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TAXES

TAXES -- THE RECORD

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CARTER'S TAXES: ANALYSIS

To most Americans, Mr. Carter's performance in office conjures the visions of inefficiency and confusion -- visions of a man who, no matter how hard he tries, always seems to fail. The major exception to this is Mr. Carter's ability to enact, to induce through inflation, and propose more and higher levels of taxes than any President in history.

Since Mr. Carter came into office, taxes from all sources have skyrocketed, rising from \$357.7 billion in 1977 to a proposed level of \$628 billion for 1981 -- an increase of 75.6 percent. It took 38 administrations since the founding of the Republic to achieve a level of \$357.7 billion in taxation in 1977. If reelected, Mr. Carter proposes a tax level of \$724.8 billion for 1982 -- an increase of 103 percent -- more than double the level when he first took office. Mr. Carter has out-taxed every president who preceded him. (Budget of the U.S., Fiscal Year 1981) Moreover, with the exception of his January 1977 inflationary \$50 tax rebate, he has opposed almost every effort to reduce taxes.

The results have been catastrophic to the economic health of the nation. Taxes interacting with inflation have increased the relative share that government takes from people's earnings -- rising to 23 percent of the GNP. A study released in February 1980 by the Tax Foundation, a non-profit public interest group, indicated that in Fiscal Year 1980 the average family of four earning the median income level of about \$20,000 will pay \$5,451 in total federal taxes. This represents more than 27 percent of their gross income. Of that amount, federal income taxes will claim \$2,114, Social Security will claim \$1,226 and indirect taxes will claim \$2,111. In short, the average taxpayer will now pay more than one-fifth of his earnings out in the form of federal taxes alone, before state and local taxes are added.

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Mr. Carter's zealous pursuit of increasing this nation's tax burden was catalogued in a report by the Republican staff of the House Ways and Means Committee. The report, presented by Rep. Barber Conable, Ranking Minority Member, (R-N.Y.), indicated that since Mr. Carter came into office he proposed new taxes, increased existing taxes, and extended other taxes which total up to \$319.40 billion between fiscal years 1978 and 1983. (Congressional Record, August 2, 1979) If that were not enough, Mr. Carter proposed \$30 billion in additional taxes with which he would attempt to balance his Fiscal Year 1981 budget. These new taxes, the 15 percent interest and dividend withholding tax, the 15 percent independent contractors tax and the 10 cents per gallon gasoline tax would merely enrich government coffers at the expense of the taxpayer. With these taxes Mr. Carter hopes to foster the illusion that his Fiscal Year 1981 budget is balanced and under control. (Fiscal Year 1981 Budget Revisions, March 1980)

However, nothing could be farther from the truth. Indeed, in March 1980, the President offered a budget which included \$628 billion in taxes and \$611.5 billion in spending programs. This proposed budget contained the highest one-year tax increase in this nation's history as taxes from all sources increased by \$104.2 billion from the level Carter proposed in January 1979 -- a 20 percent increase. (Fiscal Year 1981 Budget Revisions, March 1980)

The irony is that even at these high levels of taxation the budget will not be in balance by the end of Fiscal Year 1981. A federal court ruled that the oil import fee was unconstitutional and although the Administration has stated that it will appeal this ruling, it seems near certain that Congress has stripped the President of his authority to impose the fee in the first place. Moreover, there is little enthusiasm in the House Ways and Means Committee for the imposition of the withholding tax. In the words of Sen. William L. Armstrong (R-Colo.): "Any idea that the 1981 budget is balanced is fantasy...We're at least \$25 billion out of balance right now." (New York Times, May 15, 1980)

One may surmise that the budget will be further pushed into the red by an accelerated and programmed Carter recession whose depth and duration may be larger and longer than expected.

A study prepared by the Joint Economic Committee (April 1980) noted that the interaction of inflation and the progressive tax structure has the perverse effect of giving the federal government an inflation dividend. This occurs when inflation pushes people into higher income brackets and taxes increase by an amount greater than the rate of inflation. At the same time, however, real incomes have not grown. Indeed, when inflation interacts with higher tax rates individuals may be earning more in the form of nominal income but have less to spend after accounting for inflation and higher taxes. The report found that for every one percent increase in the rate of inflation, as measured by the Consumer Price Index, taxes go up 1.4 to 1.6 times as much. As a result of Carter's taxation and spending policies the American people will see their taxes increase to an astronomical \$2.136 trillion over the next decade. It is most important to keep in mind that these are new taxes, and they are over and above the normal rate of growth for tax collections from individuals and business engaged in the normal course of economic activity. The largest component in this tax increase will be inflation induced income taxes -- \$1.161 trillion on fictitious income.

Mr. Carter has programmed over \$600 billion in new taxes within the next five years alone.

The following is a list of tax increases either proposed or signed into law by Jimmy Carter. In less than three years in office, Mr. Carter has broken his promise of never increasing "taxes for the working people of our country and the lower and middle income groups" (New York Times, September 20, 1976) not once but 10 times.

Carter clearly has an unsurpassed record in not only proposing or enacting the largest peacetime tax increases in history, but also at the astounding rate of almost one new revenue raising scheme every other month.

CARTER TAX INCREASES 1978-1983
(In Millions of Dollars)

<u>New and Proposed Taxes</u>	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
*Waterway User Tax	----	----	----	30	58	----
*Gax Guzzler Tax	500	500	500	700	900	1,200
ⁿ Crude Oil Equalization Tax	2,884	7,173	11,933	13,637	13,259	12,875

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<u>New and Proposed Taxes</u>	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
● Business Tax on Crude Oil and Natural Gas	----	2,745	7,555	10,499	12,467	16,467
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*Gross Windfall Profits Tax	----	----	2,804	8,491	13,683	14,183
*Federal Withholding Tax	----	----	----	3,400	2,500	2,200
*Independent Contractors Tax	----	----	----	1,000	N/A	N/A
*Social Security Tax	----	2,400	6,200	14,000	20,000	22,000
∩ Repeal of Refund of Motor-boat Fuel Tax	1	4	4	4	4	4
∩ Increase in Gas Tax	----	3,750	8,750	13,750	18,750	23,750
*Repeal of State and Local Gas Tax Deduction	----	603	947	1,080	1,230	1,402
∩ Repeal of Sales Tax Deduction	----	1,734	2,720	3,100	3,535	4,030
● ∩ Deduction for Medical and Casualty Exemptions	----	1,336	2,056	2,282	2,533	2,812
∩ Entertainment and Travel Expense	----	644	1,347	1,695	1,843	2,011
∩ Minimum Tax Changes	----	----	284	306	329	332
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<u>Extended Taxes</u>						
Extension of Excise Tax On Gasoline and Motor Fuel to Sept. 30, 1985	----	----	3,302	3,404	3,496	3,585
TOTALS	3,335	21,350	49,594	79,692	97,061	109,921

(Source: House Ways and Means Committee and the Joint Economic Committee)

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Grand Total of Proposed and Enacted Tax Increases From 1978-1983 -- \$319.40 Billion

INFLATION-INDUCED INCOME TAXES**

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Carter did not introduce any tax increases in 1977 but he did preside over an \$8.6 billion increase in inflation-induced taxes. Mr. Carter could have, but did not, propose to adjust tax rates downward to prevent the effects of inflation raising the taxpayer's bill. Instead, he used those new found revenues to expand existing programs or initiate new spending proposals.

CONCLUSION

The economic consequence of any tax is clear and simple -- it diverts scarce resources away from the private sector to further the interests of government. The higher the level of taxation, the less funds people have available to save and invest for the future. As the rate of savings fall so does the rate of investment, resulting in lower economic growth and a diminished standard of living for all. Taxes which are levied against the business enterprise add to the cost of goods sold.

