator Jackson's late entry into Florida makes him a major contender there.

MR. CARTER: I think Scoop in 1972 got about twelve per cent of the votes, and I would predict that he won't get as many as ten per cent in 1976. I might point out that Florida is the tenth state to choose delegates. I will have been in nine previous ones to Florida, and I think I'll come into Florida with a demonstrated ability to get votes and support all over the country, beginning in Iowa on the nineteenth of January, and then going to other states like Mississippi and Oklahoma, Maine, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Alaska; so when I get to Florida, I will have already been tested pretty severely in all parts of the nation. And the next week, of course, we go to Illinois, and later on to others. But I'm laying down the groundwork for a successful campaign, I believe, all over the country.

RABEL: Governor, did you make any kind of a compact or agreement with any of the other Democratic candidates that you would be basically the only candidate against Wallace in Florida?

MR. CARTER: No. Eight or ten months ago, when I first began going to Florida, I was at the bottom of the list. Udall, Jackson, Bentsen and others were going down to Florida quite frequently, looking for support. I think we just outworked them. And as they saw that their own campaigns were not viable, they themselves decided now much time to put in on Florida. I wish they would all come into Florida, campaign aggressively. And neither I nor anyone on my staff has ever suggested that the other candidates not come into Florida. As a matter of fact, their names will be on the ballot, and they're going to come in, I think, a very distant third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh. I'll be up at the top.

RABEL: Why do you think it's necessary to stop George Wallace? I mean, you've emerged as the candidate who is going to be out there to get him. Why do you think that's important, to stop him next year?

MR. CARTER: Well, it's not important particularly to stop George Wallace. I'm not running as an anti-Wallace candidate. As a matter of fact, in Iowa, the first state, I don't think Wallace will be a factor. In the second state, Mississippi, I'll have a different candidate, who probably won't be Wallace as a major opponent. In Oklahoma he won't be a factor; in South Carolina, a very slight factor. In New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Wallace won't be a major factor. It just happens that Florida is the first time that I'll meet Wallace head-on, and it's going to be a Jimmy Carter-George Wallace battle. But I'll face any candidate who runs for President next year, with a great deal

of anticipation and confidence. I think I can do well.

HERMAN: Do you detect any unwritten, unspoken agreements or whatever by other Democratic candidates that you are the man who shall beat George Wallace for them in some of the states, and that they'll leave you alone in certain states?

If--  
MR. CARTER: there may be among them. I haven't been a party to it. It's very interesting--

HERMAN: Do you detect any, or do you feel any such things happening?

MR. CARTER: Well, the interesting thing is that these candidates who get up in front of audiences and say, I'll never serve on a ticket with George Wallace, and then wait for the applause--when you go into a state where Wallace is strong, you don't ever find those guys there; they're always somewhere else. But I don't have any hesitancy about running aggressively and putting my **political** ability to a very severe test in the states where Wallace is strong. This doesn't cause me any hesitation at all, as it apparently does the other candidates. But it certainly hasn't been--there certainly has not been any effort on my part to discourage their coming into the states. I wish they'd come on in.

HERMAN: Are you not one of those candidates who says, I would refuse to run on a ticket with George Wallace?

MR. CARTER: There's no way that I would be on the same ticket with George Wallace.

(MORE)

WITCOVER: Governor, what about being on a ticket with somebody else. One of the things that you say around the country is that I'll never lie to you, yet one of the things that politicians traditionally lie about and get away with is this question about whether they will serve as vice president. So I want to ask you directly, would you accept the vice presidential nomination?

MR. CARTER: Well, let me answer it this way. I'm not going to withdraw, I'm not interested in being vice president, I'll be there when the last votes are counted running for president. At that point if I should be defeated, fairly and squarely, my intention is to support the Democratic ticket, and of course at that point I would consider taking a position in government, including the vice presidency, but that's not something that I aspire to. If I thought, at this point -- if I knew at this point that I would wind up as vice president, I would quit campaigning and go back home to my peanut farms, and let nature take its course. That's not an ambition of mine, but I can't say that I would never accept it.

HERMAN: Governor, when you were here a year ago and spoke to the National Press Club, you said energy imports and energy consumption must be reduced. There has been an awful lot of debate since then on exactly how that marvelous goal is to be achieved. How do you propose to do it?

MR. CARTER: I don't think we can anticipate any drastic reduction in imports. I think that since Nixon --

HERMAN: They've been growing, as you know.

MR. CARTER: They've been growing. When Nixon announced Operation Independence two years ago or so, we were importing about 25

per cent of our oil; now we are importing about 40 per cent. I think 40 per cent is a reasonable level to maintain for a while. I would like to build up our reserves for about 60 days worth, to be stored maybe in the salt domes, cut down on oil consumption considerably --

HERMAN: How do you do that?

MR. CARTER: Well, one way is to level off imports. Our own production of oil in this country is dropping about six per cent a year, and I think this is a good constraint on us about oil consumption.

HERMAN: But how do you stop imports? Quota system, tariffs, how do you do it?

MR. CARTER: I think a quota system would be very good, yes. Then as we drop off our domestic production about six per cent, we need to allocate the remaining supplies of oil among states in an equitable way, shift toward other sources of energy; coal is the most logical source--I personally prefer the concentration in the Appalachian regions of coal production. We have about 200 years worth of coal that's clean-burning; it can be mined with <sup>strict</sup> strip-mining laws which I favor. We also need to have mandatory conservation measures, automobile efficiency, a change in the rate structure of electric power companies to discourage consumption of electricity, rather than to encourage it, and at the same time have a shift towards solar energy. We can get four or five per cent of our energy from the sun in the next seven or eight years if we concentrate on it.

HERMAN: Just let me take you back to quotas and allocations on oil. When oil becomes scarce in the United States because we are not allowing imports to increase, how is it going to get to the



consumer, how will the consumers decide among themselves which consumer gets it? Price rises, rationing?

