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Robert
Hawley
9/26/76

Jimmy Carter
Fairmount Hotel
Dallas, Texas
September 24, 1976

I'll cut this one short and when I come out side I'll speak to you too. Just as soon as I can get a loud speaker system set up out there, I'll be out in a few minutes. There is not an aw ful lot to our party and to our country. Shortly after the beautiful Texas Primary, and way and immediately after the primary in California, New Jersey, and Ohio I calledup on the phone and I said Bob I'd like you to stay on as chairman of the Democratic Party and Bob said that I'm very surprised that you asked me because I had announced eailier that I had no intention to stay on as chairman, but he said that I'm even more surprised that you're the one that called me and I can owe my ability as a nominee of the party ... what a tremendous excitement that I have had in Texas and a few other states where I was received with open arms and where I felt at home and where I still feel at home. This state is one of greatness, visions, of understanding and competence. You produce great leaders. I was pleased at the convention in Madison Square Gardens so when I went down the list, Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson and I got to Lyndon Johnson's name and it was by far the greatest and I recognezed myself and the democratic delegates from all over this country recognized, the unbelievable contribution of Lyndon Johnson to our country, to our, and I as I said in a recent magazine interview with the possible exception of Abraham Lincoln, noone in the history of our nation in 200 years has done more for basic human rights. He brought decency to this country and I appreciate it. I want to thank all of you and pick the dalphin gang for being so nice to my wife. We started out our campaign 21 months ago. I didn't hold public office, I didn't have much money; I had 43,000 dollars to run a Presidential campaign. I come from a small town 683 people, I didn't have a national wide campaign organization not many people knew who I was. So we began to campaign as a family with a few volenteers, going in living rooms, 4 or 5 people would come, labor halls 12 people. And then we went to factory lines and shopping centers and livestock sale barns and farmersmarkerts and beauty parlors, and barber shops and restaurants. To meet people to talk to people to mostly listen and to absorbe into the conscinious of a candidate for the President of the United States what our people are, what our nation is, and what we can be. Today I want to talk about two things,, Leadership and people. Ours is a government ours is a nation that requires strong leadership in the White House. There is only one person with a fair voice to the American people. There is only one person that can set a standard of ethics and morality and excellence and greatness. There is only one person that can call on the American people to make a sacrifice and explain the purpose of that sacrifice or ask a difficult question or propose a solution to a problem or put forward to Congress full programs to meet our needs, to provide for an adequate defense or to speak for this country in the counsel of nations and that person is the President. In the absence of leadership, there is no leadership and the country drifts and lately the country has been drifting. This is not characteristic of the United States to drift. In the last 2 years, we seen 2 and 1/2 million Americans added to the unemployment rolls, 2 and 1/2 million is just 2 years. That's equivilent to the population of Mississippi, South Carolina, Oklahoma, it's alot of people. In the last 3 months, we've seen the unemployment rolls grow 500,000. We've seen the cost of living go up 14 percent. We've got to legalize robbery. Last year we showed the highest decifit this country has ever seen, 55 billion dollars. More than all of the combined decifits combined of the eight years that Presidents Kennedy and Johnson lived in the White House, 65 billion dollars in one year. This is not the America that we've known. It is not the America that we can have. Leadership must be derived not from a materialistic attitude toward the Presidency but from a constant realization of the source of a leaders strength. My polirical support in the primary, my strength if I become President will be derived directly from the

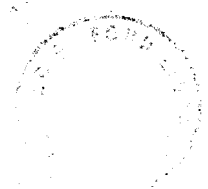
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Jimmy Carter
Dallas, Texas
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people and this is the kind of leadership that can be maintained in a continuing way and make us all proud. There are some basic principals that are inculcated in the hearts and minds of Texans and Georgians and Americans all over this country when it is torned between the government doing something and private sectors doing something, we believe the private ought to have the first responsibility. Whether a choice between the federal government doing something or the state or local government having that same responsibility we believe that it is best for the authority and responsibility as near as possible to the individual free human being. When there is a choice between work and welfare, the American people prefer to go to work. We perfer a minumum of secretacy in government and a maxumum privacy in our lives. Now we haven't had that lately. In the last 8 years we've seen our nation deteriate. Our people have been hurt. We have been helded at arms length we've been alienated, we've been discouraged, we've been embarassed, sometimes we've been ashamed of our own government. That need not be and policically speaking it draws clear issues in the 1976 campaign but the thing that concerns me is the other side of the coin. How does this affect people. Think about a father proud of what you are, competent like you are self relaient like you are to head the household like many of you... eager to work. Can't find a job..... the authority and the responsibility and the respect that goes with the bread winners. Put yourself in that position. You go down to draw your first welfare check when you've worked all of your life. It tears a family apart. It destroys self respect. It eliminates basic human dignity and in the last few years 2 and 1/2 million Americans have had to accept that circumstance. Let's look at inflation. When it was announced that the inflation rate was only 6 percent President Ford and his secretary said that is great. Just 6 percent. When Johnson and Kennedy were in office before the Vietnam war the inflation rate was 1.3 percent. When Harry Truman went out of office it was less than 1 percent. 6 percent inflation rate comes, it steals the ability of a family to be held together. Older people with fixed incomes see every day that their lives are squeezed by inferior food when they have to leave ones own home. Can't buy a new dress every year and when Christmas time come if they can give their grandchildren a present, it's a cheap present..... put their money is a savings account at 5% interest find that every year they have lost 1% on their life's savings. This is not the kind of nation that we have had, it's not the kind of nation that we must have. I've worked all of my life with my hands mostly, except the time that I was in the Navy and the 4 years that I was Governor, I grew up on a farm. I've balenced my familys' budget, I've balenced my farm budget, I've balenced my businessman's budget, I met payroll, I didn't go in debt execept when I was sure that I could repay the debt on time. I was Governor for 4 years and the budget was allways balenced. We had a healthy system every year. If I'm elected President one of my major goals of my Administration is to balenced the federal budget and you can depend on it.

Now we can meet our needs. Nobody can say that Lyndon Johnson held back in meeting the needs of the people but when Richard Nixon went into the White House he inherited a balenced budget. Truman was in office 7 years. He didn't have a decifit, he had an average surplus of 2 billion dollars a year. The last 8 years under the Republican Administration, our total decifit in 8 years equals all of the combined decifits of the preceeding 192 years. Is that management? That is not a characteristic of our nation so tuff competent management has got to be combined with the meeting of people's needs. You can't have a balenced budget, you can't have inflational spirels with 7 and 1/2 or 8 million Americans out of work or looking for jobs. We need to reoranzize the mess in Washington and if I am~~nt~~ elected it is going to be done. I give you~~r~~ my word of honor. I don't believe anybody that has been bought down in Washington 25 or 30 years responsible for the mess that's there



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Jimmy Carter

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9/24

Jimmy Carter
Fairmount Hotel
Dallas, Texas
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Jimmy Carters Speech
Dallas Texas

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9/30/76

TO: RON NESSEN

FROM: FRED SLIGHT

For your information

Jimmy Carter
September 27, 1976
Evansville, Indiana

The state that expressed your confidence in me in the primary, gave me a great victory and one that I believe is going to give me another great victory on November the 2nd. Is that correct? I'm glad to be here with Vance Harkin and Larry Conrad. I'm glad to be here with David Cornwell and Tom Teague and I'm glad to be here with all the other Democratic leaders who've kept this faith and a sense of progress and hope during the last few dismal years of Republican Administration. When I came to Indiana, my last trip before the primary, standing in a cold factory shift line, early in the morning, I had a good friend standing at my side. He had campaigned around the country for a President and when he was through, he gave me his support. And I'll never forget the strong friendship and the kindness and support of Birch Byrd. Birch, I do appreciate it. After I leave here tonight, I'm going home and see my wife and see my little girl and visit my farm and be in my own home, a little town. Rose has already been to Evansville to campaign. My aunt Sis has been to Evansville to campaign; my son Chip has been to Evansville to campaign. This is my second trip to Indiana to campaign. We need you, and if you'll help us, we're not going to lose. Tonight, I'd like to talk to you about homes, about families, about human dignity, about the right to have a job, about the failures of our leaders, about the hopes and dreams of the American people and the greatness of our country. I think you always say something good about your opponent, President Ford exemplifies the leadership of the Republican Party. He stands for its historical principles, historical policies, he serves in the great tradition of Warren Harding, Herbert Hoover and Richard Nixon. He's a true leader representing accurately what his party is. When he became President he said he was not a Lincoln, but a Ford and he told the truth, I have to give him credit for that. Ford's a good automobile



Jimmy Carter
September 27, 1976
Evansville, Indiana

it's not doing to well in the White House, it's stuck in the mud, four flat tires, out of gas, gears locked in reverse. If it ever does move again, which I doubt, I'm sure that we're going to back into the future. We need a Democratic President to face forward and to approach the future with confidence, with the people, move our country, restore leadership in the White House and the integrity and pride of the people of this country and our own nation. If you'll help me in November than I'll help you January to get this country moving again, I know that's what you want. He said that he's glad to run of the Republican record, In the last eight years we've seen our welfare rolls double. When Richard Nixon went into the White House we were spending about two and one half billion dollars on unemployment compensation, two and one half billion. Now we're spending over 19 billion dollars. In the last three months, the unemployment rolls have increased 500,000. Since Mr. Richard Nixon left the White House, our enemployment rolls have increased two and one half million, That's two and one half million homes, like mine in Plains, where the husband or the wife has no job. And when you walk into a home, day after day after day, having been pride in your self reliance all of your lives and you children or your spouse see you with employment, it can destroy a family. Statistics are bad enough but the human realization of what the Republican Administration has done to this country is what bothers me. We've seen inflation quitely rob our people. Under Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, the unemployment rate was most of the time about 1.3%, it got up to an average of 2%. Under Nixon and Ford it's averaged over 6%. The cost of everything you buy goes up double every ten years and if you put your life's savings in a bank at 5% interest, you don't make any money, you lose. One Percent every year. Older people, retired people on a fixed income see the light bills go up, the telephone bills go up, the rest go up, property taxes go up and they have to buy cheaper and cheaper food, do without a new dress, maybe move out of their own homes when they buy Christmas presents for their grandchildren, it's just a little bit cheap. The human suffering brought about by