Higher taxes mean higher consumer price inflation as higher costs of production are passed on into the market place.

In the final analysis, Carter's tax increases when programmed into the tax system will:

- increase inflation
- lower economic growth
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In short, the American Dream of the good and comfortable life is in jeopardy. Its principle threat comes not from some foreign power but from the misguided policies of a President who seemingly has no idea of how a mature free market economy grows.

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TRANSPORTATION -- THE RECORD

- Although Mr. Carter promised "*a national comprehensive transportation policy*" (Carter position brief, Railroad Reorganization, 1976) and "*a balanced multi-modal approach to maintaining and improving the nation's transportation system*" (Carter position brief, Highway Trust Fund, 1976), he has given us neither.
- The Highway Trust Fund is running a deficit for the first time in its 24-year history. (Washington Post, June 19, 1980)
- Financial failure of the Highway Trust Fund would bring the following national priority programs to a screeching halt:
 - completion of the interstate highway system
 - maintenance of federal commitments to assist cities and states with other primary and secondary highways.
 - continuation of the bridge replacement program that is estimated by some to be already ten years behind.
 - financing of coal roads needed for hauling the nation's most plentiful energy source from mines.
- Although Mr. Carter stated flatly, "*Arresting (the) deterioration and completing needed work on new urban transit systems must become the nation's first transportation priority.*" (Carter Platform Presentation, June 16, 1976), funding for mass transportation has not kept pace with inflation and no new cities have been given Urban Mass Transportation Act funding commitments for rapid transit systems since Mr. Carter took office. (Republican Position Statement on a Transit Policy for the Future, January 2, 1980)
- Carter Administration attempts to mandate private production of "Transbus," an expensive federally funded research vehicle, threw the American bus industry into confusion and by 1979, less than 3,000 units were being produced annually to meet a projected need of 10,000 per year. (Republican Position Statement on a Transit Policy for the Future, January 2, 1980)
- Despite Mr. Carter's statement, "*the reorganization and revitalization of our railroad system remains one of the most important and pressing issues in transportation today.*" (Carter position brief, Railroad Reorganization, 1976), his plan to "revitalize" our nation's railroad system was to cut back Amtrak service by 43 percent. (Washington Star, February 1, 1979)

TRANSPORTATION: ANALYSIS

When campaigning for the Presidency, Mr. Carter promised

a national comprehensive transportation policy.
(Carter position brief, Railroad Reorganization, 1976)

He stated further,

What we need most today is a balanced multi-modal approach to maintaining and improving the nation's transportation system. (Carter position brief, Highway Trust Fund, 1976)

Mr. Carter has given us neither.

B.R. Stokes, executive director of the American Public Transit Association, said, in 1977, with reference to Mr. Carter's role in transportation policy: "Simply put, there has been no leadership. It is not enough to say that performance to date has not been satisfactory; there has been no performance." (New York Times, September 15, 1977)

The same may be said today. The Highway Trust Fund is in deficit for the first time in its 24-year history, there is no coherent program for mass transportation, American bus production has been brought to a crawl by Administration interference, and Mr. Carter has proposed cutting Amtrak railroad service by nearly one-half.

In short, Mr. Carter has failed in the vital area of transportation policy.

HIGHWAY TRUST FUND IN DEFICIT

When campaigning for the Presidency, Mr. Carter said,

The Highway Trust Fund has served as an outstanding and successful mechanism for constructing an extensive and effective highway network in the United States. In doing so, the Fund has also supported a major section of the U.S. economy, providing jobs, advancing technology, and changing the face of the American landscape. (Carter position brief, Highway Trust Fund, 1976)

Now, after three and one-half years of Mr. Carter's transportation policies, the Highway Trust Fund is running a deficit for the first time in its 24-year history. The present trust fund balance is \$12.1 billion, and obligations due from that balance total \$14.1 billion, leaving a deficit of \$2 billion. (Washington Post, June 19, 1980)

Unless the financial integrity of the Highway Trust Fund is restored, the Federal Highway Administration will be unable to:

--finish the interstate highway system

- maintain its commitments to assist cities and states with other primary and secondary highways
- continue a bridge replacement program that is estimated by some to be ten years behind
- finance coal roads needed for hauling the nation's most plentiful energy source from mines.

The interstate highway system is now officially 93.6 percent open to traffic, at a cost of \$76 billion. It is estimated that \$28 billion more, for a total of \$104 billion, is required to build the remaining 6.4 percent. However, unofficial federal highway estimates push that total much higher, to at least \$115 billion. (Washington Post, June 19, 1980)

In addition, many older sections of interstate highway, plus bridges and other primary and secondary roads need major repairs which states have deferred because they do not have the money for those programs.

A major reason for the current financial malady of the Highway Trust Fund has been Mr. Carter's indecision and lack of leadership on the question of transportation priorities and distribution of funds. A 1977 Department of Transportation memo noted, "One major drawback to coordinating mass transit and highway needs has been the fear of...short-changing legitimate highway needs in order to emphasize mass transit." (Congressional Quarterly, January 21, 1978) The memo went on to recommend separate sources of funding for highway and mass transportation. Yet, in his major transportation proposals of 1978, the bulk of which were incorporated into the Surface Transportation Act of 1978, Mr. Carter recommended consolidation of highway and mass transportation programs with no clear distinction as to the future of either. In addition, the Surface Transportation Act allowed states to transfer highway funds to other projects, leaving the door open to the draining of these funds for projects for which they were not originally intended and to the subsequent neglect of needed highway projects and repairs.

NO MASS TRANSPORTATION PROGRAM

Although Mr. Carter stated flatly,

Arresting [the] deterioration and completing needed work on new urban transit systems must become the nation's first transportation priority. (Carter Platform Presentation, June 16, 1976),

he has yet to develop a coherent policy in this area.

President Ford signed the National Mass Transportation Assistance Act of 1974 shortly after coming into office. With his support, federal funding went in a controlled and graduated fashion from \$676 million in fiscal year 1974 to \$2.5 billion in fiscal year 1977. During this period, the Urban Mass Transportation Administration established tough guidelines for analysis of local transportation alternatives and then made commitments for construction or modernization of major public transportation systems in 16 cities. Since Mr. Carter took office, funding for mass transportation has not kept pace with inflation and no new cities have been given UMTA funding commitments for rapid transit systems of any type.

Mr. Carter made no mention at all of mass transportation in his first energy program in 1977. When then Secretary of Transportation Brock Adams urged that energy taxes be earmarked for expansion of public mass transportation, the White House dismissed the idea as a personal opinion of the Secretary. It was only when presented with the clear and present danger of an oil crisis in the summer of 1979 that Mr. Carter appeared to realize the importance of mass transportation. In an abrupt turnaround in September 1979, Mr. Carter announced a 10-year, \$16.5 billion program of transportation initiatives, of which \$13 billion was targeted for public transportation. However, Mr. Carter's program was contingent upon passage of the "Windfall Profits Tax" on oil companies. Rather than giving mass transportation a firm commitment, Mr. Carter appeared to be holding it hostage in order to help generate votes for the windfall profits tax.

ADMINISTRATION INTERFERENCE BRINGS AMERICAN BUS PRODUCTION TO A CRAWL

At a time when revitalization of America's commuter bus lines is essential to energy conservation and the development of efficient public transportation systems, Carter Administration meddling brought America's bus production to a crawl.