MR. CARTER: No, I would not favor price rising. As a matter of fact, I don't favor the deregulation of the price of old oil. I think we ought to maintain it as it is. But what we did in 1973 was that all of us governors, 50 of us, worked very closely with the federal energy office, which was new then, and 97 per cent of the oil allotted to a state would come in under the free enterprise system; it would be distributed normally throughout the state. The other three per cent was reserved by the state energy offices to be allocated on a hardship basis. That plan worked so well that after about a year or less, we reduced that three per cent allocable supply to only one per cent, and each state was given an amount of oil, depending upon its historical use. If we had to cut back throughout the nation, say four and a half per cent, then each state got 95 and a half percent of the oil that it had been using in previous years. This has got to be done; otherwise as oil supplies inevitably become scarcer, then states like in New England or in the peninsula area of Florida are going to be hard pressed to get their adequate supplies of oil, and the oil-producing states or those near it are going to get too much oil, so this is just ordinary common sense, has got to be instituted in the government allocation of energy supplies.

RABEL: Governor, in connection with this, you said the Arabs should not be permitted to embargo future shipments of oil. Now how would you propose to enforce that? Military intervention, or something like that?

MR. CARTER: No, not military intervention. We, as I said, have now gotten dependent upon about 40 per cent of our oil from foreign countries. A good portion of that comes from Arab nations. In 1973 an embargo was imposed on our country because of the Israeli question in the Middle Eastern political situation. I would not permit that to happen again; I would let the Arab countries know that we want to be their friends, that we are heavily dependent upon oil being imported from them, that if they declare an embargo against us, we would consider it, not a military, but an economic declaration of war, and that we would respond instantly and without further debate in a similar fashion, that we would not ship them any food, no weapons, no spare parts for weapons, no oil drilling rigs, no oil pipes. Not to be belligerent about it, but to prevent their declaring an embargo against us again. We yielded to it in 1973. I don't think this country ought to yield to an embargo again. And I think this would be the best way to avoid it, rather than to wait until after it occurs, and then flounder around trying to decide what we should do in retrospect.

WITCOVER: Governor, the Supreme Court has before it the constitutionality of the campaign reform law, passed last year.

MR. CARTER: Yes.

WITCOVER: How do you feel about that law? Do you think it's a good law, and what will happen to your campaign finances if the law should be thrown out?

MR. CARTER: I favor the law. I've been a member of Common Cause for a long time, and participated in the evolution of the ideas that led to that law. I think it's a very good one, to put a

limitation on how much any individual can contribute to a campaign, and also put a requirement that all contributions be revealed, and a limit on how much can be spent. I favor all of those aspects of the law. If the law should be stricken down, of course we'll have to comply with whatever the courts say. We are dependent, as are the other candidates, on having matching funds provided for us after the first of the year. As you know, these funds have been voluntarily given on income tax returns, \$1 at a time, by taxpayers for the last four years, and I think it would be inconceivable that the court would strike down that portion. The major element of the law that might be stricken down, I should think, would be the limit on how much an individual contributor can give. If that were stricken down, it wouldn't have any devastating effect on my own candidacy.

WITCOVER: But if the court did strike down the other provision, could your campaign survive?

MR. CARTER: Yes, sir, it will survive. We'll have to cut expenses and spend more of my time raising money, but my campaign now is strong enough, my organization is effective enough, to survive.

RABEL: Governor, you've described yourself as a liberal on social issues and human matters, and a conservative on fiscal affairs. As a matter of fact, you say that on matters that relate to human beings, respect for them and their overcoming of afflictions and equal rights associated with the civil rights movement, you would take a liberal stance, but as governor, you proclaimed April 5, 1971, the American fighting man's day, urging Georgia motorists to drive with their headlights turned on in opposition to the conviction of Lieutenant William Calley, in the killing of innocent Vietnamese

civilians. Now how does that square with your announced liberal views?

MR. CARTER: It wasn't--I don't think that was said in support of or in opposition to the conviction of Lieutenant Calley. As you know, the Calley conviction took place in Georgia; it was a very highly emotional thing; and rather than focusing the attention of Georgia people on the Calley case itself, I tried to hold down violence and to take the sharp edge off the Calley conviction, which was a very vivid issue in Georgia at that time, by saying let's think about all of our fighting men who did perform well. But I have never been a supporter of Calley, nor have I ever deplored his conviction, nor have I ever in any way supported what he did. I think it was abominable, what he did.

HERMAN: Let me get you back to the tactical problems of politics. Can a Democratic candidate today win nomination at the convention, in the primaries and at the convention, without the support of what I guess you'd have to call the George McGovern wing of the Democratic Party?

MR. CARTER: Well, the McGovern wing of the Democratic Party in 1972 became a very powerful wing. I supported McGovern after he got the nomination, and I thought he was by far the better man than was Richard Nixon. I have a strong --

HERMAN: I'm asking you basically about the McGovern wing's strength and the role today.

MR. CARTER: Well, I think so. The liberal element of the Democratic Party derives from several sources. Obviously one part is on civil rights; I have a very strong base there. Another one is on

environmental quality; I have a strong base there, and have a lot of supporters for me now who supported George McGovern in the past, also farmers and scientists and administrators and so forth. But I think that's a very important part of the Democratic Party that can't be foregone, and I think any candidate who should write off those who were active in George McGovern's campaign in 1972 would be committing political suicide.

WITCOVER: Governor, what about George McGovern himself? He's been saying that you declared candidates haven't been speaking out on the issues; does that sound to you like maybe he'd like to become a candidate himself again?

MR. CARTER: Well, I think that he and Senator Humphrey and maybe Senator Muskie and others would like to be candidates again if they don't have to run for office. We won't have a deadlocked convention in July, and I think they are just wishing for something that's not going to occur. I think the people, particularly in this democratic type of Democratic Party, are going to make a judgment through their primary processes, and at the convention next July will make an early choice--I think first or second ballot. We won't have a deadlock; we haven't had one in over 50 years, so I don't think McGovern, nor Muskie, nor Humphrey, nor others, will be a major factor in the selection process next year.

WITCOVER: Well, Governor, is that another way of saying that you would welcome Senator McGovern to get into the primaries. He's talked about that possibility.

MR. CARTER: If he should get into the primaries, I would not withdraw.

HERMAN: Let me take your attention for a moment to the other party. President Ford is running for renomination; Governor Ronald Reagan is running for nomination--which do you think would be the easier man for the Democrats, including Jimmy Carter, to beat?

MR. CARTER: Well, that's hard to say. I would guess the Republicans would choose the person that would be most difficult to beat, and I'll be prepared for it when the time comes. I don't have any choice--

HERMAN: You don't care to hazard a guess as to which one it will be?

MR. CARTER: My guess is that it will be President Ford.

HERMAN: Do you think he would be more difficult for a Democrat to beat than Ronald Reagan?