Jimmy Carter
September 27, 1976
Evansville, Indiana

inflation is something that is quite, you can't see it but it robs. Every day you don't quite know why but your family gets poorer as time goes on. Richard Nixon was bad enough. It's been worse the last two years. We've had four times as large a deficit average under Gerald Ford as we had under Richard Nixon, four times more. Last year the deficit was 65 billion dollars, the highest in the history of our country and the combined Ford and Nixon deficit are greater than all of the other 192 years in our nations history combined. Is that good management? Is that good leadership? Is that good business like operations of our government? No it isn't, No it isn't and we'll never have an end to the inflationary spiral, we'll never have a balanced bidget, we'll never be able to meet our people's legiminate needs until we put our people back to work. I grew up on a farm. I've worked all of my life. My people have been in Georgia over 200 years, nobody in my family ever had a chance to finish High School before I did. I know what it means to struggle and struggle successfully and I appreciate my background. When I ran my farm, I balanced the budget. My wife runs our home accounts, she balances the budget. I run my business, the budgets balanced. I was Governor for four years, we had a balanced budget every year and surplus and if you elect my President before this next term is over we're going to have a balanced budget in Washington and you can depend on that. Richard Nixon had a Democratic Congress. Gerald Ford has vetoed four times as many bills per year as Richard Nixon. And the bill vetoes have not been designed to save money but they have been designed to keep people out of work, to cut down on veterans benefits, to keep us from educating and training nurses, to prevent an opening up of the secrets of our own government, to stop veterans from training and to keep from having adequate prices for farm products. Those are the kind of vetoes that we have had, and alot of them have been overridden. Eisenhower only had two bills overridden that affected the American people while he was President. Ford has had eleven. In one instance when he vetoed a bill to help handicaped people, every United States Senator but one voted to override the veto. We've had a breakdown in the relationship

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Jimmy Carter
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between the President, that is suppose to represent us, and the Congress, who is also suppose to represent us. This hurts the conscious of our nation. It divides us one from another. It destroys a unity of purpose that's imparative if we're going to correct our mistakes, and answer difficult questions, and bind ourselves together and approach the future with compentence. We've set new records in crime. The major crime rate has gone up 58% in the last eight years, 29% in the last two years. One of the reasons for it is because our young people can't get jobs. Unemployment is not an excuse for crime but unemployment causes crime. We've seen an attitude in Washington where the big shots are excused for serious crimes but the average working people don't get that same excuse and that same treatment in our system of justice and that ought to be changed to. Our income tax laws are a desgrace. The surest income to be taxed is the income earned from manuel labor. There are not any hidden secret loop holes for someone who works with his or her hands and draws a pay check every week or every two weeks, or a retirement check every two weeks but there are hidden loop holes for everyone else. The Democratic Congress has struggled and finally passed a tax reform bill with no help from the Administration. Next year with a Democratic President working with a Democratic Congress we're going to have a comphrenive reform of the income tax structure of this country and make it fair for a change and you can depend on that to. We've had gross mismanagement. We've got a horrible, confused, overlapping mess. It's our government, mine and your government. Hundredw of agencies, bureaus, boards, commissions sharing the same responsibilities, wasting our money, putting our guidelines, directives, paperwork. There is no way to go to Washington to get an easy answer to an easy question. When I was Governor of Georgia I tried to set up a drug treatment program in one department. I had to go to 13 federal agencies to get answers about drug treatment and they weren't trying to cooperate with one another, they were each struggling for some little sharp ... of turff against one another. If I'm elected President of the country and I intend to be next January we're going to have a complete reorganization of the Executive branch

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President with the full backing of powerful political entities in Washington and throughout this country who have benefited from his incumbancy but I'm not afraid of that challenge because my strength and my support, my advice and my counsel comes from the people like you all over this country. The greatest resource is in the 215 million Americans who still have the same basic character, experience, belief in hard work, honesty, unselfness, idealism, that we've had for 200 years. That hasn't changed. If you believe that we need a change in Washington then you help me on November the 2 and I'll help you on Janrurary 20 to change this country and give the government back to you once again. Thank you very much, Thank you very much.....

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE 9/30/76

TO: Ronald H. Nessen

FROM: WAYNE H. VALIS

For your information _____

Per our conversation _____

Other:

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The state that expressed your confidence in me in the primary, gave me a great victory and one that I believe is going to give me another great victory on November the 2nd. Is that correct? I'm glad to be here with Vance Harkin and Larry Conrad. I'm glad to be here with David Cornwell and Tom Teague and I'm glad to be here with all the other Democratic leaders who've kept this faith and a sense of progress and hope during the last few dismal years of Republican Administration. When I came to Indiana, my last trip before the primary, standing in a cold factory shift line, early in the morning, I had a good friend standing at my side. He had campaigned around the country for a Presiden and when he was through, he gave me his support. And I'll never forget the strong friendship and the kindness and support of Birch Byrd. Birch, I do appreciate it. After I leave here tonight, I'm going home and see my wife and see my little girl and visit my farm and be in my own home, a little town. Rose has already been to Evansville to campaign. My aunt Sis has been to Evansville to campaign; my son Chip has been to Evansville to campaign. This is my second trip to Indiana to campaign. We need you, and if you'll help us, we're not going to loose. Tonight, I'd like to talk to you about homes, about families, about human dignity, about the right to have a job, about the failures of our leaders, about the hopes and dreams of the American people and the greatness of our country. I think you always say something good about your opponent, President Ford exemplifys the leadership of the Republican Party. He stands for its historical principles, historical policies, he serves in the great tradition of Warren Harding, Herbert Hoover and Richard Nixon. He's a true leader representing accurately what his party is. When he became President he said he was not a Lincoln, but a Ford and he told the truth, I have to give him credit for that. Fords a good automobile

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it's not doing to well in the White House, it's stuck in the mud, four flat tires, out of gas, gears locked in reverse. If it ever does move again, which I doubt, I'm sure that we're going to back into the future. We need a Democratic President to face forward and to approach the future with confidence, with the people, move our country, restore leadership in the White House and the integrity and pride of the people of this country and our own nation. If you'll help me in November than I'll help you January to get this country moving again, I know that's what you want. He said that he's glad to run of the Republican record. In the last eight years we've seen our welfare rolls double. When Richard Nixon went into the White House we were spending about two and one half billion dollars on unemployment compensation, two and one half billion. Now we're spending over 19 billion dollars. In the last three months, the unemployment rolls have increased 500,000. Since Mr. Richard Nixon left the White House, our enemployment rolls have increased two and one half million, That's two and one half million homes, like mine in Plains, where the husband or the wife has no job. And when you walk into a home, day after day after day, having been pride in your self reliance all of your lives and you children or your spouse see you with employment, it can destroy a family. Statistics are bad enough but the human realization of what the Republican Administration has done to this country is what bothers me. We've seen inflation quitely rob our people. Under Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, the unemployment rate was most of the time about 1.3%, it got up to an average of 2%. Under Nixon and Ford it's averaged over 6%. The cost of everything you buy goes up double every ten years and if you put your life's savings in a bank at 5% interest, you don't make any money, you lose. One Percent every year. Older people, retired people on a fixed income see the light bills go up, the telephone bills go up, the rest go up, property taxes go up and they have to buy cheaper and cheaper food, do without a new dress, maybe move out of their own homes when they buy Christmas presents for their grandchildren, it's just a little bit cheap. The human suffering brought about by

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inflation is something that is quite, you can't see it but it robs. Every day you don't quite know why but your family gets poorer as time goes on. Richard Nixon was bad enough. It's been worse the last two years. We've had four times as large a deficit average under Gerald Ford as we had under Richard Nixon, four times more. Last year the deficit was 65 billion dollars, the highest in the history of our country and the combined Ford and Nixon deficit are greater than all of the other 192 years in our nations history combined. Is that good management? Is that good leadership? Is that good business like operations of our government? No it isn't, No it isn't and we'll never have an end to the inflationary spiral, we'll never have a balanced bedget, we'll never be able to meet our people's legiminate needs until we put our people back to work. I grew up on a farm. I've worked all of my life. My people have been in Georgia over 200 years, nobody in my family ever had a chance to finish High School before I did. I know what it means to struggle and struggle successfully and I appreciate my background. When I ran my farm, I balanced the budget. My wife runs our home accounts, she balances the budget. I run my business, the budgets balanced. I was Governor for four years, we had a balanced budget every year and surplus and if you elect my President before this next term is over we're going to have a balanced budget in Washington and you can depend on that. Richard Nixon had a Democratic Congress. Gerald Ford has vetoed four times as many bills per year as Richard Nixon. And the bill vetoes have not been designed to save money but they have been designed to keep people out of work, to cut down on veterans benefits, to keep us from educating and training nurses, to prevent an opening up of the secrets of our own government, to stop veterans from training and to keep from having adequate prices for farm products. Those are the kind of vetoes that we have had, and alot of them have been overridden. Eisenhower only had two bills overridden that affected the American people while he was President. Ford has had eleven. In one instance when he vetoed a bill to help handicaped people, every United States Senator but one voted to override the veto. We've had a breakdown in the relationship

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Portland, Oregon

Well, to your great community leaders, to your great Congressman, your great Governor and to all of your fine people in what I just heard described accurately as the finest Democratic community in Oregon, I'm glad to be with you. There is just about as many people here in this gym as there is in the town of Plains and it's nice to come to another metropolitan area, so I can understand the special things that bind us together.