Within four months of Mr. Carter's coming into office, his then Secretary of Transportation, Brock Adams, decreed that all new transit buses be equipped with lifts or ramps and that they have floor heights not exceeding 22 inches. Essentially, he was attempting to mandate private production of the "Transbus," a federally-funded research vehicle. Whereas advanced design buses were selling for about \$105,000, the "Transbus" was estimated to cost \$240,000 by its delivery date in 1983. No American manufacturer was willing to bid on "Transbus," yet Secretary Adams refused to back off his mandate despite the determination of a study panel, formed by the National Academy of Sciences at Adams request, that the manufacturers were prudent in their judgement and that the Department of Transportation should rescind its mandate. (Republican Position Statement on a Transit Policy for the Future, January 2, 1980)

As a result, America's bus industry was thrown into confusion and production fell. By 1979, less than 3,000 units were being produced annually to meet a projected need of 10,000 per year. (Republican Position Statement on a Transit Policy for the Future, January 2, 1980)

Again, it was only after the gas lines of the summer of 1979 that the Carter Administration backed off its insistence on "Transbus."

MR. CARTER WOULD CUT THE NATION'S RAIL SERVICE NEARLY IN HALF

Mr. Carter said in 1976:

Our nation is dependent on its railroads...the reorganization and revitalization of our railroad system remains one of the most important and pressing issues in transportation today. (Carter position brief, Railroad Reorganization, 1976)

Mr. Carter's plan to "revitalize" our nation's railroad system was to cut back Amtrak service by 43 percent. (Washington Star, February 1, 1979)

At a time when public transit is becoming more significant as the costs of energy rise, the Carter Administration proposed to cut 11,800 miles from Amtrak routes. (Washington Star, February 1, 1979)

Five states -- Oklahoma, Arkansas, Alabama, Vermont and Nebraska would lose all Amtrak train service under the Carter proposal. Many other states would incur heavy cuts. A number of major cities, including Dallas, Atlanta, and Omaha would lose all service under the Carter plan. (Wall Street Journal, February 1, 1979)

The Amtrak Board of Directors related serious concerns regarding the Carter plan, apart from the hardships incurred by those localities faced with cancellation of service. Among them:

- Will the reduced system mean that the roadbeds and rails on those roads without Amtrak service deteriorate so that passenger or freight service could not be added in time of future need?
- Will the revised route structure be sufficient to meet the nation's needs during national emergencies? (Washington Star, February 1, 1979)

Although Mr. Carter said,

Our interest must be the public good (Carter position
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the American people, particularly those in rural areas, clearly have suffered from Mr. Carter's railroad policies.

A P P E N D I X

"We need a national comprehensive transportation policy..."

--Carter Position Brief
Railroad Reorganization, 1976

"What we need most today is a balanced multi-modal approach to maintaining and improving the nation's transportation system."

--Carter Position Brief
Highway Trust Fund, 1976

"Arresting (the) deterioration and completing needed work on new urban transit systems must become the nation's first transportation priority."

--Carter Platform Presentation
June 16, 1976

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

--Carter Position Brief
Highway Trust Fund, 1976

"Our nation is dependent on its railroads...the reorganization and revitalization of our railroad system remains one of the most important and pressing issues in transportation today."

--Carter Position Brief
Railroad Reorganization, 1976

"Our interest must be the public good."

--Carter Position Brief
Railroad Reorganization, 1976

UNEMPLOYMENT

UNEMPLOYMENT -- THE RECORD

From July 1979 through July 1980:

- the overall unemployment rate rose from 5.7 percent to 7.8 percent;
- the unemployment rate for adult men rose from 4.1 percent to 6.7 percent;
- the unemployment rate for adult women rose from 5.9 percent to 6.7 percent;
- the unemployment rate for teenagers rose from 15.8 percent to 19 percent;
- black unemployment rose from 12 percent to 15.2 percent.

More than two million workers joined the ranks of the jobless.

(Source: Department of Labor, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, July 1980)

UNEMPLOYMENT: ANALYSIS

UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE CARTER RECESSION

The overall unemployment rate rose to 7.8 percent in July of 1980, up from 7 percent in April 1980 and 6.2 percent in March 1980. Over eight million persons were forced on the jobless roles. In the six months ending in June, total civilian employment declined by 1.3 million jobs. Between April and May of 1980, the number of jobless workers rose by 1.7 million. Hardest hit were teenagers, whose unemployment rate jumped three full percentage points, to 19 percent. Jobless rates for jobless men, a key indicator of the severity of the Carter recession, have been climbing faster than adult female unemployment in recent months, both standing at 6.7 percent in July. For the first time in two decades, the rate for men has been as high as that for women.

From March through June, the economy lost nearly 1.1 million jobs; about three-quarters of the decline occurred among adult men.

In May, 450,000 blue collar workers lost their jobs.

Black unemployment, after declining to a still unfortunately high rate of 11.7 percent in October of 1979, rose by 3.5 percent through July 1980 to 15.2 percent -- more than double the rate for whites. (Department of Labor, The Bureau of Labor Statistics, unless otherwise indicated)

The precipitous rise in unemployment may be an indicator of both the depth and breadth of the Administration's deliberately engineered recession. During the last recession, unemployment rose from a base of 4.8 percent to nine percent. Many employment experts are now concerned that unemployment may breach the nine-percent-mark by the time the Carter recession is over. As in the case of other fiscal policy variables, the Carter Administration has grossly underestimated the damage its policies would render. In January 1979, the Administration estimated a 6.2 percent rate of unemployment for the end of this year. A year later, it was forced to recognize that its policies were leading the country to recession, and thus re-estimated unemployment to arrive at 7.5 percent for the fourth quarter of 1980. In light of mounting indications that the President's programmed recession was near, in March he did an about face and again re-estimated downward the rate of unemployment to 7.2 percent for the end of 1980. But the first quarter was barely over as unemployment shot up to over seven percent, indicating a much sharper recession than first thought of, with unemployment rates exceeding the earlier, and more politically acceptable, levels.

On July 21, 1980, the Administration conceded that unemployment could go as high as 8.5 percent before peaking during the current recession. (Office of Management and Budget, Mid-session Review of the U.S. Budget, July 21, 1980) However, some private economists estimate that unemployment may "rise well above the postwar high of 9 percent...." (Newsweek, June 16, 1980)

CARTER FIGHTS INFLATION WITH UNEMPLOYMENT

As a candidate, Mr. Carter promised to achieve an unemployment rate of four percent by the end of his first term in office. (Jimmy Carter on Economic Issues, undated Post-Convention Position Paper No. 133) He further stated, "*my commitment during the next administration...is to concentrate on putting our people back to work.*" (Balanced Growth and Full Employment, Presidential Campaign, 1976: Jimmy Carter, August 31, 1976) Candidate Carter thus tried to position himself as the man most concerned with jobs. This was evidenced by Carter's commitment

to high employment as he promised that his Economic Game Plan would

[n]ever [consider] using unemployment as a tool to fight inflation, (Economic Position Paper No. 133)

and that

the federal government has an obligation to provide funds for useful and productive employment of those whom private business cannot or will not hire. (The Future of Our Cities, April 1, 1976)

These commitments, along with most of his other campaign promises, are now broken, as unemployment soared to 7.8 percent in July and joblessness became a dismal reality for over eight million workers.

As late as October 1979, Mr. Carter was still promising a policy that would not use unemployment as a tool with which to fight inflation. Speaking before the AFL-CIO on October 2, 1979, Carter once again promised:

I guarantee you that I will not fight inflation with your jobs.