MR. CARTER: That's my own personal belief. I think that the Republican Party would be much more cohesive with Ford as the nominee than it would Reagan; I think Reagan would split the Republican Party, and there would probably be a third party formed if Regan should get the nomination, but that's just a guess; the Republicans don't confide in me too much.

WITCOVER: Governor, you've won a straw poll in Iowa, and you ran way ahead at the Florida state convention. Does that make you a front-runner now?

MR. CARTER: Well, I doubt it. I'm still just quite low in the Gallup and Harris and Roper polls in primary cover name recognition, but my organizational strength in the nation, I think, is better than all the other candidates, and my complete determination to run for president is a very serious advantage. Most of them are still trying

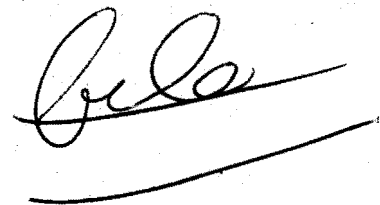
to decide whether to run for president, or to run for reelection to the Congress. They are going to try in two or three states, and if they fail, they'll go back to the Congress; if they succeed, they will stay in the presidential race. I know what I want, and that's to be elected president.

HERMAN: Thank you very much, Governor Carter, for being with us today on Face the Nation.

MR. CARTER: It's a pleasure.

ANNOUNCER: Today on FACE THE NATION, Democratic Presidential Candidate Jimmy Carter, formerly Governor of Georgia, was interviewed by CBS News Correspondent Ed Rabel, Washington Post Reporter Jules Witcover, and CBS News Correspondent George Herman. Next week, another prominent figures in the news will FACE THE NATION.

INTERVIEW WITH JIMMY CARTER  
BY  
HARRY REASONER  
ABC NEWS



PLAINS, GEORGIA

MR. REASONER: Tonight we have the first of several reports on the Democratic ticket. We went to Plains, Georgia last week for far-ranging conversations with Jimmy Carter and Senator Mondale with the aim of finding the flavor and measure of the candidates before all the speechifying of a fall campaign begins. We hope to do the same thing with the Republican ticket immediately after the Kansas City Convention.

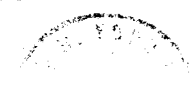
Jimmy Carter took me walking in a peanut field. He knows a lot about peanuts, and it is a good place to begin to understand him. This is his land but his real business is in buying and processing peanuts from other farmers. He is used to picking up a peanut plant for visiting reporters and explaining to them that they are vegetables, not nuts, really, and good to eat even in this fetal stage.

GOVERNOR CARTER: You see there is a peanut just starting out, where it came out. I guess there is one in the original form. See? That is the end of the little short pair. It starts growing up and gets larger and larger and larger and larger and larger and that becomes a peanut.

MR. REASONER: They are pretty good, in texture sort of like a sauteed garlic bud.

A family cemetery was a few yards away, which brought up the question of Carter's evangelical Christianity and whether a Baptist in the White House would be likely to demand Baptist standards of behavior and morals from everybody else. We asked him.

GOVERNOR CARTER: Moral standards, you know, are primarily personal in nature. One of the teachings of Christ in which I believe is that we should not judge other people.





One of the tenets of the Christian faith is that all of us are sinners, none of us are better than others, that though we are saved by God through grace, which means a free gift, not because of the good works we do -- and Jesus himself taught that we should not judge others. The expression he used in the Sermon on the Mount was, why be concerned about the mote or the speck that is in your brother's eye when you have beams in your own eyes? So, we are very careful to remember what Christ said and not to judge other people.

MR. REASONER: This family cemetery looks like it has been here a while. Your people have been here how long now, in this part of Georgia?

GOVERNOR CARTER: The people who are buried here settled on this land in 1833. This is my wife's grandfather's grandfather. His name was Jerry Murray and when the Indians moved out of this area in 1828, it took about five years to survey the territory and he was the first to originally settle it. I think my children will be the sixth generation on this land.

My own people came into Georgia, the Carter's did, the famous James Carter, incidentally, in 1767, and both my family and Rosalyn's family, who were born in the late 1700s, are buried here in Plains and they have never moved very far so far.

MR. REASONER: What does the land mean to you, Governor?

GOVERNOR CARTER: Well, when your family has lived in the same place on the same land for 200 years, and when all your relatives and friends live in the same small community like Plains, it is a very overwhelming factor in your consciousness.

When I am out campaigning anywhere in the country or when I was Governor in Atlanta, I had a strong tie back here from Plains to me. I was a professional Naval officer, went to the Naval Academy and served in the Navy 11 years, and had my roots not been here in Plains and very strong, I would probably have stayed in the Navy and never come home and never have gotten in politics. So, the land itself is very important to me.

And we want to take out of the White House the palace guard aspect where all the functions of Government are run from within the White House itself. So the staff in the White House would be substantially reduced.

MR. REASONER: What about the personal White House staff? Would Hamilton Jordan be your Chief-of-Staff?

GOVERNOR CARTER: I haven't decided yet and don't want to talk about any particular persons until after the November election.

MR. REASONER: You made a number of commitments and promises in your acceptance speech, and then, speaking to Sam Donaldson (?) afterwards, he said, how long would it take, and you said you could do it in one term. Those are some of the things that I think every President I can remember has promised and asked for and cannot get through Congress. What makes you think you could?

GOVERNOR CARTER: Well, I have had experience as Governor in dealing with the legislature, and I am fairly cautious about what I have promised. I think I will have a closer relationship with Congress after the electoral process this year and if I am successful than has been seen in many, many years.

I think also there has been a great frustration built up and a disappointment build up in the minds of the American people at the constant squabbling, arguing, divisiveness, a lack of cooperation between the White House and Congress. There is a strong move among the people which is mirrored in the attitude of Congress and myself toward better consultation, better relationships, better respect, more openness. So, I think those things will force us to be cooperative.

The other thing is that there has been an absence of leadership in the White House for so long, in the latter part of Nixon's Administration, with the Watergate investigations, and then with Ford there has been practically no leadership exhibited from the White House. I think the Congress is looking for strong leadership from there.

We, in analyzing issues, this year, are using key Members of Congress and their staffs whom they recommend to work with us in deciding what ought to be done with basic tax reform, welfare reform, agricultural policies, transportation, energy and so forth. So I think there will be a good knowledge of one another if I am successful, and the other thing is I consider my word of honor at stake.