There was a question asked earlier, "Why Saint Johns?" We're here to represent the kind of people that live in communities who have not been satisfied with national ..., who have not been satisfied to let other people make decisions for you, who have not been satisfied to be divided one from another nor to accept a future that is dim and uncertain and cloudly, who have not been satisfied with some of the changes not being met in our country. For the last 21 months I've been moving around the nation. When I began my campaign very few people knew who I was, maybe none of you in this room. I didn't have much money. I didn't have a big campaign organization. I came from a tiny town. I didn't hold public office. So I began to go from one home to another from one community to another, one labor hall to another, one factory line, barber shop, beauty parlor to another meeting the American people listening very carefully and shaping my presentation to this country and as you know won an overwhelming victory at the convention. I'm looking forward to winning another overwhelming victory, with your help, on November 2. I'm just like you. My background has been one that is typical of many people here. My family has been in Georgia for a long time. Nobody in my family ever had a chance to finish High School before me. I had a good College Education at public expense. I went in the United States Navel Academy. I used to be in the Navy for 11 years and now I got involved in politics at the local level, like many of you, on a local school board, Library Board, and I ran for the State Senate a couple of ~~times~~^{terms} and then ran

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for Georgia's Governor and was elected. And I've had my whole political strength based on a direct personal relationship with people and I've never had a chance to depend upon, or indirectly depend upon, powerful selfish special interest groups. And now we see a nation that has been deeply wounded the last few years and which is struggling to redeem itself to correct our mistakes, to bind ourselves together, to face the future in the spirit of unity. Our government has disappointed us. Sometimes we've been misled, sometimes we've been ~~alienated~~, sometimes we've been embarrassed, sometimes we've been even ashamed of our own government. I think these things... we have been afflicted in the last 2 years as a country and personally there will be a sharper mind of what we can do. The spirit of greatness and excellance and idealism and hope and morality used to be an part of our government is gone but it still exists in the minds and hearts of American people. The commonality of purpose that ought to exist between the President and the Congress has been destroyed. The President has not tried to work with Congress. Business, Industry, Labor, Agriculture, Education, Science has no way to contribute to the establishment or accomplishment of long range goals because there are no national goals in our country. In the last eight years we've seen devastating failures, a doubling in the number of bankruptcies in small business, jumped from 15,000 a year to 31,000 a year, the worst since the great depression. The average worker's salary check will buy less now than it did in 1968 when Lyndon Johnson went out of office. Last year we added 2 and 1/2 million people to the poverty rolls of our country. We have never experienced anything like that in our nation. The average inflation rate of this Administration has been over 6% which means that the things you buy double in cost every ten years. Last year we had the worst deficit in the history of our country, 65 billion dollars, More than all eight years combined under Johnson and Kennedy. These kinds of statistics hurt our country's reputation, but that's not the most important thing. The most important thing is that they hurt our people.

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You have tried to pull yourselves up by your own boot straps here in North Portland and St. Johns Community. You have insisted upon proper treatment from local government state government. You have insisted upon proper treatment with your own neighborhood. You've acquired an atmosphere of progress and peace and cooperation within your community but this doesn't exist everywhere. I am concerned about housing. Georgia produces more paper pulp than any other state in the nation. We have a great production of timber products with our southern flash. You have a great dependance on the housing industry just to keep your own people at work in your tremendous industry. I just took a boat trip around your port and found how much you export from this region that's produced from the rest of the country. The cost of a home in the last eight years has increased more than 16,000 dollars and the cost of interest has gone up more than 50%, which means monthly payments for a home have much more than doubled in the last eight years. This makes it very difficult to buy a home or to build a home. Last year we only had one point two million homes built in the whole country. That's the lowest number of homes built since 1940. We need to have some attention given to these fellows by the federal government on a human basis. It took us 70 years in our country to get so that 60% of the American families could afford to buy their own home. In eight years, Nixon and Ford have destroyed that accomplishment. Now less than one third of the American families can afford to buy and own their own homes. This need is great. With guaranteed for homes, with a supplement for high interest rates, with the reestablishment of the 235, 236, 202 programs, particularly for the older people, with the building of low rent housing for those who cannot afford to buy homes, these kind of things can do a great deal to stimulate our economy. We now have 20% of all of our construction workers in this country unemployed and the hunger for homes is great. You might not have thought about it but this also hurts you, who own your own homes because as the demand for homes is greater, as the price for

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goods doubles every ten years, the value of your home goes up. You may not want to sell it, you may just want to keep it and live in it you don't get any income from it but your property taxes go up because of inflation and because of the scarcity of homes for those who don't own them. And it puts a burden on you. A 6% inflation rate robs everybody on a daily basis. If you have saved for a lifetime and put your savings in a account at 5% interest you lose every year. Every year you have one percent less value in your savings than you had at the beginning of the year. A 6% inflation rate is not normal for our country. Under Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, the infla . . . averaged less than 2 percent about 2%, now it's 6 and 1/2 percent. 7.9 percent of our people are out of work, 7 and 1/2 million people and it's getting worse, We now have 500,000 more people unemployed than we had 3 months ago. We've got 2 and 1/2 million people unemployed than we had 2 years ago when Mr. Nixon went out of the White House and President Ford came in. Well, what do we need to do?? First of all, we need to have a clear cut policy, long range goals, that we can understand, on how to correct our defects. Policys concerning energy, which we don't have. Policys concerning enviromental quality, which must be protected. Policies concerning foreign trade, that will let us sell our inventory of goods to keep our people at work. A tax reform proposal that will give us a fair tax structure for a change . . . so that we can construct enough homes every year to meet our needs. Policies concerning education to give our children the better chance in life then we ourselves have had. Policies concerning health. We need uniformed, nationwide, comprehensive health care for our people. We're the only developed nation in the world that doesn't have this. It needs to be done. These kinds of programs would not cost us they would save. We've had balanced budgets in the past. All of you remember, who are old enough, the great spirit, the great care for people that existed under the Administration of Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, and Lyndon Johnson, and John Kennedy. When Nixon took office the budget was balanced, the inflation rate was low, the unemployment

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rate was low, the housing ... were building, our people were happy, Civil Rights were protected, our environmental quality, was for the first time, becoming a major factor in our societies consciousness. Under those Administrations we felt that our foreign policy was moral, was right, was fair, was concerned about human rights and represented the character of the American people. That's changed. It's time for us to bind our wounds. It's time for the President and the Congress to cooperate. It's time for Federal, State, and Local levels of government to work together for exactly the same constituents. It's time for Mayors and Governors and other officials to have an input into decision making process in Washington. It's time for us to remember that our country is still strong, economically. God blessed us with great forest lands, beautiful fields, clear streams, adequate mineral deposits and we still have those great *FACILITIES* and those great opportunities to keep us economically strong. Our system of government is still the best on earth. Vietnam and Cambodia didn't hurt our system of government. Richard Nixon and Watergate didn't hurt our system of government. The C.I.A. revelations and the F.B.I. revelations didn't hurt our system of government. The devastating blow given to our health care system on medicade with fraud and cheating didn't hurt our system of government. Our system is still clean and decent, a basis on which we can predicate answers on complicated questions and correct our mistakes and bind ourselves together and approach the future with confidence but we've got to have leadership. In the last few years, particularly the last 2 years under President Ford, we have not had any leadership. He staying in the White House. He has not put forth a single proposal that would benefit our lives that has been accomplished. He's been constantly at odds with the Congress. He's been timid and willing to accept the status quo. He has shown no concern about average people who are poverty stricken, or temporarily unemployed. He doesn't have a consciousness for a man or woman, who have been employed all of their life, for the first time to stand in a welfare line without

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a hope of self respect with full employment within that family and the hunger of people for jobs is compatible with the hunger for housing, health care, and better education. So strong leadership is what we need in this country and what we'll have next year. And we also need to reinspire our people. Although I am running for President, it's just as much your country as it is mine and I hope that within the next 5 or 6 weeks that you will join with all of us in seeking a way to restore what we have lost, those precious things that we've lost. Get registered to vote. Call you neighbors. Ask them to vote on November the 2. There is no one in this room that can't call twenty people a day or at least 100 people a week and say would you go and try and change our country back for the better. Our nation is hungry for restoration of this participation by the people in our own government. The last thing that I want to say is this. We've been divided in this country. We need to have a sense of unity, of purpose. My life has been in agriculture, I'm a farmer. I grow certified seed, mostly peanuts and I process those peanuts and sell them to other farmers but I am a small business man as well and the private enterprise system of our country, both management and labor, has got to be strengthened. Now it's been handicapped but it provides us with a sense of purpose and a sense of individuality and freedom that is crucial to the future. I think it's time for the President to cooperate with the Governors, Mayors, and with private organizations like your own to protect neighborhoods. We've got to be sure that whenever the government writes a decision about welfare, or health, or taxation, or transportation, that it binds families together, protects neighborhoods. I've never seen an Interstate Highway go through a golf course but I've seen a lot of Interstate Highway Projects, Urban Renewal Projects tear down 200 homes, in which people have invested their life savings. These concepts of America need not be discouraging to us. The failures of the past have not been caused by a lack of vision, and purpose, and patriotism and idealism and hope among our people. We've been betrayed by our

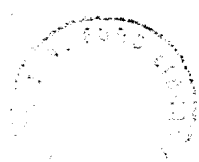
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leaders and this betrayal has got to be corrected. How many of you think that it's time for a change in Washington?? Well if you help me in your congressional delegation and your local officials and state officials on November the 2 then we'll have here on January 20 a change in our country. So let what you have in St. Johns Community be kind of a inspiration for the rest of the nation to get personal freedom to enhance the qualities of life, a chance to own your own home, a chance to have a fair payment of taxes, better health care, more security in your old age, a chance for education for your children that perhaps you didn't have your self. These kind of things can be done and I think that if we put our people back to work we can control inflation, we can eliminate our deficit and have a balanced budget, we can let people understand our own government once again, we can have a minimum of secrecy in government and maximum of personal privacy and restore the greatness to our government and prove together to ourselves and to the rest of the world that we still live in the greatest nation on earth.....