In his January Budget Message, however, Mr. Carter announced his fourth anti-inflation plan whose cornerstone would be a balanced budget setting spending levels at \$628 billion and taxation at \$611.5 billion. Mr. Carter's proposed budget contained \$47 billion in new spending and \$104 billion in higher taxes -- the largest peace time tax increase in this nation's history. (Budget of the U.S., Fiscal Year 1981) Such rapid increase in taxes and spending could only make matters worse, not better. Consumer price inflation ended the first quarter at 18.2 percent and interest rates rose to 20 percent. The interaction of high inflation and even higher interest rates devastated household budgets and precipitated the current recession.

In March 1980, the Carter Administration presented its budgetary revisions for Fiscal Year 1981 wherein it conceded that unemployment would rise from a 5.9 percent level in 1979 to 7.2 percent in 1980. These overly optimistic estimates soon become obsolete as unemployment jumped .8 percent in April and May, pushing the overall rate to a level of 7.8 percent and rising. Indeed, a deliberately induced recession was now part of Administration policy.

Indeed Vice President Mondale said, "We think what we're doing now will be using unemployment for a while. We know that." (The Courier-Journal, May 4, 1980)

Both Carter and Mondale were clear in enunciating a policy which the general public knew, for example, that the Administration was fighting their self-induced inflation by putting people out of work.

The "misery index" (also known as the discomfort index) is the sum which results when the rate of unemployment is added to the rate of inflation. It is a yardstick which is used to measure how well off people are. The higher the index, the worse off you are, and vice versa.

As a candidate, Mr. Carter promised that by the end of his first term in office inflation and unemployment would each be reduced to an annual rate of four percent. The misery index would stand at a tolerable level of eight. Almost four

years later, both these promises have fallen by the way-side. In March 1980, inflation stood at 18.2 percent and unemployment rose to 6.2 percent, resulting in a misery index of 24.4.

Indeed, by Mr. Carter's own accounting, Americans are three times worse off today than from the levels he once promised them. The cruel interaction of unemployment and inflation has its most insidious impact on those who are at the lower rung of the economic ladder.

While the overall misery index stood at the intolerably high level of 24.4 percent in March, it rose to alarming rates for blacks and other minorities. In March, the overall black misery rate stood at 30, while for black teenagers between the ages of 16 and 19, it rose to a crisis level of 54.6. Mr. Carter, the candidate who promised price stability and high levels of employment, will be remembered as the President who gave us the worst of both worlds, high unemployment and high inflation. As the candidate who won the overwhelming support of blacks, the poor, and the young, Mr. Carter has betrayed their trust. For today, their lot has deteriorated to tragic dimensions.

Writing in the New Republic (April 2, 1980), Democratic pundit Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., summed up Mr. Carter's anti-inflation program, stating:

The only way his program will restrain inflation in the longer run is by throwing the whole economy into a recession -- an object Mr. Carter is pursuing....The burden of such a draconian policy would fall disastrously on the poor, the unemployed and the cities. And the effect of recession on such underlying sources of inflation as declining productivity would be compound disaster.

Schlesinger concluded:

Reelect Jimmy Carter? Four more years for a President whose record of ineptitude stands....
Someone must be kidding.

A P P E N D I X

"My commitment during the next administration, and I know you share it, is to concentrate on putting our people back to work."

--Balanced Growth and Full Employment
Presidential Campaign, 1976: Jimmy Carter
August 31, 1976

"I pledge that if I'm elected, we will never use unemployment and recession as a tool to fight inflation."

--Economic Position Paper No. 133

"The federal government has an obligation to provide funds for useful and productive employment of those whom private business cannot or will not hire."

--The Future of Our Cities
April 1, 1976

"I guarantee you that I will not fight inflation with your jobs."

--AFL-CIO
October 2, 1979

URBAN POLICY

URBAN POLICY -- THE RECORD

Despite Mr. Carter's call for a "*coherent national urban policy that is consistent, compassionate [and] realistic,*" (Urban Policy, June 29, 1976) his efforts in this area have been inconsistent and incoherent, making compassion a meaningless gesture.

Further, under Carter:

- Central city unemployment has risen from 6.9 percent in the second quarter of 1979 to 8.4 percent in the second quarter of 1980. (Bureau of Labor Statistics, July 1980)
- Revenue Sharing has been slashed.
- Housing units assisted by HUD have dropped.
- Crime in the central cities has increased.
- Welfare rolls have remained constant.

URBAN POLICY: ANALYSIS

In 1976, Mr. Carter called for,

...a coherent national urban policy that is consistent, compassionate [and] realistic...(Urban Policy, June 29, 1976)

Yet, once elected, Mr. Carter did not introduce his urban policy program until March 27, 1978. Labeled "A New Partnership to Conserve America's Communities," Mr. Carter's program was little more than extensions of already existing approaches to the cities' problems and was described by columnist David Broder as a "guarantee [of] more bureaucracy, regulations and frustrations for local officials..." (David Broder, "Chaos, Reshuffled," Washington Post, March 29, 1978)

Despite the fact that the Carter Administration had over a year to prepare its urban program, it was forced to make hasty decisions as to its final form and content in order to submit it to Congress before the Fiscal Year 1979 legislative budgetary deadline. (Congressional Quarterly, April 1, 1978) So haphazard was the Administration's approach, that it is rumored that the President in a period of forty-eight hours cut and then restored billions of dollars to the program. (Congressional Quarterly, April 1, 1978) What finally emerged in Broder's words were:

a list of little programs awarded each agency as a payoff for its participation in the whole ghastly process: social service and health money for HEW; urban parks for Interior; Transportation Department money for 'inter-modal' connections; solid waste grants for EPA; 'mini-grants' for ACTION; arts money for Joan Mondales's friends; and neighborhood grants for Rosalynn Carter's favorites in the bureaucracy. (David Broder, Washington Post, March 29, 1979)

CENTRAL CITY ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

In 1976, Mr. Carter said:

We must begin our urban policy by recognizing human needs of the individuals, who live in our cities. The essential building block of our urban policy must be the provision of a job for each person capable of holding gainful employment. I believe every person has a right to a job.
(The Future of our Cities, April 1, 1976)

However, in the Carter engineered recession of 1980, this belief of the President's seems to have been forgotten. Unemployment in central cities has risen from 6.9 percent in the second quarter of 1979 to 8.4 percent in the second quarter of 1980. (Bureau of Labor Statistics, July 1980)

REVENUE SHARING

In 1976, Mr. Carter said to the U.S. Conference of Mayors,

Our efforts toward full employment must be supplemental by fiscal assistance, and in particular by an improved program of revenue sharing.

I stand with you in urging Congress to extend the General Revenue Sharing Program with an inflation factor and with full enforcement of the civil rights provisions of the bill. (Urban Policy, June 29, 1976)

Yet, in Fiscal Year 1978 and Fiscal Year 1979, the amount of \$6.8 billion in General Revenue Sharing remained constant, thus causing a depletion in real dollar terms.

My proposal for General Revenue Sharing will be the cornerstone of my policy for federal-state-local government relations in the 1980's. This policy will emphasize the need for all levels of government to cooperate in order to meet the needs of the most fiscally strained cities and counties, and also will emphasize the important role that GRS can play in forging this partnership. (State of the Union, January 21, 1980)

Aside from his lack of support for Revenue Sharing, Mr. Carter's record regarding the use of block grants is also disappointing. His Fiscal Year 1981 budget revision called for the total scrapping of the state share of the program, 40 percent of which was passed on to the cities.

HOUSING

Despite the fact that in 1976 Mr. Carter said, "*housing has deteriorated enormously and new housing is often unaffordable,*" (The Future of Our Cities, April 1, 1976) government-assisted urban housing programs have also suffered at the hands of Mr. Carter.