MR. REASONER: One of the charges you have faced a couple of times during the campaign is the charge that you have different faces for different audiences. I am thinking of your remarks about tax reform in your acceptance speech, and then last week your visit with businessmen in New York City. Some people interpreted what you said in New York as a backing away from your populous promises in your speech. How do you reconcile that, sir?

GOVERNOR CARTER: There is no incompatibility there at all. I am going to have the first year devoted to a complete revision of the income tax structure to eliminate loopholes and special privileges that have been enjoyed by the rich and the powerful entities in our society.

I let it be known to the businessmen, for instance, that I was going to do this. In the past a tax reform quite often has resulted in a cheating of the average American family because the reforms are shaped by intense pressure from special interest groups and the general public is not aware of what is going on.

I am going to be responsible as President for any comprehensive major tax reform and for acquainting the American people with the issues that are drawn. And if I can get the support from the folks back home with the natural inclination of many Congressmen, I think we can be successful.

MR. REASONER: Would as drastic a measure as a revolutionary measure of taking home mortgage interest off the deductible list -- would that be included in your program?

GOVERNOR CARTER: Well, we now have about \$10 billion in tax credits or incentives for the ownership of homes. I would maintain that incentive toward home ownership. I think, if anything, perhaps it needs to be expanded a little bit. But I would reserve the right to modify the mechanism used to give that credit.

At the present time, over 50 percent of that credit goes to less than 25 percent of the richer home owners. Those owning a very extensive home get a much greater credit. Those who are in higher income tax brackets get a much greater credit for home ownership. And if there is any change made -- and I think there will be some changes -- I would shift the tax credits or incentives for home ownership to the low and middle income families and to those who own one home. That is the way the reform should be done and that is what I will do.

MR. REASONER: I have a couple more questions. One relates to the fact that you in effect won the nomination very early, you didn't have to make any commitments on the Vice Presidency. Who do you owe when you take office, if you take office?

GOVERNOR CARTER: I have never made a private promise or commitment to any person, any special interest group or anyone. I believe I will be successful in going all the way through the November election with only one obligation, and that is directly to the American people.

I get a lot of advice and counsel from special interest groups, nurses, school teachers, farmers, laborers, and this is legitimate, and I feel obligated to those who give me support, but I will equally represent those who have not supported me in the general election. I believe I am strong enough politically, possibly because of my independent attitude in this respect not to be even tempted to depend on powerful special interest groups to put me in office. And I want to do that. I have promised, and I don't intend to break my promise, to let any commitments or promises that I make on future legislation or future action be known publicly. And I believe that I don't have to even be tempted to get elected.

MR. REASONER: Tomorrow we will hear from Carter on foreign policy. That will be different if he is elected, he says.

Now, continuing the report on Jimmy Carter and the Democratic ticket, we turn tonight to foreign affairs. In Carter's study in Plains, Georgia, last week we began by asking him about the current architect of American foreign policy.

Turning to foreign affairs, you have had your briefing from George Bush, not from Henry Kissinger, and some people thought when you referred to a "lone ranger" kind of foreign policy you might possibly have meant Henry Kissinger. (Laughter) Do you disapprove of him in some manner, sir?

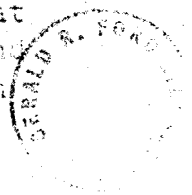
GOVERNOR CARTER: Yes. I think Secretary Kissinger is a brilliant man and a good negotiator and has a good sense of humor. I like him personally. I think the thing I don't like about Henry Kissinger is that I don't believe he trusts the American people, our judgment, our common sense. I don't think he has a deep commitment to the views and high moral character of the people to be mirrored in what our country is. He is much too inclined to act secretly, excluding us from participation in the decision-making process and that includes the Congress as well.

Secretary Kissinger has been inclined to establish his own reputation with highly publicized and sometimes nonproductive trips to Peking seven or eight times, to Moscow five or six times. He has made decisions that affect our natural allies and friends, those in Europe, this hemisphere, Japan, without adequate prior consultation. Only recently has he shown any interest in the developing nations of the world. So those are some of the criticisms I have of him.

He has responded to some of my foreign policy speeches by saying he can't see any substantial difference between my attitude and that of himself, which is kind of a compliment to me. But there are some differences, primarily in getting the American people and the Congress to form a much better informed and a much more bipartisan nature of support of what our country is and what we do in relationships with other nations.

MR. REASONER: What would be some changes, what would be some differences between a Carter foreign policy and a Kissinger foreign policy apart from the form?

GOVERNOR CARTER: I would strengthen it in every way I could through relationships among European countries in the NATO area. I think Secretary Kissinger has been inclined to treat those nations as individuals and to discourage their closer correlation. I think a strong Europe, militarily, economically and politically would be to our own advantage. I would have a much greater emphasis on recenting foreign relationships that presently exist between our country and Canada, our country and Mexico, our country and the other nations of Central and South America.



I think we need to have a much more comprehensive approach to the problems of mutual defense. We have not reassessed now our relative contributions to NATO, I believe, since 1967, and there has been a tremendous technological improvement in weapons systems since that time.

I think we need to have reassurance to give to the Japanese and before we make any major immediate decisions as they relate to the People's Republic of China, or a shipment of crucial elements or commodities to Japan, like soybeans or coal, that we ought to consult with them. So these are some of the things that would be changed.

I would be inclined toward friendship with the Soviet Union and with the People's Republic of China, and I think that friendship ought to be based on strength. I would never yield in any way the full responsibility that would fall on my shoulders, which is the most important of all, to have a nation strong enough in its defense capability to guarantee the security of our country.

MR. REASONER: Secretary Kissinger recently began a new, quite different American policy in Africa. Would you approve of that policy of starting an alliance with the black elements in Africa?

GOVERNOR CARTER: I believe so. I think this was brought about belatedly by the abject failure of the Kissinger, Ford and Nixon policy, for instance, in Angola. We were faced with the realization there when the Portuguese left Angola that we had no policy that related directly with the people of that nation. We suffered because of it in that the Soviet Union and Cuba have now replaced us completely as a friend to the Angolan people. And I think in the aftermath of that debacle, which was brought about primarily by secrecy and a lack of planning and a lack of consideration of the needs of the natives of Angola, we have suffered. And in the analysis of that suffering or mistake, I think Mr. Kissinger has moved in the right direction.