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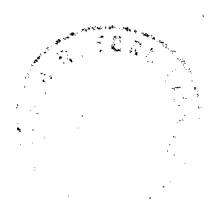
Jimmy
Carter

..... leaders of Oregon who are with me and to all of you who have honored me by coming to meet with me in this beautiful place, beautiful state, beautiful nation, with pure air.... How many of you want to keep this air pure? If you do were are going to have to keep the Republicans out of the White House and put a Democrat in, ok? In the last few years, we've seen our country go down hill. Not only has there been no attention given to the quality of air, land, water but there has been very little attention given to the quality of human beings lives. We've had in the last 3 months 500,000 Americans join the unemployment rolls. In two years since Mr. Ford's been in the White House the unemployment rolls have gone to 2 and 1/2 million. I believe that we can do better than that in this great country and I intend to change it next year. This is not just a large figure this 2 and 1/2 million. It's a large number of families in our country where a mother or father, maybe 20 or 25 years have had a job. And they have been able to hold a family together with the respect of one another and the respect of the children, the head of the family. But 9 out of,.... Americans, maybe some of you, no longer have a job. You had one two years ago. That's not part of the character of our country. It must be changed. We've now got 6 and 1/2 percent inflation average. For the last 8 years, under Johnson, Kennedy, the inflation rate was about 2 percent. This is not just a figure, it's a constant daily robbing of those who who have fixed incomes, who have a savings account at 5% interest who see that they are earning.... after 11 months that shrink 1% a year. 6% inflation minus 5% interest is a 1% loss. We've seen the cost of homes double in the last 8 years. We've seen interest rates go up 40 to 50 percent and this hurts the people of our country. We've lost the spirit in our nation. A spirit of youth, a spirit of confidence, self-reliance; a spirit of work and not welfare, a spirit of caring for one another, a spirit of unity between the President and the Congress, between and local levels of government, between government itself and our great private enterprise system, labor, ^{agriculture,} science, education, industry ^{character,} of the American people. *This is not a loss, that's not part of it*



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We've seen a loss of morality, in domestic and foreign affairs. We've seen a beginning of our human rights and we're ashamed of what our government is as we deal with other nations around the world and that's got to be changed and I am going to change it. The value of a working families paycheck is less now than it was in 1968. The number of bankruptcies in small businesses in double what it was 8 years ago. The average profit of business went down. The number of people on welfare has double. These kind of statistics again sound very bad in a debate or on a speech but the devastating impact on them is on the business man who went broke and on the person who had never before drawn a welfare check, but now has to sign the line the first time. We have an income tax structure that's a disgrace. It's got to be changed and beginning next year it's going to be changed. The Democrats have always believed and have proven that we can have low inflation rates and a low unemployment at the same time. The Republicans have demonstrated, again and again, that you can have high unemployment and high inflation at the same time. That's the difference between the two parties and that's what going to keep the Republicans out next January. Poverty creates crime. A family who has to push an 18 year old man or women out of the home may be a law abiding young person because the welfare payments and the unemployment compensation social security doesn't apply to an 18 year old and when that young person wonders up and down the street for a week two weeks, three weeks, never a chance for a job, there's a pushing toward shoplifting, breaking into automobiles, prostitution, drugs. Poverty is not an excuse for crime but it is a reason for, cause of crime. So what this Republican Administration has done to our country is not only devastating in economic terms but it's devastating in human terms and it... away the aspects of our nation that has always made us proud. We now have been disillusioned in recent years in the aftermath of Vietnam, ..., Watergate, C.I.A., F.B.I., medicade. Those things have hurt us and we need to do away with that kind of ... of our country. We now have no sense of unity. The American people want to get along with one another.



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There is no reason for us to be divided, among racial lines or textile lines, or partisan lines, between government and private industry, between the President and the Congress, between the black and white people, those who speak English and those who don't, those who have been here 2 years, and those who have been here 200 years. There is no reason for these divisions. We need to unify our nation, Not because an absence of differences among us individually but with a common purpose to correct our mistakes, to ask difficult questions and to have once again a spirit that has been absent in our government, a spirit of hope and hurt and compassion and love and brotherhood and competence for a change. That's got to come into our government this year. I worked all my life, most of the time on a farm. I grew up during the depression years. We didn't have electricity. We didn't have running water. We didn't have indoor plumbing and I saw the devastating effects of the Hoover Administration and then came Roosevelt who was a rich man, but he understood poor people. He was affected himself by of them and he could see in people's lives the need for self respect and a decent job. Franklin Roosevelt said that we ought to have minimum wage laws, so he put to the Congress a proposition. Let's guarantee that a man or woman who works an hour is paid 25¢, at least. The Democrats supported it. 90% of the Republicans in Congress voted against paying a man or woman 25¢ an hour for hard manual labor. Franklin Roosevelt said we need electricity in farm homes and we need to give older people a chance at ... security, and self respect in our time and year. And he put forth ... social security. There were 95 Republican members in the House 94 of them voted ^{against} social security and then came along Harry Truman, a common man, yes, one of us, but he was an uncommon leader. He was a leader. We knew who the President was when Harry Truman was there. He had a sign on his desk in the Oval Office. Does anyone remember what it says? The buck stops here. Nowadays the buck is all over Washington looking for a place to stop. There's no leadership, no one is in charge. We need someone in charge once again. And then came ... John Kennedy. Then he came down to the South to campaign,

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his advisors told him not to come. They said sign off the southern states.....
Don't come down there. But John Kennedy came to Georgia. He made one speech in
Warm Springs((????)) He said I need your support and your help and when the returns
came in on November 1960, John Kennedy got his bigger margin of victory, not in
~~Massachusetts~~, but in the state of Georgia, and we're proud of that. It showed
that the quality of American people is often underestimated by the news media, by
the political scientists, and even by politicians. We don't have any racial hatred.
We don't have within us religious prejudice, We don't have within us the on
separation one from another. We have within us a spirit of forgiveness of under-
standing. We have been given within us an ... to seek for common ground and to bind
our hearts together and approach the future within a common purpose. That change
has taken place in America and I am going to expedite that change when you elect me
President next January and you can depend on that too. This is not going to be an
easy campaign. Twenty one months ago I started running for President in January
of 1975. I didn't hold public office. I didn't have much money. I didn't have
a nation wide campaign organization. Not many people knew who I was. Maybe not
1% of those in this crowd knew who I was 2 years ago. We began to campaign, my wife
and I, my family, a few volunteers. We went from one home to another and in...
the whole neighborhood, maybe 3 or 4 people would come, and we would talk and listen.
We would go into a labor hall, 10 people would come. We'd talk and we'd listen. We
went into factory lines, beauty parlors, barber shops, restaurants, shopping centers,
farmers markets, court houses, to talk a little and listen a lot. And we built up
a campaign organization just among people. And it was a growing thing. And it
was strong. And long before the convention took place in an unprecedented
political development, I was assured the nomination of the Democratic Party. At
that time and now and in the future, I owe special interest nothing. I owe the
people everything and I'm going to keep it that way. Yesterday, I was in California,

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before that I was in Texas. I have been campaigning full time. Meeting people like yourself, letting you get to know me, talking about the issues, economics, environment, welfare, taxation, transportation, foreign affairs, health care, elderly, human rights and many others. We see down here in Washington every day bad news. Yesterday the headlines were that in 1975, 2 and 1/2 million more people in this country went under the poverty line. When John Kennedy took office, in 1961, 24% of our people were living in poverty. Every year when Johnson, Kennedy, even Eisenhower were in office, the number on poverty went down. Now it's climbing rapidly. In one year alone, the highest number in the history of our country went back on poverty. Two and 1/2 million in one year. These people were heads of families. Men, mostly white.... a new experience for them to be out of work and not have a chance to contribute to the greatness of their own lives.....the excellence of our nation. They want to work but this Administration is not an Administration of work it's an Administration of Welfare. And we need to change the conscious in Washington and if you will help me in November we're going to change it in January and you can depend on that. Now I believe in sound management. I never run my family with a deficit budget. I never run my peanut farm with a deficit budget. I never run my small business with a deficit budget. I was the Governor of Georgia for 4 years. We had a balanced budget and a surplus. If I'm elected President of this country, and I intend to be, before I go out of office at the end of the first four years we're going to have a balanced budget for our country and you can depend on that to and the reason is this, we'll never have a balanced budget, we'll never have an end to the inflationary spiral as long as we have 8 and 1/2 or 9 million people in our country out of work who are looking for jobs. The first and foremost way to balance the budget and give us the services we need is to put our people back to work. When Richard Nixon took office the budget was balanced. When Harry Truman finished his 7 years in office, we had a surplus for the whole 7 years of 2 billion dollars and if we could just put our people back to work and tap the tremendous human, and mineral, and transportation, and