Urban housing subsidies have been cut each year by the Carter Administration while Carter economic policies have destroyed the private housing sector's ability to fill the void.

In 1976, 517,000 assisted housing units were placed under program reservation by HUD. By 1979, the number had dropped to 325,000.

The HUD Section 8 public housing program has dropped to a projected level of 240,000 units for 1980. This is far short of his promised 300,000 units, and of the goal of 600,000 set by the 1968 Housing Act. Similarly, the HUD Section 202 housing program for the elderly has been reduced by one-third. (Department of Housing and Urban Development)

His failure in public housing has left America's cities with a major housing void since the Carter Administration has virtually devastated both the private housing market and the housing industry.

His commitment to a steady source of credit has also been forgotten. Under Carter, interest rates for mortgages have risen by 88 percent to record highs of 15 percent, 16 percent, and even 17 percent. In early 1980, it was not uncommon for builders to be offered building loans at upwards of 25 percent interest. (Federal Home Loan Bank Board)

Further, the Administration's efforts at policing and exerting greater control over the federal government's public housing programs has been abysmal. The Department of Housing and Urban Development's Section 8 Housing Program is a glaring example. From its inception in 1974 through 1979, this program has cost the American taxpayer over \$130 billion in rent subsidies. However, there has been little effort to insure that subsidies go to needy recipients and that the dwellings subsidized are reasonable in price. Reports of Section 8 funds subsidizing families in "luxury" apartments are numerous. (Donald Robinson, "Billion Dollar Nightmare," Reader's Digest, June 1980) Current estimates indicate that the lax administration of this program can cost taxpayers up to \$600 billion in misspent funds. Further, the above-cited Reader's Digest report quotes one top official at HUD as having "no idea" of the number of Section 8 projects in his jurisdiction, no less the costs involved.

CRIME

Contrary to promises Carter made in 1976 to cut down the crime rate, there was an eight percent increase in total crimes nationwide in 1979, while violent crimes rose by 11 percent that year. Although Mr. Carter promised that efforts on crime prevention would be concentrated in high crime areas, there was a 2.9 percent increase in personal crimes in central cities for both 1977 and 1978. (FBI Uniform Crime Rates -- 1979 Preliminary Annual Release) In the face of this, Mr. Carter's budget revisions for Fiscal Year 1981 made this past March call for the elimination of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), thus depriving local law enforcement agencies of a valuable source of support. (Also see section entitled CRIME AND JUSTICE)

WELFARE

The nation's welfare roles have shown no real change as the number of recipients of AFDC benefits still is in excess of 10 million. (See section entitled WELFARE)

CONCLUSION

Four years ago, Mr. Carter stated:

Our country has no urban policy or defined urban goals, and so we have floundered from one ineffective and uncoordinated program to another. Hopes have been raised only to be dashed on the rocks of despair when promise after promise has been forgotten.
("Future of Our Cities," April 1, 1976)

His words have come full circle and epitomize the Administration's failure.

A P P E N D I X

"Our goal must be to develop a coherent national urban policy that is consistent, compassionate [and] realistic and that reflects the decency and good sense of the American people."

--Urban Policy
June 29, 1976

"We must begin our urban policy by recognizing human needs of the individuals who live in our cities. The essential building block of our urban policy must be the provision of a job for each person capable of holding gainful employment. I believe every person has a right to a job."

--"The Future of Our Cities"
April 1, 1976

"Our efforts toward full employment must be supplemental by fiscal assistance, and in particular by an improved program of revenue sharing."

"I stand with you in urging Congress to extend the General Revenue Sharing Program with an inflation factor and with full enforcement of the civil rights provisions of the bill."

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June 29, 1976

"My proposal for General Revenue Sharing will be the cornerstone of my policy for federal-state-local government relations in the 1980s. This policy will emphasize the need for all levels of government to cooperate in order to meet the needs of the most fiscally strained cities and counties, and also will emphasize the important role that GRS can play in forging this partnership."

--State of the Union Address
January 21, 1980

"Housing has deteriorated enormously and new housing is often unaffordable."

--"The Future of Our Cities"
April 1, 1976

"Our country has no urban policy or defined urban goals, and so we have floundered from one ineffective and uncoordinated program to another. Hopes have been raised only to be dashed on the rocks of despair when promise after promise has been forgotten."

--"The Future of Our Cities"
April 1, 1976

WELFARE

WELFARE -- THE RECORD

In 1976, Mr. Carter said,

The basic components of a fair and workable program are well known...it is time to act. (Business Week, January 17, 1977)

However, Mr. Carter's welfare program, if it had passed, would have:

- Increased the cost of welfare.
- Added more people to the welfare rolls.
- Given welfare payments with incomes in excess of \$10,000.
- Contained no work incentive program.

Further during Mr. Carter's Administration:

- Fraud and waste in welfare programs has increased.

WELFARE: ANALYSIS

Our welfare system is an insult to those who pay the bill and to those who honestly need help...The basic components of a fair and workable program are well known...it is time to act... (Business Week, January 17, 1977)

Those were the words of candidate Jimmy Carter during the 1976 Presidential campaign as he enumerated the top priorities for his new Administration. It was clear that a substantial overhaul of the welfare system of the country would be in order.

Four years later, however, the system continues much as it did then, albeit substantially larger. In fact, those very same words could be used to describe the present state of our welfare system. Or, if one were inclined to press the matter and pass harsher judgement, the words of the 1976 Democrat Platform have proved to be prophetic in its unintended forecast,

...huge sums will be spent on food stamps and medical care for families of the unemployed. Social insurance costs are greatly increased... (1976 Democratic Platform)

Those words, instead of being a reflection of the previous four years as they were intended to be, turned out to be a blueprint for the next four years when just over \$1 trillion dollars would be spent for social welfare programs. (Budget of the United States, Fiscal Year 1978-1981)

Upon taking office, Mr. Carter immediately assigned the task of overhauling the system to then Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) Joseph Califano. Carter's original intention was to redesign the system at no higher cost than the total cost of the programs in operation at the time.

The goal was quickly dropped, though, for reasons stated in a memo to Carter from Califano and Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall,

The politics of welfare reform are treacherous under any circumstances and they can be impossible at no higher initial cost... (Welfare: The Political Economy of Welfare Reform in the United States, Martin Anderson, p. 173)

THE BETTER JOBS AND INCOME PROGRAM

With the original goal now disposed of, what emerged was a massive program that, to be frank, was naive in its grandiosity. Despite his campaign assertion that, "we cannot just throw money at problems," (New York Times, June 30, 1976, p. 20) the projected cost of reforming welfare programs was enormous. The original HEW estimate of the total cost (\$11 billion to \$16 billion) was greeted with skepticism by many, and for good reason. Shortly afterward, the Heritage Foundation revised that estimate upward to at least \$17.8 billion.

But the deathknell for the proposal was sounded when the Congressional Budget Office released figures indicating that the program, if enacted, would add at least \$23 billion to the total spent for the programs it would replace. The total cost of the Carter proposal for one year was \$42 billion. (Welfare, Martin Anderson, p. 185)

Furthermore, despite Mr. Carter's claim that the program would "significantly reduce the number of people who rely on welfare payments," (Washington Post, August 7, 1977) CBO released another study indicating that his plan would add 22 million to the 44 million people already receiving some form of welfare. His plan, if enacted, would have put almost one-third of the people in the country on welfare.