MR. REASONER: For the past three nights we have broadcast filmed reports on Jimmy Carter made during a visit to Plains, Georgia, last week. Senator Walter Mondale, Carter's running mate, was there, too, staying in the farmhouse, seeing a few reporters, spending a lot of time talking to Carter. We stopped by the pond house to see Mondale and talk about how his feelings for his role has developed since Madison Square Garden .

Senator, every President in my memory has said that he was going to have a new and dramatically important role for his Vice President, and Governor Carter says that, too, and I believe he means it, and I am sure you believe he means it. Has anything come up about what kind of a role that would be? Has he any better idea than he did a couple of weeks ago?

SENATOR MONDALE: I am aware of that, and the key question I had when I came to visit the Governor some weeks back at Plains was just that, number one, what was his concept of the Vice Presidency, and, number two, were we personally compatible, and I came away convinced that he did want a role for the Vice Presidency and that we could get along and we could talk candidly.

Now, I recognize that a Vice President works for the President. He is not an alternative President. One of the things that encourages me is that we do get along very well, we are very candid, very open and we don't mind criticizing each other.

And in all these briefings I have been encouraged to participate fully. At our news conferences we participate in them together. Of course, time will tell, but at this point I am encouraged to believe this may be different.

MR. REASONER: You haven't gotten into specifics as to what title you might have?

SENATOR MONDALE: No, except in this sense: I told him I was interested in, first of all, the opportunity to participate in the major decision-making process so I could be heard; secondly, that I wanted some significant functions in both the domestic and foreign fields. I said that is what he wanted.

MR. REASONER: Senator, are you going to continue to make an issue of the Nixon pardon in the campaign?

SENATOR MONDALE: I think it is very important. You know I am not questioning Mr. Ford's motives. That is not the issue. But, that has bothered me from the time it happened, and I said so in my book in 1974. This isn't something I just said at that Convention.

There is nothing more sacred to American life than the notion of equality before the law. You know the Supreme Court words above the door in the Supreme Court building say, "Equal Justice Under Law," and that has bothered me greatly.

Now, I don't intend to just dwell on it. I think people know about it. You don't have to emphasize it all the time, and there are many other issues we have to talk about. But, that does bother me, and I am willing to say it.

MR. REASONER: Has Governor Carter warned you off it?

SENATOR MONDALE: No, he has said that he is not going to make it an issue, but he also said that he wouldn't have granted the pardon. We have decided that in our campaign, you know, that if we disagree on issues or disagree on emphasis, that we are just going to do it.

I know that that may not be believable, but we are going to try it. This old notion that a Vice President should just be an identical carbon copy of a President, I don't think it is believable. It certainly is not comfortable. I doubt that it is good Government. Of course, it is Governor Carter's Administration, but we are just going to try to be open about it.



MR. REASONER: Who would you rather run against, Mr. Ford and Mr. X or Governor Reagan and Senator Schweiker?

SENATOR MONDALE: I thought that over and discovered that even if I had an opinion, they probably wouldn't listen. I don't know. I have not had much luck in advising Republicans. Frankly, I think if we do our job well and if the American people see Jimmy Carter the way I do and the way those who know him see him, I think Governor Carter is going to be elected handsomely.

MR. REASONER: We reported every night this week on the Democratic ticket based on a trip to Plains, Georgia last week and talked to Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale. We noted we hope to do the same thing right after the Kansas City Convention with the Republican ticket, in each case an attempt to get the flavor of the candidates before the bombast and confusion of the formal campaign. It seems like a good idea now to do a little summing up.

Everybody knows by now that Plains, Georgia is a strange place to grow a Presidential candidate, but it doesn't really hit you until you see it. Here is a place which is really, in the old American phrase, 80 miles west of nowhere. And here is a man, a few years ago at least, with no powerful friends, no extensive record of public service, with no inherited background of wealth or culture or intellectualism.

Here is a man who decided a little over three years ago he could run for President and now has, according to the polls, a good chance of moving into the most powerful office in the world.

How do you judge him? Well, in a way Mr. Carter has made it easy. No candidate in my memory has said so many things flatly that he must either live up to or become ridiculous. Not since Dwight Eisenhower, for example, has a President asked for this kind of an image.

GOVERNOR CARTER: And the other thing is I consider my word of honor at stake.

MR. REASONER: And maybe never has a major candidate been so casually but determinedly religious. It scares some people.

GOVERNOR CARTER: The born again phrase is one that Christ himself used in explaining the doctrine that I just described, that the first birth is from your mother's womb, the second birth is when you are born into the Kingdom of God and under that belief we are all brothers and sisters on an equal basis as children of God.

MR. REASONER: And rarely has a candidate seemed so calmly confident that he can keep his promises.

GOVERNOR CARTER: I don't intend to break my promises to the American people. I suppose that is one of the most difficult things I will face, but I don't have any doubt that I will succeed. I have never made a private promise or commitment to any person, any special interest group or anyone.

MR. REASONER: So to mix some metaphors, Mr. Carter has either built his own triumphal platform in advance or carved his own petard to be hoist on, if that is what you do to petards. Of course, he can be forgiven if he is elected and find out that the United States Congress has not been born again.

But, in the areas that are largely under Presidential control, the Executive Branch, the forming of foreign policy, the openness of the White House and more than anything the area of strong and unequivocal personal honor and compassion he has -- well, he has asked for it.

It should be an interesting campaign.

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M E E T   T H E   P R E S S

Produced by Betty Cole Dukert

SUNDAY, JUNE 20, 1976

GUEST:

HAMILTON JORDAN, Campaign Director  
Carter for President Campaign

MODERATOR AND EXECUTIVE PRODUCER:

Bill Monroe - NBC News

PANEL:

Douglas Kiker - NBC News  
Haynes Johnson - Washington Post  
Elizabeth Drew - The New Yorker

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MEET THE PRESS

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MR. MONROE: Our guest today on MEET THE PRESS is 31-year old Hamilton Jordan, campaign director for Jimmy Carter. Mr. Jordan's candidate is the first non-Washington politician with little national recognition to lock up a major party nomination weeks in advance since Republican Alf Landon did it 40 years ago.

Mr. Jordan, then a college student, served as Youth Coordinator of the unsuccessful 1966 Jimmy Carter campaign for governor of Georgia. Then four years later as manager of the successful second campaign. He has since worked closely with Governor Carter in posts including executive secretary.