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agricultural strength of this country we can do this again. We now have a ... mess in Washington. It's going to take an outsider to correct it. But if I'm elected President I intend to be we're going to have an efficient, economical, purposal, manageable government and you can also depend on that if you'll help me then I'll do it. I want to close by saying this. The American people are fair. Our government is not fair. You can't expect any better from political leadership that has been bogged down in Washington for the last 25 or 30 years. Deriving their advice, thier counsel, their ~~financial~~ support from lobbyist, and special interest groups. They go to the same restaurants, they belong to the same clubs. They play golf on the same golf courses. They communicate to one another, they support one another. In the absence of participation of understanding, control, by the people ourselves. We can't run this government or this Administration or this campaign from those private clubs up in the White^{house} Rose Garden. We've got to run our campagin among people. We've got to return government to the people. We've got to have government working for the people and we've got to have support, advice, counsel, and political strength directly from the people. If you elect me that's what we're going to have next year in our government and it's going to be quite a change, a great change. Now, I don't get my reports about unemployment, ..., the welfare problems, unfair tax structures from the staff reports from the government bureaucracies, I get mine directly from you. I learn about this country, what it is, and what it can be. I've got confidence in the future of the United States of America. It's my country and yours. I intend to be President but its not any more my nation than it is yours. We've got 5 or 6 weeks to go before November the second, I hope everyone of you will take on your own shoulders a responsibliity to correct our mistakes, to answer difficult questions, and to carve out for ourselves a better nation and a better future. Make sure that your ready to vote, get your own friends to register to vote. Explain to them the issues in the campaign, the

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differences in the basic philosophy of Democrats and Republicans, the sharp distinctions of what our nation is and what our nation can be. We can have a government that makes us proud once again if we are part of it. We can have a government that's loyal once again, that is concerned about people once again, that's unified once again if we the people are part of it. We need to tear down the walls built around Washington and let us have access to what our government does, strip away secrecy. These changes can be made only with you. If you help me we'll do it together. How many of you think that it's time for these changes to be made in Washington? Come on everybody.. It's not an easy thing for an outsider like me to defeat an incumbent with a unified party but if you will help me on November the second, then I'll ... in January to restore the greatness to our country to the standard of morality and ethics a standard of excellence and make us proud and demonstrate to our own people that you and I still live in the greatest nation on earth. Thank you very much. You help me and I'll help you, Thanks alot.,

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Jimmy Carter, Sandiago, California
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I'm very glad to be back in Sandiago. I had a chance to live here about twenty-five of twenty-six years ago as a young submarine officer and I told Governor Brown this morning that I had the most profound and inspiring improvement in the beauty of the surroundings, one is Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, the other one is Sandiago, California. Last night inOhio and Cincinnati, he left there late and from Los Angeles came down here to be with me this morning and I really thank him for that. It's good to be back in Jerry Brown's country. I'm thankful to all of you for keeping him busy. Early in the primary season, had he been expanding his sphere of influence earlier than Maryland, I might very well be introducing him today instead of him introducing me. He's a great young leader who, as you know, has changed the consciousness of political America for the better. And I'm very grateful to him for his friendship. In the last twenty-one months, I've been traveling around this country meeting people, meeting people, talking to them, listening to them.....And there are two basic questions that they ... at the approach of election date. One is the quality of leadership and how it effects our nation and how it effects our people. Leadership and people. Recently, I've been discussing the terrible burden of unemployment. Seven and a half million Americans who want jobs and can't find them. Two and a half million more than there were three years ago when Richard Nixon left office. Five hundred thousand more than there were three months ago. In the last two years ago a fourteen percent increase in the cost of living. Last year sixty-five billion dollars deficit. The highest deficit in the history of our country. In the last eight years, with gross mismanagement, our national debt increased more than it had in one hundred and ninety-two years. Before that, the impact on the spirit,



of our country, the consciousness of our people of confidence in the future, our basic respect for ourselves, our commitment to human dignity, as our people have been wronged of the realization of the precious things that have always exemplified what our country is. The gross mismanagement in Washington; the breakdown in the proper relationship between the President and the Congress; a lack of unity and spirit in cooperation at the federal, state and local levels of government, between government, industry, labor, business, agriculture, science, education and other interests in our society. It's serious and I've been talking about it for awhile; and how a complete absence of leadership which inspires people...To pull our people together to standards of excellence and greatness. It's bad enough on a national basis, but on a human individual basis, the family is torn apart, neighborhoods are destroyed, that's where the major impact has lain. Today, I want to change and talk about another subject. It's important to you and to everyone on earth, as unemployment is to someone out of a job; or inflation is to an elderly person trying to live, for the daily dwindling income, perhaps the subject of nuclear proliferation. A classmate at the Country M..... Research, in preparation, I made a speech at the United Nations about nuclear proliferation, weapons, plutonium, production of atomic power, control of atomic waste, spread of potential destruction throughout the world center around some discussion in the Congress and the news media and I think that flurry has now proceeded to encourage the possible future practice of major legislation on this subject. Continued proliferation, or dependence on atomic weapons without the control of atomic waste creates a very dangerous and a very unaccessible barrier to international peace. There's always the risk of war, particularly among the smaller developing nations.....by 1990, the developing nations alone will have enough plutonium to manufacture



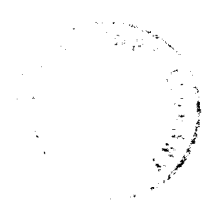
three thousand Hiroshima sized bombs every year. The opportunity for terrorist, who already have no respect for human life or the common rules under which..... war is conducted, if supplied with atomic weapons, could destroy the fabric of our society. We now have five nations who have atomic weapons that we know about, ourselves, the Soviet Union, Great Briton, France and the People's Republic of China. India has recently exploded an atomic device and other nations like Brazil and Argentina, Israel, Pakistan, Taiwan have been moving toward nuclear capability. This week Taiwan agreed not to proceed any further the seeking for atomic weapons. They said an assurance from us that they could have atomic fuel to produce f..... and that if they could depend upon us for their protection. By 1980, that's four years in the future, twenty-eight nations in the world will be using atomic power for peaceful purposes. Once we possess the capability, any nation that has a single atomic power plant can produce weapon quality nuclear explosives. This is something that we should remember. We had the first atomic capability and on us falls a tremendous additional responsibility to control and to limit the spread of atomic weapons, but in the last two years we have had a complete absence of leadership in this major field. Our non-nuclear proliferation policy has consisted of faith, footsteps and secret diplomacy and a constant yielding to the manufacturers of atomic products. And to those who very cynically say to this whole wide control, the spread of nuclear capabilities we have failed miserably, we don't have any clear policy of our own for the control of reprocessing, for the storage of atomic waste or for the control of the enrichment of uranium. Our security has been weak. The recent report of the General Accounting Office to Congress said that we have lost one hundred thousand pounds of atomic matter, six thousand pounds of weapons quality. Two thirds of all our research and development money

has gone into atomic power. Most of this for the Breeder reactor. Now we have failed to place our own peaceful atomic plant on international safe guard. President Ford has held the non-proliferation thrust hostage in his insistence that private industry should take over reproduction or increased production of, at least, uranium. We have fought all non-proliferation efforts. And it's been a tragic retreat for us.....to remember that our nation made under the Kennedy and Johnson years. We refuse to increase our government capacity to produce enriched uranium that can provide peaceful atomic power. And there's little emphasis, as you well know, for research development of America's skill for solar energy, geothermal supplies, a clean burning or safe instructions of coal. So, domestically, we've been bad enough, but internationally, we've been much worse. We've done little to oppose the sale of reprocessing plants in developing countries. Recently West Germany has agreed to sell reprocessing plants to Brazil and France agreed to sell a reprocessing plant to Pakistan. Which will have sold, immediately, to Brazil and Pakistan the capability of producing atomic weapons. We spoke frankly, we didn't insist and.....We neglected any possible constraint or strong voice against India, who has not signed a non-proliferation treaty, who has gotten fuel f..... from Canada, used that reprocessed fuel to detonate an atomic explosion. We had even been the spokesman, our State Department had for India, before our nuclear regulatory commission, in encouraging the additional sale of atomic fuel to India. Without requiring India to agree for international control of their atomic waste. We now have ninety-five nations who have signed up in the Non-proliferation Treaty. In effect, the Non-proliferation Treaty says that if you're a developing country, non-nuclear fission, we agreed to comply with international safe guards. We agreed not to