As if that wasn't enough, even more disturbing was the revelation as to who would be the beneficiaries of this largess. As the chart below indicates, the recipients would not be those in the lowest income groups; instead, the majority of the assistance would have been distributed to people with incomes in excess of \$10,000!

Distribution of Welfare Recipients by Pre-Welfare Family Income Classes Under Current Welfare Policy And Under President Carter's Welfare Reform Plan (PBJI)

Family Income Class	Number of People Receiving Benefits under Current Welfare Policy*	Number of People Receiving Benefits under Carter's Reform Plan	Number of People Added by Carter's Reform Plan	Percent Increase
Less than \$5,000	25,600,000**	26,900,000	1,300,000	5%
\$5,000 to \$9,999	12,000,000	16,300,000	4,300,000	36%
\$10,000 to \$14,999	3,600,000	15,200,000	11,600,000	322%
\$15,000 to \$24,999	2,600,000	6,600,000	4,000,000	154%
More than \$25,000	600,000	1,000,000	400,000	67%

Source: Robert D. Reischauer, Assistant Director for Human Resources and Community Development, Congressional Budget Office, statement to Task Force on Distributive Impacts of Budget and Economic Policy, Committee on the Budget, "Preliminary Analysis of the Distributional Impacts of the Administration's Welfare Reform Proposal," October 13, 1977, page 13, Table 2(a). Preliminary estimates as of October 12, 1977. Based on earlier CBO studies, an average family size of 2.824 was used to convert numbers of families to people.

*Includes Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Supplemental Security Income, state general assistance, food stamps, and the earned income tax credit.

**Number of people rounded to nearest 100,000.

Fortunately, the cost of the program was enough to keep the bill bottled in committee. The main provisions of the plan were hardly considered, though they shortly would be.

The Carter Administration attempted to revamp the welfare system in 1979. Since the cost of the first attempt was the primary obstacle, Version Two of the original plan was scaled down sharply in terms of cost, but retained the essential, controversial features.

The new plan, the Social Welfare Amendments of 1979, still had a substantial price tag -- \$5.7 billion*. The following is a brief description of the "basic components."

*Later cut back to \$5.5 billion by the House Ways and Means Committee

THE GUARANTEED INCOME

...the welfare system is antiwork and antifamily...
(Carter speech, Manchester, N.H., August 3, 1976)

The central feature of the Carter plan was the guaranteed income. Basically, with this provision, what Mr. Carter planned to do was give every eligible person a cash grant equal to 65 percent of the poverty level (\$4700 in 1979 dollars) beginning in 1981.

Besides the fact that this was an idea that had been tried and failed in the past, the philosophical implications of the proposal are profound. Essentially, it concedes the existence of a permanent, dependent welfare class -- a concession anathema to social conservatives.

This point was amplified by Martin Anderson in his work, Welfare: The Political Economy of Welfare Reform in the United States, which stated:

...the thrust of Carter's plan is to further the idea of a guaranteed income...This is not welfare reform. This is a potential social revolution...(p. 169)

The guaranteed national income was also an idea that proved to be ineffective at achieving what Mr. Carter hoped to achieve. While still a candidate, he announced that,

As President, I intend to reform that system so that it encourages work and encourages family life and reflects both the competence and compassion of the American people. (Campaign tour of Manchester, N.H., August 3, 1976)

In one fell swoop, he proposed the enactment of legislation that would have done exactly the reverse of what he intended to do. The guaranteed income concept alone would have increased the rate of family breakup and decreased the incentive to work. Those were the primary conclusions of a 10-year study called the Seattle/Denver Income Maintenance Experiment (SIME/DIME) which tested the effects of the proposed income floor. The results of the experiment were so convincing that a one-time leading advocate of the guaranteed income, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, conceded that, "maybe we were wrong." (Newsweek, January 17, 1978, p. 32)

WORK REQUIREMENT

Those persons who are physically able to work...should be required to accept appropriate available jobs or job training...(1976 Democratic Party Platform)

Despite Carter's commitment to institute a system with "*strong work incentives*," the plan Carter presented contained no provision requiring recipients to work, no provision making receipt of benefits contingent upon working a designated amount of hours, no provision requiring participation in a job training program, or no provision requiring the recipient to take any job offered which he is physically capable of performing.

In fact, the bill actually represented a step backward from the current situation in that it would allow potential recipients to be excused from work entirely for the first two months of eligibility.

Other than that effort, Mr. Carter has not really done much in the way of reforming and slowing the growth of any other of the major social welfare and insurance programs.

His Administration has been active in two of the other major programs, however, but this activity has only contributed to rapid growth of them. For example, in the four years since Mr. Carter took office, the Food Stamp Program has almost doubled in cost, with the acquiescence of his Administration, and is well on its way toward supplanting the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program as the number one federal welfare program.

Besides the 91 percent increase in expenditures for the program, changes made in the law in 1977 resulted in subverting the program's original intent, the provision of nutritional food.

Consequently, the 21 million people who now receive food stamps are not getting the nutritional assistance they need nor are they getting the level of assistance they need because of the approximate \$1 billion loss each year in fraud and waste.

A P P E N D I X

"Our welfare system is an insult to those who pay the bill and to those who honestly need help...The basic components of a fair and workable program are well known...it is time to act..."

--Business Week
January 17, 1977

"For millions of Americans, the Republican Party has substituted welfare for work. Huge sums will be spent on food stamps and medical care for families of the unemployed. Social insurance costs are greatly increased. This year alone the federal government will spend nearly \$20 billion on unemployment compensation. In contrast, spending on job development is only \$2.5 billion. The goal of the new Democratic Administration will be to turn unemployment checks into paychecks."

--Democratic Platform, 1976

"The federal government must provide predictable and adequate financial support to assist communities in meeting your legitimate fiscal needs, so that localities can avoid excessive service cutbacks and inordinate property tax increases.

"Of course, we must be realistic. We cannot just throw money at problems. We must respect the desire of the American taxpayer to get a dollar's worth of results for each dollar spent. But I believe that if we talk sense to the American people, we will find support for a realistic program to meet the urban crisis. That is what I intend to do as President."

--New York Times
June 30, 1976, page 20

"It will significantly reduce the number of people who rely on welfare payments primarily by doubling the number of single-parent families who are supported primarily through work."

--Washington Post
August 7, 1977

"It is clear that the national government should have strong pro-family policy, but the fact is that our government has no family policy, and that is the same thing as an anti-family policy.

"Because of confusion or insensitivity, our government's policies have often actually weakened our families, or even destroyed them.

"Our present welfare system is both anti-work and anti-family. We have welfare policies in half our states that deny aid to children unless and until their father deserts them. As President, I intend to reform that system so that it encourages family life and reflects both the competence and compassion of the American people."

--Carter speech, Manchester, N.H.
August 3, 1976

"As currently constituted, it [the welfare system] is a crazy quilt of regulations administered by a bloated bureaucracy. It is wasteful to the taxpayers of America, demeaning to the recipients, discourages work, and encourages the breakup of families. The system lumps together dissimilar categories of poor people, and differs greatly in its benefits and regulations from state to state. It is time we broke the welfare and poverty cycle of our poor people. My recommendations are designed to satisfy the following goals: (a) we must recognize there are three distinct categories of poor people -- the unemployable poor, the employable but jobless poor, and the working poor; (b) no person on welfare should receive more than the working poor can earn at their jobs; (c) strong work incentives, job creation, and job training should be provided for those on welfare able to work; (d) family stability should be encouraged by assuring that no family's financial situation will be harmed by the breadwinner remaining with his dependents; (e) efforts should be made to have fathers who abandon their family be forced to continue support; (f) the welfare system should be streamlined and simplified, with a small bureaucracy, less paperwork, fewer regulations, improved coordination and reduced local disparities; (g) persons who are legitimately on welfare should be treated with respect and dignity."