We will have the first questions now from Douglas Kiker of NBC News.

MR. KIKER: Mr. Jordan, first of all, everyone else has predicted a first-ballot victory for Jimmy Carter. You are his national campaign manager. Would you like to predict one, too?

MR. JORDAN: Yes, we will have a first-ballot victory at the convention. I cannot envision a set of circumstances that would prevent us from having a first ballot victory.



MR. KIKER: Let's say he is the Democratic candidate. Today John Sears, who is Reagan's campaign manager, is quoted as saying Governor Reagan would gradually appear in a series of nationally televised debates with the Democratic candidate. Would Jimmy Carter be willing to appear in such a series of debates with whoever is the Republican candidate?

MR. JORDAN: We don't know who the identity of the Republican nominee will be at this point.

MR. KIKER: We know it will be either Ford or Reagan.

MR. JORDAN: We have not discussed the possibility of debate. We have no fear of debating either President Ford or Governor Reagan, depending on who is nominated.

MR. KIKER: Do you mean you and Jimmy Carter haven't looked forward to this question already? Your preparation has been so thorough.

MR. JORDAN: We have looked forward to the fall campaign. We have not discussed debates at this point.

MR. KIKER: What would be your recommendation to the Governor?

MR. JORDAN: I would not be reticent to debate either President Ford or Governor Reagan.

MR. KIKER: So your advice to Governor Carter would be to debate him?

MR. JORDAN: My advice at this point would be probably to debate.

(Announcements)

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MR. JOHNSON: Mr. Jordan, just following up on what Mr. Kiker asked you about the campaign to come, assuming that your an does get the nomination in July, you said you would not be reticent to suggest debates. Specifically one of the problems the Governor has had has been a feeling that he has not spelled out issues. Would you envision a series of debates on specific issues like foreign policy, such as on this show right here?

MR. JORDAN: We have not considered or discussed the possibility of debates so the format of that debate would be difficult to anticipate at this time. I would agree with you that specificity on the issues has been a problem. It has been a bum rap. Any press people that have followed Jimmy Carter's candidacy knows that he is at least as specific on the issues as any other candidate that has run for President.

MR. JOHNSON: Well, yesterday for instance the Governor made a speech in Indiana, I believe, in which he asked for men of faith to come into the government and the criticism has been made that the Governor himself has been asking people to take him on faith without spelling out more specifically his positions. You say that is not a fair --

MR. JORDAN: I would say that is not fair. Almost a year ago in June of 1965, Jimmy Carter made what we felt was a major address on foreign policy in Japan. It was written up on page 38 or 39 of the New York Times and the Washington Post.





He has begun to address the issues when people are willing to listen to him and to scrutinize his position.

He has given speeches in the last several months on health care, foreign policy, the use of nuclear power in the world. He has a foreign policy speech scheduled later this month. It is a result of him not being from Washington and not having a congressional record that people in the media are familiar with.

MR. JOHNSON: Mr. Jordan, in the campaign in the fall do you envision Governor Carter campaigning all over the country, all over in fifty states? You must have discussed this.

MR. JORDAN: Oh, yes. We have begun our planning for the fall campaign. We are going to run a vigorous campaign. There is not a state in the country that/<sup>we</sup>will concede to the Republican party.



MS. DREW: Mr. Jordan, what do you think of the idea that perhaps Governor Carter should submit to the public the names of perhaps the four or five people that he is really considering for the Vice Presidency, so these people could be studied and scrutinized and talked about?

MR. JORDAN: Well, I think, as you know, out of the last six Presidents, three of our Presidents have succeeded to have office from the Vice Presidency. The Vice Presidency is no longer an obscure office. The American people have an awareness of that office and the importance of the person that has the ability to lead the country being selected as Vice President.

I think the question is, how do you develop a process that results in the nominee being able to recommend to the convention a man or woman who is perceived as being capable of leading the country and has the personal and professional integrity --

MS. DREW: Why not give out the names of those he is most serious about so the public and others can help him make that decision?

MR. JORDAN: In the next few days Governor Carter will outline a process that he will follow for the selection of a runningmate. He has already scrutinized the list of all the Democratic members of Congress, Democratic governors, mayors of large cities, and has developed a list of a couple dozen names. He has requested and received biographical information





on these persons, voting records and other political information, favorable and unfavorable articles that have been written about them. So he has begun the process of analyzing these people that he would recommend if he is the nominee of the party.

MS. DREW: One other question about that: Governor Carter doesn't know most of these people at all, or at least very well. How much time is he planning to spend with them before the convention?

MR. JORDAN: I would think that certainly a step in this process would be his spending time with those people that he has seriously considered, and I would agree with you that as a former Governor of Georgia he does not know, for example, the people in the Congress.

There are certainly ways of determining which people in Congress should be considered.

MR. MONROE: Mr. Jordan, despite the fact Governor Carter is riding high in the polls at the present time, even when compared with Governor Reagan and President Ford, won't he in fact be vulnerable to a concentrated Republican campaign in the fall? For example, based on what we know, that he lost 9 out of 14 of the last primary battles and appears to be losing his image as a new face, becoming sort of an old face, now looked on as something a part of the political establishment himself?

MR. JORDAN: Well, he won 19 of the 30 primaries that



were conducted around the country. We don't think the fall campaign will be an easy campaign. We think the substantial leads that show us well ahead in the national polls are apt to shrink. We think on one hand Governor Reagan has successfully challenged an incumbent President. On the other hand, President Ford has shown resilience in the process. At several points in the campaign where it looked like Reagan, you know, would likely be the nominee, Ford has bounced back. So we don't think the fall campaign will be easy; we are taking nothing for granted. We assume it will be a tough campaign.

MR. MONROE: Aren't the Republicans correct who say that Governor Carter is leading a loose coalition of somewhat different elements? For example, on the one hand the many George Wallace supporters, on the other hand a majority of blacks, people who normally vote against each other? How are you going to hold these people together through a long campaign?

MR. JORDAN: Well, it is a question of leadership, which is what this country needs. The country is drifting, and we need a President who can appeal to disparate groups in this country and unite them and bring them together. Governor Carter has shown an ability to do that through the primary process, and I think he has shown ability to do that through the fall.

MR. MONROE: The group in the Democratic party that Governor Carter appears not to have nailed down so far is



the liberal group. They have generally stated they are not going to engage in stop-Carter tactics and have in effect conceded the nomination, but they haven't shown any enthusiasm, and they haven't come in with any large body of endorsements. What are you going to do about nailing down the liberals?