take our sm... fuel. We agreed not to process it and make a weapon, provided the atomic power nations, who have weapons capability, will constrain their own escalation and will provide us with enough enriched uranium to produce power. Under Johnson, Kennedy before him, this thrust was a major effort of our future. Under Nixon and Ford, that thrust has been forgotten. As a matter of fact, as indicated by the Indian situation, we have really favored the countries that have refused to sign the Non-proliferation Treaty in preference to those who've actually signed it. This Republican indifference is serious to all of us and to the world. We have continued our own race for increasing atomic capabilities. We've also refused to put under the international expose safeguards in our own handling of atomic waste either storage or restraint of reproduction and reprocessing. We continue to test, so called peaceful nuclear devices, along with the Soviet Union, and we really put a limit of one hundred and fifty thousand tons of TNT capability of weapons that we test. The question that comes to us as Americans is this: If we don't provide leadership in what could be the most important single question that we face, then who is going to provide that leadership. Last night, I pointed out that our country ought not to accept the timid, cowardly, cynical assumption that we have no responsibility, then the nuclear proliferation around the world is inevitable. As President, there are eleven steps, specifically, that I would take immediately, to assure that our role of leadership in this important question is restored. First of all, here's our full influence for an international retroactive moratorium on the sale or production of reprocessing plants to those nations who do not have a present nuclear capability. This would apply to the West German sale to Brazil and to the French sale of a reprocessing plan to Pakistan. These contracts have been signed and the reprocessing plants have already been de-



livered. Secondly, no sale or committment for technical knowledge or fuel supply for any nation that does not agree, we will not produce automic weapons; we will submit automic waste to international control. We will sign the Non-prolifération Treaty. Third, we should hold off our own, domestic, reprocessing plans until there's an international agreement on how these waste products can be accounted for, stored and handled in a peaceful and safe way. Fourth, I will call immediately an international conference on energy and all its forms; to bring together the nations of the world to discuss the dwindling supplies of all our thirty-five years worth; the present supplies of coal; the increased use of solar power; geothermal power; a sharing, on an internationalre- search and development-----infusion problems, the searching out for the best means that we might use to bring a reactor both with uranium and and how we might conserve energy as well. It's time for the whole nation to look at the energy field and cooperate and share the responsibililty for con- servation, research and development, production and,most of all, the control of the trend of automatic weapons.....that would strengthen the safeguards and place all United States domestic power production plants under those international safeguards, and encourage all other nations to do the same. Six, I would renegotiate our present very light international agreement for supply of automatic fuel to make sure that the new agreement complys with strict controls which are presently absent. I would also assure the country that must depend on automic power of an adequate supply of enriched uranium; provided they comply with the control of the waste which would presently a- voil any possibilities of automatic weapons production. I would explore international agreement for research and also on enrichment, and also on



storage of atomic waste.that would redirect our research and development efforts. We now spend too much on.....reactors. This ought to be a long range research project. But we ought to cooperate with other nations, particularly France and England, who already have operating..... reactors. We've got alternative fields, it isto cut down on the requirements for enrichment of uranium, and also, and tenth, I would sign a comprehensive test ban treaty. This is important. And, eleventh, I would seek out with the Soviet Union, a.....moratorium on any further tests of atomic explosives, either weapons or the so called peaceful nuclear devices and encourage other nations to join with us. This is just one, although a very important one, example of a complete and total absence of leadership that presently exists in Washington. Other nations look to us for the strength of our nation, militarily, politically, economically and particularly nuclear fissure, to take the leadership role and when we fail to do this on an international basis, the international world.....As Jerry Brown pointed out, we're existing domestically. I believe that West Germany and France, Russia, China, Great Britain, even Brazil and Pakistan deals with another nation.....weapons, would respond well, if there was some leadership exerted from our country. Our nation is a great country. In recent years, we have been disillusioned. We've been hating it.....we've been held in those lights. Important issues have been submerged below the surface of political consciousness. We've forgotten the horrible devastation of Nagasaki and Hiroshima. We've come to accept atomic weapons as just talk about megatons and over-kill. It's time for us to readdress this very serious problem. I think Sandiago is the appropriate place to discuss it. Because Sandiago has always

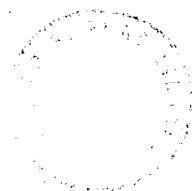
been a great center for the adequate protection of our country; which is a prerequisite for continued peace. But when our strength should come or willingness to yield to our international benefits, and when you talk about international benefits, relating to atomic weapons, it is the benefit of every man, woman and child in this room and all those who come to our country for leadership. I'm tired of seeing our country drift in international affairs or domestic affairs. It's time for strong leadership to protect our people. I want to thank you for letting me come to make this technical, but important speech in this forum. I hope that the points outlined will be widely publicized. I hope even before January 20th they might penetrate the consciousness of the leaders of our country. Because every day delayed, increases the pressure for circumventing the cause of these devastating threats to our very lives. I consider it to be one of the most important subjects to face our world today. And if our country is willing to be as strong as our people are, to be as idealistic as our people are, as unified in thought as our people are then the world will listen. If we can go a long way forward vigorating peace to all people in the world, Thank you very much.

Jimmy Carter
Northwest Regional Labor Meeting
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The last time I came out here I had six primaries on the same day and I appreciate the great support that I had. I came in second in three of the states and I came in first in the other three states on the same Tuesday. As you know, on November 2, I have 50 elections each one of them is really on its own. It's a winner take all. If you get one more vote than your opponent you get all of the electoral votes, so every single person that's registered counts and every person that goes to the polls counts. The amount of money that we have to spend is the same amount that Ford and Dole have to spend. We'll have approximately the same quality of television, radio, newspaper advertising. The opportunities to present ourselves to the public is almost the same. The difference is you and the people who look to you for leadership, the working people of our country who will have to make an assessment of what kind of government we should have the next four years, perhaps the next eight years. In the last 24 years we've had Republicans in the White House 16 years and there is a tremendous in the attitude well being, and the hope and spirit in this country when Kennedy and Johnson were in the White House than compared to when Nixon and Ford were in the White House. Our country has been going down. There is no leadership. We have an abominable record in Washington in the last 8 years particularly in the last 2 years. Anyone who has to work for a living with his or her hands ought to think about how these statistical changes have affected their own lives or perhaps more importantly might adversely affect their own lives in the future. We've seen bankruptys double. 31,000 bankruptys last year, mostly small business employor's of people. We've seen the number of people on the welfare rolls double. In the last two years, since Ford has been in the White House, we've had 2 and 1/2 more people unemployed in the last 3 months 500,000 more Americans are unemployed. We've seen the worst Federal deficit in the history of our country, 65 billion dollars, more than all of the years when Johnson and Kennedy were in the White House. Under Nixon and Ford, our

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total Federal deficit increase has equaled 192 years previously. The sensitivity of this Administration is absolutely lacking. There is no human concern about what happens to people when the government is dormant, or insensitive, or lacking in leadership. You probably saw the newspapers yesterday, in 1975 2 and 1/2 million Americans slipped below the poverty level. The greatest increase was in white male headed families because they were out of work for more than 15 weeks and their family substance went below the poverty level. The American people want to work. This Administration is an Administration of welfare and not work. We'll never have a balanced budget which I would like to see one, never have an end to the inflationary spiral which I would like to see. We'll never have a meeting of our people's legitimate needs in comprehensive health care programs, better housing programs, job opportunities, control of inflation as long as we have Gerald Ford in the White House. There is a break down in communication between the President and the Congress and between the Federal Government, the State Government, the Local Government and between government itself and between business, industry, labor, agriculture, education, science and other entities in our society. These defects in our nation are not characteristic of what our people are. Our people want to work. Our people want to have stable lives. Our people want to have the family closer together. Our people want to protect neighborhoods. Our people want to have security in our retirement year. Our people want to have education that's better for our kids than we had for ourselves. Our people want to have a nation in which we can be proud of once again and not be ashamed, and embarrassed and all we need is a government that derives its strength and support and counsel, its advice, directly from the people. You represent the kind of families, the kind of people in our country who have not yielded yet to discouragement but who still maintain within your hearts and their hearts a realization of what our country can be again. This is a very important election. We saw another one as important in 1932 when Roosevelt fought



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.... no place for government to try and help with jobs. We saw another one when Landon and the Republican Party almost unanimously said social security is a communistic plot. There were 95 Republicans in the House of Representatives when social security was voted on. 94 of them voted against social security. The first minimum wage law 25¢ an hour. Over 90% of Republicans voted against paying an adult man or woman 25¢ an hour to work with their hands. My first job was 40¢ an hour. In 1941 the Republicans opposed the 40¢ an hour minimum wage and then medicare came along just to help older people with their health bills. Gerald Ford voted against medicare. Last year you saw the medicare program was disgraced. 25 to 50 percent of the money allocated for medicare either stolen or wasted. We have a government that is obligated to the powerful selfish special interest groups and which has no concern about people who comprise the strength of our country. I'm not afraid of this election, I look forward to it with anticipation and confidence. I think that we're perhaps in better shape in the Northwest than Democratic Candidates have been since Lyndon Johnson in 1964 when carried this region. We've campaigned hard here. I, my wife, my family, my volunteers, my supporters, including you and if we can just hold to the principals of our country and bind ourselves together in a mutual purpose and not give up a concept of what our nation can be, we'll whip the Republicans on November 2 and we'll change our government for the better in November and in January and we'll have a President that can cooperate with the Democratic Congress for a change, get over the stalemate that has handstrung us all and give our people a new hope, a new vision, a new concept, of what this country is. We've got the greatest country on the earth. Our economic strength is unsurpassed any where in the world. Our forest lands, our pure water, pure streams, pure air can be preserved and we can also put our people back to work at the same time. This is the kind of Administration that I intend to bring. As you know, in closing, I started out 21 months ago just like one of you. I didn't have much money. I had

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43,000 dollars to run a Presidential campaign. I didn't hold public office. I come from a little town of 683 people. I didn't have a nation wide campaign organization. I doubt if any of you had ever heard my name and I and my family and a few volunteers began to go from one home to another, one labor hall to another. Sometimes 10 people would come just out of curiosity so then we began to go to factory lines and shopping centers and livestock sales barns and farmers markets and walk through county court houses and go into barber shops and beauty parlors just to find people to talk to, but mostly to listen and we built up strength politically because my whole committment is to the average American family who has not been treated fairly lately and the people trusted me and in an unprecedented political development in our country we had the assurance of the nomination even before the convention met and now I have got your support. And your support, if it's well coordinated and determined and courageous, which I'm sure that it is, can make the difference in the next four years, the next eight years, of our nations life. I pledge to you that when I am in the White House you will have a friend there and your people that look to you for leadership will have a friend there. We're going to whip the Republicans on November the second and restore in January leadership in the White House and derive the strength from the same source as yours, the people in this country who have to work for a living. That's what I intend to do with your help. We'll do it together.....