--Carter speech, Manchester, N.H.
August 3, 1976

ON CARTER

"ON" CARTER

ACADEMIC LEADERS

Kenneth L. Adelman, Stanford Research Institute, previously special assistant to former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld

"...the President was often startled by seemingly predictable diplomatic events, mostly of his own making. This is rare for a leader....President Carter's lack of a firm political ideology also means that he lacks a firm and committed base of political support, both in the country and the Congress, which he can summon up when needed."

--Policy Review
Winter 1978

Fred I. Greenstein, Princeton University

(attending the 74th annual meeting of the American Political Science Association)

"This is a President who really needs a fundamental reconception of how to handle the presidency and himself if he is going to be re-elected."

--National Journal
September 16, 1978

"It seems to me beneath his great composure is a personal lack of confidence in being able to do the job."

--National Journal
July 28, 1979

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., historian

(in reference to Carter's Cabinet shakeup)

"If anything it is likely to increase the sense of chaos within the Administration. It certainly doesn't give any impression of strength, confidence and resourcefulness. The whole thing is ludicrous."

--National Journal
July 28, 1979

"HOW DOES HE DO IT? Here is an administration in ruins. Here is a president who has nearly quadrupled the inflation rate at home, has produced the highest interest rates in American history and now is deliberately steering the nation into a recession; while abroad he has kicked away confidence among friends and foes alike in the sobriety, consistency and reliability of American foreign policy. Six months ago he was nowhere in the polls. Today, barring a rebirth of sanity in the Democratic party, Jimmy Carter seems headed for renomination and (barring repression of a death wish in the Republican party) for re-election. Have we turned into a nation of masochists? Has our noble land fallen under some malign curse?...There are simpler explanations. In an irony not unknown to historians, Mr. Carter's very incompetence has been his salvation. He owes his resurrection to two international crises -- Iran and Afghanistan -- that he himself helped bring about.

"There are, it may be said, only two reasons to shudder at the thought of four more years of Jimmy Carter in the White House. One is foreign policy. The other is domestic policy....Like his foreign policy, his economic policy has been one of zig-zags and flip-flops. His goal, he said in 1976, was to reduce inflation to 4 percent by 1980. In his campaign, he was for standby price and wage controls, but he dumped them thereafter and proceeded to combat inflation by offering an economic stimulus package in 1977, a tax reduction package in 1978, and two separate budgets within six weeks in 1980."

--The New Republic
April 12, 1980

Noted historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., termed Carter's foreign policy the "most incompetent in half a century."

--Omaha World-Herald
April 16, 1980

BLACK LEADERS

Julian Bond, State Representative

"He (Carter) is a liar and a hypocrite and the kind of man who plays a different tune in different places."

--United Press International
April 3, 1976

"He (Carter) refuses to come to grips with the basic issues of the day, he speaks in one fashion to one set of people and another fashion to another set."

--Atlanta Constitution
April 4, 1976

The Congressional Black Caucus

The Congressional Black Caucus criticized Carter's 1981 budget as an "unmitigated disaster for the poor."

--Washington Post
February 6, 1980

Henry B. Dotson, Jr., Los Angeles NAACP President

"It would be a big boost to have a leader to rally around who really understands economics as well as civil rights, but I rather doubt that that kind of messiah is coming soon."

--Time
December 18, 1978

Vernon Jordan, National Urban League President

(Annual Report on the State of Black America)

"Because their hopes have been so high, their disappointment was magnified when the Carter Administration gave unmistakable signs that it was more interested in balancing the budget than in providing jobs for the jobless."

--The Star-Ledger
January 18, 1978

"The problems of leadership and confidence are more attributable to the President himself and those around him."

--(Chicago) New York Times
July 22, 1979

"The expectations of bold leadership and moral commitment to minority needs have not been fulfilled."

--(Chicago) Chicago Tribune
July 23, 1979

Vernon Jordan criticized Carter for failing to deliver promises of lower black unemployment and says that racial discrimination in housing is "rampant."

--Christian Science Monitor
January 16, 1980

BUSINESS LEADERS

Donald L. Bower, President of Chevron USA, Inc.

"The President's (energy) program must be corrected or it will inevitably lead this country into a serious energy supply gap during the 1980's -- possibly worse than anything we have seen thus far."

--Oil and Gas Journal
August 20, 1979

Malcolm S. Forbes, Editor-In-Chief, Forbes Magazine

"To get ourselves in meaningfully military shape, we do not have time to fiddle, diddle and fumble as long as we have on energy matters. This Administration has squandered whatever time we might have had."

--Forbes
April 14, 1980

"I don't know whether the Russians are more emboldened by Carter's flip-flopping lack of leadership or by their knowledge of the degree to which this Administration has permitted our military capabilities -- conventional and atomic -- to erode."

--Forbes
May 26, 1980

David Rockefeller, Chairman of New York's Chase Manhattan Bank

David Rockefeller criticized the Carter Administration by saying that it was "strident with its friends and too weak and vacillating with its adversaries." He continued by saying a "fundamental cohesion, this sense of consistent pursuit of vital national interests, appears to be lacking in the conduct of our foreign policy today."

--Los Angeles Times
April 11, 1980

"He just hasn't learned."

And, in reference to Carter's foreign policy:

"It is not enough for leaders to exhort the populace for support of a policy. They must also explain its rationale. For a policy to be convincing, it must have consistent objectives and a global pattern of implementation. The present Administration has often fallen short."

--Forbes
June 9, 1980

John Swearingen, Chairman of Standard Oil Company

"President Carter has attempted to drum up support [for his energy program] by declaring what he calls the 'moral equivalent of war.' The banner he carries into battle isn't that of a righteous crusade, but rather the tattered rag of political expediency.

"But if it is war, it looks to me like a guerrilla war designed to smear the oil business and divert public attention from the flaws in the President's own program."

--(New York, New York) Chicago Tribune
November 15, 1979

ECONOMIC LEADERS

Barry P. Bosworth, former director of the Council on Wage and Price Stability

"Each time a policy was developed, the policy was too weak for the problems that appeared....We had no overall framework of what are the things we stand for and what are our priorities."

--New York Times
March 23, 1980

John Kenneth Galbraith, Harvard University economist

"Carter has no remedy for inflation, except a recession and unemployment."

--Boston Globe
March 30, 1980

Arthur Okun, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Johnson

"There was a tremendous amount of complacency about inflation right until October 1978You just couldn't find evidence that the Administration saw inflation as a serious problem."

--New York Times
March 23, 1980

Richard W. Rahn, chief economist for the Chamber of Commerce

"It is clear we are rapidly going into a recession. It is also clear that the Carter Administration has not come to grips with either the problem of unemployment or the problem of inflation."

--New York Times
April 5, 1980

John Rutledge, President, Claremont Economics Institute and Former Senior Economist of the U.S. Treasury

"The problem with Carter is not that he's a screaming liberal, but his failure to manage the government. The public doesn't expect any consistent policy to be followed for any length of time with Carter. That's why your long term market is in the doldrums."

--Forbes
May 12, 1980

Robert J. Samuelson, Economist

"If a President ought to be a source of reasoned calm, Carter increasingly seems just the opposite. His decision to make a major energy speech before knowing what he would say is as laughable as it is sad and revealing."

--National Journal
July 14, 1979

LABOR LEADERS

Douglas Fraser, UAW President

"The President has walked away from his promises."