MR. JORDAN: I think that thoughtful liberals in the Democratic party who scrutinize Jimmy Carter's records, who look at what he did as Governor of Georgia and who study his positions on the issues will find him highly acceptable and much preferred over Ford or Reagan.

MR. MONROE: Are you going to do something to see that they do find him highly acceptable?

MR. JORDAN: Well, only what we have done in the campaign, which is to go to these people in groups and as individuals and present his candidacy to them.

MR. MONROE: Is it an advantage to you perhaps if the liberals stay a little bit aloof at this time?

MR. JORDAN: No, it is not to the advantage of any group that we need in November to stay aloof, and I don't know of any group in the Democratic party, including liberals, that find Jimmy Carter unacceptable. We have good liberal support now, and I suspect we will have good liberal support in November.

MR. KIKER: Mr. Jordan, let's go back to the Vice Presidency just a minute. It has also been suggested that Mr. Carter pick the four or five men, any one of whom he would be



satisfied with, submit those names to the convention and let them choose, the first free choice since Adlai Stevenson threw it open. Is there a possibility that Mr. Carter might agree to do this, or does he want to name one man and say "This is my guy"?

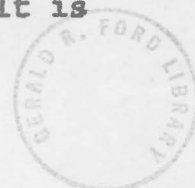
MR. JORDAN: I don't think there is any possibility he will do that. I think he will want to name one man or one woman, and I don't think that that is a decision that should be made by the convention. I think the nominee of the party and the potential next President of this country has a right to select someone that is compatible on the issues.

MR. KIKER: So he is going to select his runningmate the way Presidents always have, or Presidential candidates?

MR. JORDAN: It certainly is a personal decision he will have to make. I do believe the process that Governor Carter reveals in the next few days will show the steps that he will take in leading up to that decision.

MR. KIKER: Now, you recently also announced that he was going to have an advisory committee of distinguished Americans to help him in formulating this choice. I wonder what progress has been made toward assembling such a group, and could you give us some of the names of some of the men that might be serving on it?

MR. JORDAN: Again, that is an announcement that is appropriate for Governor Carter to make in a few days. It is





less a committee than it is a group of individuals whose council and advice Governor Carter will seek before making that decision.

MR. KIKER: Has he contacted any of these people already?

MR. JORDAN: I don't know for sure. He probably has talked with some of them informally.

MR. KIKER: Finally, for me, it has also been suggested that Governor Carter run as an Administration rather than as just a team, that he announce his proposed Cabinet so the American people could choose a government for a change rather than a man. Is there a possibility of this, at all?

MR. JORDAN: No. We don't subscribe to that theory. Those are tremendous and very critical decisions that we don't think should be made in campaign posture. Those are decisions that should be made by the Presidential designate, and there is no discussion or possibility that the names will be floated of people that would be in a Carter Cabinet, for example.

MR. JOHNSON: One more question on the Vice Presidency, Mr. Jordan. You said what the governor is going to try to do is determine the personal and professional integrity of the nominee who will run with him, and of course everyone agrees with that, but the problem in recent years is how do you do that? How do you determine that? That has been our problem in the past, hasn't it?

MR. JORDAN: Yes, it has been our problem, and there is no 100 percent sure-fire method for doing that. You can, for example if Governor Carter is considering someone in the House, I believe he can talk with six or eight members of the House that he knows and seek advice, whether the person being considered is smart or not smart, capable, not capable. I believe you can gain insight into a person's personal characteristics and integrity through that kind of method. There has been some suggestion that the FBI play



a role in this.

MR. JOHNSON: A suggestion I gather he has rejected, is that not right?

MR. JORDAN: We have reservations about it. It is where the public's right and need to know conflicts with, I think, the privacy of the persons that are being considered.

What Governor Carter has said, for example, that if a Governor he is considering, if we develop information that shows that person 20 years ago was involved in some criminal activity, we would confront that person with it and ask that person if they would let us check that through our sources or possibly through the FBI. President Ford made a very vague offer of providing FBI help to the nominees of the parties, but Jimmy Carter will not be the nominee of the party until July 13th or 14th.

MR. JOHNSON: I would like to ask you a different kind of question. Coming back on the plane this last week, Governor Carter reminisced or mused about the presidency and he said he wanted to be a great President, which I suppose is what everyone who runs for the office says he wants to be, but do you have a sense of what he means by that? Do you deal with him? You have been with him from the beginning. You have talked with him. You are his campaign manager. What are the touchstones of a great presidency in the Carter mind and your mind as you discuss these questions? What is it we are looking for?



MR. JORDAN: Well, again, to make a point that I made earlier, I think the issue in November and the issue facing the country now is one of leadership. The country is drifting. There is a sense that our problems are neither recognized or solved, and that there is a need for someone who can identify these problems, realistically address and attempt to solve these problems. I think a Carter presidency would be strong; it would be energetic; it would, I hope, create the kind of atmosphere for servicing government that was created in the Kennedy Administration where people around the country dropped what they were doing and came to Washington and tried to make the government better.

MRS. DREW: Sir, to follow up on that in a slightly different form, if your candidate should win, you will be coming to Washington perhaps, or probably?

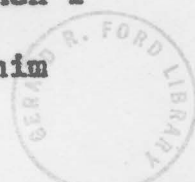
MR. JORDAN: Perhaps.

MRS. DREW: What are some of the aspects about government that interest you personally?

MR. JORDAN: Well, we have a campaign to run and an election to win and I don't spend time thinking about what part I might play.

MRS. DREW: Have you given any thought to it at all?

MR. JORDAN: Not really, only since the people in the media have started asking me that question. In 1970, when I ran Jimmy's campaign for Governor, I never talked with him



about what role I would play in his administration until several days after the general election. I haven't talked with him this time and don't plan to.

Governor Carter is interested very much in the structure of government, the management of government, the feeling that government can be well managed. I have always had a personal interest in identifying people for service in government. That is one thing that interests me.

MRS. DREW: Following up on one of those points that you made, one of the issues that Governor Carter has stressed and said that he will continue to stress is the reorganization of the government and he says that he will reduce it to some 200 agencies.

He also has been saying that he will ask members of Congress to campaign with him on that issue and that if they don't he will try to arouse their constituents to make them take a stand on that issue. Yet he won't spell out what his plan on that is.