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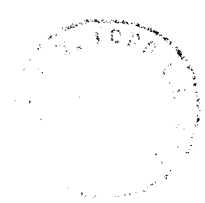
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QUESTIONS

From my office in Atlanta, there was a reporter there for the Rolling Stone who called back and ask the President of the University of Georgia, ^{for the copy of a speech} and I had a tape and from that tape there is a transcription of the speech. If you would write Box 1976 Atlanta, Georgia, they'll send you a copy of the speech. The substance of the speech is how government including particually our system of justice does not treat the average American fairly but gives special privileges to those who are already powerful or rich or socially prominent. In my experience as a Governor and as a non-lawyer was that our system of justice is not fair. I think that you might find that interesting. But on any subject that you have, on education, or welfare , or health, or taxation, or government reorganization or justice or any speech, you will write to Box 1976 we'll send you a copy of a speech or a statement on a issue.

TWO ITEM-- Humphrey- Hawkins Bill and

I think the Humphrey-- Hawkins Bill, in its original form, I did not support it. But now the bill that has been passed by the House Education Committee.....
END OF QUESTIONS.....



Thank you very much. Thank you Henry for that very very kind introduction . I can tell by the look on your faces that you agree with me that Henry Meyer is ... Milk, has the best Mayor of any city in the country. I think one of the reasons that Carter is going to win the Presidency is that Henry's out there working for the Carter ticket and there is nobody that understands the cities better than Henry Meyer and he's my old friend, he's your great Mayor, and we're together in this campaign. Cliff Dragger, your fine alderman, and especially to all of you for coming out this morning and to Leone, who represents that wonderful Congressman of your Clem Zvocky. Clem is an old friend of mine and there just trying to finish that Congressional session so that all the Congressman and Senators can come home, tell the story, so that we can win this election in November but above all I want to thank each of you for coming out so early and being so kind to me this morning. I was in the south side here a few weeks ago, we went over to St. Patricks where we visited a Senior Citizens Luncheon Program and then I had a chance to speak to your Senior Citizens Community Action Program and I think we've got the best Senior Citizens Program where everybodys involved that there is in the country. We had 1000 people out on a hot afternoon and I've been speaking now for six weeks and that was the liveliest youngest crowd that I've talked to in my whole national campaign and I want to thank Milk. for giving me that. Now, Wisconsin can well decide who the next President is going to be. Wisconsin is crucial to us. It's one of the so called battle ground states. The election is very very close here and we need your help and Wisconsin, goodmorning, is crucial to us and I know when Wisconsin goes Democratic it's when the south side gets tough and turn out that vote and show the American people that we want a peoples President. So, I wanted to come to the south side personally with Henry and say I've seen you do it before, there's no area in the country that can turn out the vote and do a better job of setting this country right, than the south side of Milk. You know how to do it, I don't have to tell you how to do it. Just start right this morning, when we leave this

Polish Federation.

Milk. Wisconsin

hall, go see your friends, see your neighbors, see your bowling partners, see your friends at church, see your friends at work, see that they see their friends and get the message across and the message is that there never has been a time in American history when we needed a change in national leadership more than we need in 1976. The other night you may have seen the Republican President on t.v. say that I've turned the economy around. Did you see that??? Did you see that??? He has, clear down, that's what he has done. Let's look at the facts of this economy and compare to the rosey predictions that they are putting out. Every day new figures, yesterday the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that the index of leading economic indicators declined in August for the first time in 18 months. What does that mean?? It means that if you look at the things that best tell you what direction the economy is going in everyone of them says the economy is going down. If you look at manufacturing hours, new orders for manufacturing goods, layoff rates, contracts for new plants and equipment, stock prices, new business formations, everything in the past that has been the key indicator of what direction this economy is going in, yesterday those indicators every one of them pointed down. Secondly, the day before that the Bureau of the Census revealed that in 1975 more people fell below the poverty than anytime in the eighteen years that the poverty statistics have been kept. The combination of inflation and unemployment and the expiration of unemployment insurance drove 2 and 1/2 million Americans, who use to be able to take care of themselves and stay off welfare and pay taxes and live with a little bit of pride, even on a marginal income, finally lost their grip, their finger nails let lose, and they fell beneath the poverty line and they can work all year, according to the government's own statistics, and still be unable to take care of the minimum minor needs that they have, the most basic needs they will be unable to deal with, decent nutrition, decent homes, none of that are they going to be able to do adequately. That occurred this year. Now in addition to that, these same figures showed that inflation is roarin

along, it is not abaiting, as they would have us to believe. Last year the average lost 360 dollars in purchasing power and last year because of the inflation the average American who worked income is the equilivant of what they earned in 1965. Anotherwords we have lost 11 years of progress in America due to the combination of unemployment and recession and inflation that this administration has imposed upon the American people. Let me just say this, we know how to do it and we've done it everytime we've been in office. The last time we had a Democrat, Kennedy and Johnson, every year more Americans were at work than the year before. Every year there were fewer unemployed than the year before. Every year each American's real income was higher than the year before because we kept inflation in check and more than that every year we were building more homes, every year we were taking better care of our senior citizens, every year we were educating our childr better, every year because we were growing and becoming stronger as a nation and we had humane leadership we were taking care of problems increasing that Americans could not handle by themselves. Than in 1969 they took over, and in practically every year there has been more unemployment than the year before. Mr. Ford said he turned the economy around. Well, since he took office 2 and 1/2 million Americ have been added to the unemployment rolls. For every 10 standing in the unemployment rolls when he was sworn in after being appointed by you know who there are now 15 people standing in the unemployment rolls and I say this, everyth that is suppose to be going up is going down and everything that is going down is suppose to be going up and when you have an Administration that doesn't know the difference between up and down it's time to give them another directon which is out and that's what 1976 is all about, to get a peoples President back in there, and then they say finally that we're going to reform taxes. My dad was a minister and he said that the problem with death bed conversion is that sometimes they get well and he almost allways forget about it. Now there going through a death bed conversion on the eve of election. They say that they are for jobs; their for housing, their for health and so on. And the other day

they said they were for tax reform, for reducing the taxes on the average American. Those two people on the Republican ticket and I am on the tax committee have been fighting for loop holes for the rich their whole lives. Together they should get the loop hole award of the century. They have always been for more relief for the privileged and for more taxes to make up the differences on the average American. What did they do these past years? Did you hear them talk about relief for the average American?? NO, in 1974 when we moved into the depression they proposed a 10% tax increase on Americans. We headed it off and said you need a tax cut and it has to be progressive, Gaylord Nelson and I led the fight on the Senate Finance Committee to get relief into the hands of the average American so they could take care of their problems, spend some money and put some people to work. What did they want to do?? When we got done with that tax bill, they wanted to increase taxes on people making less than \$6000 a year with families, 400 dollars a family. Can you imagine that?? They wanted to increase taxes between that figure and \$10,000 by \$150 a family. They wanted increase between \$10 and \$15,000 a year by \$85 a family and if you made more than \$50,000 a year they wanted to decrease your taxes by \$780 a taxpayer. Now that's what they wanted to do two years ago and now on the eve of election they say forget all of that. Now we're for the middle income American and where do they want to get the money to reduce those taxes?? I'll tell you where... They want to put a cap on Social Security recipients. They want the poorest among us in America, the Senior Citizens, to pay the price of that tax cut through a cap on Social Security pay that's suppose to be adjusted for inflation and they want the seniors to pay part of that inflation out of the ... income that they have. Secondly, they want seniors to help pay for that tax cut by paying a billion and a half more out of their own pocket for the cost of medical care when as anyone knows seniors have three times the cost of medical care as the rest of us and they don't have enough money now to pay for it. And then the other place they want to pick up the money is to cut student assistance, so that our kids

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can go to college by 25%. Now I say this, we have time in this country to be humane and decent. For all of our problems there are some people in our midst that are entitled for the concern of all of us and a nation that does not deal decently with its senior citizens is a nation that is not decent itself. Americans know the difference and they are going to show that they know the difference in this election. We want Mr. Ford to quit hiding behind that desk, come out from behind it, stand up and answer those questions that the news people have been trying to ask him recently but can't get to him. A campaign is not a time when we hear from a politician, although we do some of that, above all a campaign is a time when the politician hears from the American people, and answers their questions, and the time to ask and to answer questions is before the election, not after it so I'd like Mr. Ford to start answering questions and I'd like to say how does he reconcile his rosey descriptions of the economy with the statistics now coming out now showing their failure. What are we to believe, his predictions or statistics? How does he explain that the purchasing power of the average family has slipped to the level of 1965?? Where is his plan to halt inflation?? Where are the real incomes of American families going to increase instead of decrease?? What are his plans to provide jobs?? These kinds of questions the President ought to be answering and he ought to be around where people can ask it. But he's not there and he's not answering. Meantime Governor Carter and Walter Mondale have been with the American people every day since that convention. We have nothing to fear from the American people. We've listened to them. We're listening to them. We speak for them because we represent the party of the people and that's why the people are going to send Jimmy Carter to the White House in 1976.