Do you think that he will before the election?

MR. JORDAN: No, I don't think he will.

MRS. DREW: How can others campaign on it if they don't know what it is?

MR. JORDAN: It might be politically disadvantageous to us, but the fact is that the reorganization of the federal government will be a very complex and very difficult thing and we cannot tell you in the heat of a campaign exactly what





the problems are and exactly what changes should be made. I think most people agree, and I think the people in this country agree that changes are needed and Jimmy Carter is saying to the American people these changes are needed; we are going to do something about it, and a little bit, trust me.

MR. MONROE: Mr. Jordan, there were many surprises in the campaign, not quite over insofar as the Republicans are concerned, the primary campaign, the performance of your candidate being one of the major surprises insofar as the public and many of us in the media and politicians were concerned.

Were there any surprises in that primary campaign as far as you and Governor Carter were concerned?

MR. JORDAN: Well, it ended a little sooner than we had thought it would. There were no major surprises. There were a few states in May we thought we would win that we did not win. I think our campaign strategy was well developed and well executed. There was never a time in the campaign when we thought we were going to lose. We always thought we would win, and every time we would win a primary or caucus state we would, you know, have greater confidence about the next contest.

But there were no big surprises.

MR. MONROE: How do you anticipate the politics of 1976 affecting the relationship between the South and the rest of the nation?



MR. JORDAN: Well, I think through Jimmy Carter's candidacy I think the South has clearly moved into the mainstream of political life in this country. For the past 10 or 15 years I think the South has been incorrectly stereotyped. People have judged the South by Lester Maddox and Strom Thurmond when in fact the South today is Reuben Askew, Dale Bumpers, Jimmy Carter, Andrew Young, and I believe that Carter's candidacy will result in people in this country having a better understanding of the South and of politics in the South.

MR. MONROE: You are a 31-year old native of Georgia. Have you felt a special relish in the campaign this year as a southerner?

MR. JORDAN: Yes.

MR. KIKER: Mr. Jordan, it recently came out that Governor Carter went to a couple of Atlanta banks and borrowed \$1 million to keep his campaign going. Who are the banks, when was the loan made, and what were the conditions?

MR. JORDAN: I don't know anything at all about us going to a couple of Atlanta banks and borrowing large sums of money. I have not seen that information. He signed -- I think he signed or endorsed a note for, maybe at one point, \$100,000, but I don't know --

MR. KIKER: This was one his own?

MR. JORDAN: Yes, it was personal. A personal liability.



I am not sure. I know that we have not borrowed millions of dollars from Atlanta banks. I think he may have endorsed a note for a smaller sum of money.

MR. KIKER: With banks in Atlanta?

MR. JORDAN: Yes.

MR. KIKER: Where has most of the Governor's campaign contributions come from?

MR. JORDAN: We have been successful raising money from two or three different sources. Direct mail and mostly from events focused on him as he campaigned around the country. A year ago it took us \$1500 a day to run the campaign. I don't know how much it is costing today, but every day we would try to raise \$1500 and that would be \$5 and \$10 a plate Bar-B-Qs, breakfasts and so forth. It was mostly small contributions.

MR. KIKER: Talking about campaign contributions, a lot of it would come from labor, which has always been generous toward the candidates it supports.

Has Governor Carter been negotiating directly with labor leaders such as George Meany and if he has been, how have the negotiations been coming along?

MR. JORDAN: Governor Carter, I think, has at this point good relations with the leaders of trade unions in this country. He met with Mr. Meany several weeks ago. He has had longer relationships with Mr. Woodcock of the UAW, Mr. Watta with the Communications Workers and others; Jerry Worth with ASMI.



I would say our posture now with labor is very good.

MR. JOHNSON: Try to tie up again for us, if you would, Mr. Jordan, the question that puzzles me and that Ms. Drew asked a minute ago, and that is about the strategy of the governor's campaign to come.

We both have asked you about specific issues, whether the governor should not be more specific, and in answer to her a minute ago you said it is a little bit like "Trust me." When I asked you earlier yesterday at his speech, it is "Take me on faith." He has said "Love me, I will never lie to you." But really, isn't the history of national politics in the last so many years one of national trust misplaced, and is it unreasonable to expect the governor should spell out more specifically what he intends to do as President?

MR. JORDAN: Well, when I said "Trust me," I was talking about the reorganization of the federal government. Again, Governor Carter in the last several months and increasingly in the months to come will present to the American people detailed and specific positions on the issues.

In the last few months he has made speeches on health care, foreign policy, the economy, the problems facing the cities, and he has been, as I said, as specific on the issues as any of the other candidates.

MR. MONROE: We have about a minute and a half.

MR. JOHNSON: You mentioned about the Presidency a while earlier that, restore the faith or the spirit the Kennedy





Administration created. Is that one of the models of Governor Carter, the Kennedy Administration?

MR. JORDAN: I would say there are certain accomplishments of the Kennedy Administration that would be models for a Carter Administration, the main one being creating an atmosphere where people would want to serve in government, where government service was regarded as<sup>a</sup> good and honorable thing.

MS. DREW: Does Governor Carter embrace everything in the Democratic platform?

MR. JORDAN: No.

MS. DREW: Why doesn't he?

MR. JORDAN: Well, I don't have the platform here before me, but I can say there are slight deviations between his positions as espoused in the last six months and the Democratic platform, but it is the party's platform. If Jimmy Carter is the nominee, he will run on that platform.

MS. DREW: Will he implement the platform?

MR. JORDAN: Yes, to the extent possible.

MS. DREW: Will he spell out his differences with it?

MR. JORDAN: Well, I think one difference is the language on busing. Governor Carter has said that he is opposed to busing, but would obey the orders of the Supreme Court.

MR. MONROE: Considering the unexpected unity, Mr. Jordan, in the Democratic party, how are you going to keep the Democratic convention from being dull, dull, dull?



MR. JORDAN: I don't think the Democratic convention will be dull. I think there will be a great deal of interest and suspense about the Vice Presidential nominee. There will be -- as in all Democratic conventions, there will be differences of opinion on the platform, some rule changes and confrontations. I think it will be an interesting convention.

MR. MONROE: Thank you very much, Mr. Jordan, for being with us today on MEET THE PRESS.

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Next Week: Robert Strauss, Chairman, Democratic  
National Committee