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Meetings with Conference of
Presidents of Major Jewish
Organizations
Ramada Inn
East Boston, Massachusetts

First of all let me say that I appreciate the beautiful statement that was just made by the Rabbi which expresses in such eloquent terms the significant character of the Jewish people of this country and the world. I had prepared today a speech that was primarily oriented about your holy days but we've had in recent hours a development in this country that causes me deep pain and deep concern as an American. I believe in this country. I believe in the value in each human being's life. I believe in the spirit of individual freedom and equality of opportunity. I believe in the Bill of Rights. I believe in an absence of persecution and I think that the government of our country ought to be completed, from the top to the bottom, to the preservation of those rights. We've not seen this in recent days. A few weeks ago I spoke to the national convention of benee b... and I expressed my commitment there in the best terms that I could, to basic human rights throughout the world, to an end to legitimatize boycott that has been permitted by the leaders of our country. A few days later I was followed by the President of this country, Gerald Ford, who expressed his similar commitment to stamp out the disgraceful circumstances that exist with the Arab boycott. Recently we've seen a reversal of his position and I think perhaps a more accurate expression of his position as the House and the Senate has struggled to make illegal and to expose the pressures that are put on American citizens and American businesses to force them to leave off Jewish participation in the management of those corporations if they want to trade with Arab countries. This administration has gone along and as you well know 8 or 10 different leaders in the executive branch of government has testified against terminating the Arab boycott. This hurts you, especially as Jews, but it hurts me to and it hurts our country. I see no reason why we should let a foreign nation through economic pressure circumvent the Bill of Rights of the United States. The Congress has done its best but the Congress, despite the greatness of some of its members including Senator Kennedy, is incapable of leadership. There are

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535 people there, each representing a certain constituency, there's only one person in this country that can speak with a clear voice to the American people. There is only one person in this country that can set a standard of ethics and morality, and excellence, and greatness. There is only one person with a powerful voice and influence who can protect the precious and delicate things that have made our country great or to call out to ourselves a consciousness that is wrong in equality, discrimination and that person is the President. In the absence of that leadership, there is no leadership and the country drifts or accepts defects in its character thought to be rooted out. As you well know our foreign policy the last few years has been amoral in nature. There has been no constancy about it. There has been no commitment to truth. There has

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Thank you Thank you. Lets get started. Thank you everybody. The Chairman, Charley ... and Speaker McCormack, Rev. Father and ^{Teddie} ~~Eddie~~ Kennedy-- next President, and to the next United State Senator-- still the Senior Senator of Masschusetts-- Edward Kennedy. I am very glad to be hear here in a college that expresses, as you all know, a great reception for the speech that you made so briefly but so throughly concerning the needs of our country. Twenty one months ago I began to campaign in New England. I didn't have much money. I didn't have a campaign organization. I didn't hold public office. Not very many people knew who I was. I come from a little town, 683 people population but we began to campaign in private homes, labor halls, factorship lines, barber shops, beauty parlors, restaurants to learn about this nation, what it is and what it ought to be. There's a great ... desire to restore the greatness of our country that's been destroyed to a ... degree by eight years of Gerald Ford and Richard Nixon and we're going to change that next January. There is allways a charge of... in 1932 with Roosevelt, in 1948 with Truman, in 1950 with John Kennedy and this year also to ... what's best for the powerful interest groups and what's best for the people. We have proven already this year that there is an end to recial and religious and sexual prejudices. As a matter of fact it was proven earlier, as I said on an advertisement that I ran ... with great respect. In 1960, John Kennedy made one major campaign address in the South at Warmsprings, Georgia. Alot of people told him not to come down South because we're conservative and alot of Protestants, but John Kennedy came and he ask the Georgia people to give him there support, and when the returns came in November of 1960 John Kennedy got his bigger margin of victory, not in Masschusetts but in Georgia and we're very proud of that and I alsoThere is a sense of brotherhood in this country. There is a sense of purpose in this country. There is a sense of idealism in this country . A sense of being proud of individuality and a right to have a job and a right to have a

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fair tax structure and to have individual freedom and to control our own government and not to have it control us and emphasize a lack of secrecy in Washington and a preservation of personal privacy among the American citizens. There's a sense of these precious things in the aftermath of Vietnam, Cambodia, Watergate, C.I.A., F.B.I., unemployment inflation. We have been damaged in this country but we have not been destroyed. Our country is still strong, vital, idealistic and waiting for unity and if you'll help me November 2, help Ted Kennedy November 2, on January 20 we'll start putting this country back together again. I've seen within this nation the personal damage done when a President of our country derives his opinions, his decisions, his loyalties from the powerful lobbyist instead from the people themselves. That also is going to be changed in January and you can depend on that. There is no sense of leadership. And although this is an intangible, it touches people in a practical way. The real dollars of a working family is actually going down in this country. In the last eight years, the number of bankruptcies of small business has doubled. In the last eight years, inflation has averaged 300% more than it did under President Johnson and President Kennedy. The cost of living has gone up 14% in the last 2 years. Unemployment compensation, from less than 3 billion dollars, to 20 billion dollars in eight years. We've got 2 and one half million more people out of work now than were out of work when Gerald Ford went into office. In the last three months, 500,000 American families have gone on the unemployment rolls. These statistics are very devastating, when they are analyzed mathematically but they are even more devastating when they touch a family. Our country is stronger than that. This is not compatible with the character of our nation, it's not compatible with the economic strength, it's not compatible with its potential, but it exists and it has got to be changed. Our unfair tax structure is just a welfare program for the rich, it has got to be made fair for the American people, and it's going to be done next year. Every four years we have a great

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... job put on us by the Republican Party. They come in and endorse for three months what they fight against for three years and nine months. Adlai Stevenson called it the liberal hour that arrives just before the election every four years. For sometimes we've been misled, sometimes we've fallen into a trap, at least Massachusetts didn't do this in 1972. Some people think you got a bargain in the 1972 election, we got two Presidents for the price of one but our country has almost gone bankrupt paying for it and we need to turn that around. One thing that is particularly damages New England is energy. How many of you know what Gerald Ford's energy policy is??? Don't feel bad, nobody knows. He doesn't have one. How many know what his transportation policy is?? He doesn't have one. Education policy?? None. New England has been hurt worst than any other part of the country because of an absence of any energy policy by this Administration. The only thrust has been to make us subject to international blackmail and to try and raise the price of oil so much that the average people can't afford it. This has meant that the average home in your state has had an increase in the price of heating of \$100 per year for the last 4 years, increase in the price of electricity \$30 per home, each year for the last four years, no strategic storage, zero, three years after the embargo. No conservation plans, no environmental quality ..., vetoes of the strip mining bills, vetoes that affect the requirement of automobiles conserve energy and protect the environment. What do we need to do?? First of all, we've only got 35 years of oil left, we need to shift strongly toward coal, hold down the price of domestic oil at least \$3 below the international price. We also need to have strict conservation measures, changes in power structure, rates, to hold down the waste of electricity, shift stronger toward solar power where it will pay off. Next year that when shortages do occur in oil, that there is a fair allocation of oil among the states on a equal basis.... with high prices and lost jobs, with no energy policy in Washington, I want to make just a few more points and then

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I am going to go outside and speak to the crowd which couldn't get in. This is an important election, not just for me but for the country. If there are things in your lives that you have seen that have been damaged your future of security, the structure of your own home, health quality, a legitimate concern about one another, adequate transportation systems, health care these kind of things affect everyone in this country and in the absence of leadership in Washington, in the White House, there is no leadership. It's time that we Americans realize that it's your nation just like it is mine ... to fight for what you believe in, ... Now I don't claim to know all of the answers but I believe that I know the concern of the American people. We have within us a deep hunger to restore the precious things in our country that we have lost the last eight years. Our nation is economically very very strong. God blessed us with great fields to grow crops and God blessed us with good streams, pure water, access to the ocean, with adequate industrial capacity, and with people who want to work. We are now wasting 27% of our total industry capacity. Eight million people in this country who want jobs are out of work. This has become a welfare Administration instead of a work Administration but our people want to see the potential of this country tapped. There is no reason why it shouldn't. The absence of leadership in Washington is what has brought on the problems of our country. We have no morality involved in our foreign policy. We forgot the basic character of our country. That's got to be changed. I think that it's a disgrace for instance when a foreign country can tell the American business you can't do business with us, if you've got Jews on your Board of Directors. We can't afford to yield to that kind of blackmail. But because of the lack of leadership, we've got ourselves vulnerable to blackmail and this is changed again in a subtle way the character of our country. I want to restore its strength. I want to restore its legitimate pride. I want to restore the unity of purpose among our people. I want to correct the damage that has been done,

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answer difficult questions, bind ourselves back together and face the future with legitimate confidence in the strength of our nation economically, in our system of government, which has not been totally damaged and the tremendous strength of the American people, character, ability, idealism, compassion, love, understanding, brotherhood. These are characteristics of our country so in energy, health, taxation, welfare every aspect of government, the cumulative effect with strong leadership is to restore our country to strong leadership. I need your help. You help me in November, I'll help you in November to restore what was lost, to prove to the rest of the world that's very important but more important to prove to ourselves that we still live in the greatest nation on earth.

Thank you very much.