--The Detroit News
December 10, 1978

Lane Kirkland, president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

Lane Kirkland said he was not leaning toward either Carter or Kennedy, stating: "I am perpendicular." Kirkland did, however, accuse Carter of "clinging to outmoded economic theories."

--New York Times
February 19, 1980

John Lyons, President of the Ironworkers International

"I certainly would not endorse him on the record he has now. He's ambiguous and is on both sides of every issue. In Georgia his record with labor is not good. He's only a press-made candidate...I have never talked to anyone in the labor movement who was really for Carter."

--Chicago Tribune
May 10, 1976

Jerry Wurf, President of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Workers -- the first major union to endorse Carter in 1976

"There is a crisis in our political system, a crisis of leadership and a crisis of accountability...We need leaders, not politicians who respond to the latest press."

--New York Times
July 13, 1979

POLITICAL FIGURES

Brock Adams, former Secretary of Transportation

"I think one of the problems is...there's a difference between campaigning and governing. Governing takes a different kind of people...You can't govern being against government, and I think that's the problem that he is wrestling with now..."

--Washington Post
September 26, 1979

James Fallows, former Carter speechwriter

"Carter often seemed more concerned with taking the correct position than with learning how to turn that position into results.

"During the first year came other indications that Carter did not really know what he wanted to do in such crucial areas as taxes, welfare, energy, and the reorganization of the government. In each of these areas, Carter's passionate campaign commitments turned out to be commitments to generalities, not to specific programs or policies.

"...Carter has not given us an idea to follow. The central idea of the Carter Administration is Jimmy Carter himself, his own mixture of traits..."

"I came to think that Carter believes fifty things, but no one thing. He holds explicit, thorough positions on every issue under the sun, but he has no large view of the relations between them..."

--The Atlantic
May 1979

Don Fowler, South Carolina Democratic State Chairman

"He doesn't make your juices run."

--New York Times
November 13, 1979

David Gartner, commissioner of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission

"...my clear preference -- based not on sour grapes but on a lack of leadership on the part of this administration -- would be Sen. Kennedy.

"I'm just displeased, as I think most Americans are, with the lack of leadership exerted by this administration."

--Washington Post
November 8, 1979

Raymond B. Harding, leader of the Liberal Party which endorsed Carter in 1976

"The President's policies have left the economy in ruins and foreign policy in shambles."

--New York Times
March 30, 1980

Peter Hart, pollster for Democratic candidates

"He didn't dig himself into a hole in a week and he isn't going to get himself out in a week."

--Christian Science Monitor
July 18, 1979

Lou Harris, Harris Poll

"Jimmy Carter has run on his opponents' weaknesses more than he has on the positive appeal for Jimmy Carter."

--New York Times
April 22, 1976

Patsy Mink, chairperson, Americans for Democratic Action

The Americans for Democratic Action accused Carter, January 19th, of "abandoned or revised...campaign promises." ADA's national chairperson said Carter has failed "to adhere to the basic tenets of the Democratic Party's platform..."

--Washington Post
January 20, 1980

Sargent Shriver

"Whenever he's [Carter] asked a question requiring any specific or detailed response, he avoids giving any specific or detailed response."

--Atlantic Constitution
March 21, 1976

Robert Shrum, former Carter speechwriter

In a letter of resignation to Carter, Robert Shrum stated: "I disagree with both the method and substance of your issues approach...I was distressed to discover that you might favor a substantial increase in your defense budget in spite of your previous pledge to reduce..."

--New York Times
May 3, 1976

Shrum found Carter to be "manipulative and deceitful...He lies and doesn't believe he isn't telling the truth. It's just a constant and pervasive thing."

--The State
South Carolina
May 16, 1976

"He [Carter] doesn't like people to argue in front of him, or with him. He would much prefer to deal with things written down on paper...I think as President he would prefer to deal through memoranda rather than orally. I think that things would tend to get funneled through one person, probably Hamilton Jordan, from inside the government. And would probably get funneled out in terms of public relations through one person, probably Jody Powell."

--New York Times
July 5, 1976

Stephen Smith, Kennedy's campaign manager

Stephen Smith criticized Carter's use of presidential power, saying: "Under a good deal of sanctimonious rhetoric from the President, there is a lot of very hardhanded use of federal funds and the whole government's apparatus for political purposes in a dimension that seems to go well beyond anything in my recollection..."

--Los Angeles Times
February 15, 1980

Bill Tipps, Ohio Democratic Party Chairman

"...there is no perception in Ohio that Jimmy Carter understands the problems of Ohio."

--The Cincinnati Enquirer
December 10, 1978

COLUMNISTS

Dom Bonafede, Senior Editor, National Journal

"For his part, Jimmy Carter has been unable or unwilling to provide a coherent sense of his Presidency, either in ideological, thematic or institutional terms."

--National Journal
December 15, 1979

David Broder

"The conventional wisdom, it seems fair to say, is that we need a bigger person than Jimmy Carter to fill the presidency...Far more critical things were said of his [Jimmy Carter's] term of president than were said in praise of his stewardship."

--Washington Post
December 5, 1979

Patrick Buchanan

"In a year-end review, a stunned President Carter confessed that he had been misled by Brezhnev and that events in Afghanistan had altered completely his views of the Kremlin's 'ultimate goals.' One wonders what he imagined them to be in the first three years of his presidency."

--Chicago Tribune
January 8, 1980

"In his Inaugural Address President Carter expressed his dream for the ultimate elimination of nuclear weapons and set his administration on a course of negotiation and restraint designed to reduce military tension....Three years later, with Soviet troops seeking to control Afghanistan and American hostages in their third month of captivity in Iran, it's clear that course has failed."

--Wall Street Journal
January 8, 1980

William F. Buckley, Jr., columnist and editor of the National Review

"If the idea is to conserve energy, President Carter's speech was a poor example. Seldom has so much energy been expended by so many to yield so little. The homiletic passages by the president were entirely correct. It is true that much of America has become self-indulgent, true that we lust after material comforts, true that we have little appetite for sacrifice. But in what way has Jimmy Carter lifted the banner?"

--Washington Star
July 19, 1979

Allen Drury, former congressional correspondent for the New York Times

"He has misruled us sufficiently. We have been patient with his abysmal ineptitude to the outermost limits of the national tolerance and safety. As Oliver Cromwell said to the worst of his parliaments, we must say to the President: 'You have sat here long enough. In the name of God, go!'"

--Chicago Tribune
August 14, 1979

Evans and Novak

"President Carter's disavowal last week of his three-month-old confession that the invasion of Afghanistan changed his view of 'ultimate' Soviet goals followed a familiar pattern of reshaping positions to his political needs..."

"In an interview with The Washington Post's Meg Greenfield, Carter denied he had ever admitted changing his own mind about the Soviets' 'ultimate goals' as a result of Afghanistan. In fact, on Dec. 31, following the Soviet invasion, Carter declared over ABC television that Afghanistan 'made a more dramatic change in my opinion of what the Soviets' ultimate goals are than anything they have done' during his administration.

...Thus, Carter's syndrome: what he says for immediate political impact one day, he denies the next under the stress of changed political needs. The result is that U.S. policy becomes hostage to instant political requirements. That has infuriated U.S. allies, confounded U.S. enemies and consigned Carter's real policy to the murky world of make-believe."

--Washington Post
April 2, 1980

Michael Novak

"Unfortunately, in trying not to be an imperial president, Carter failed to be an inspiring president. He did not live up to the second part -- the majestic part -- of his office. This failure weakened him in the managerial part as well."

--Chicago Tribune
November 13, 1979

James Reston

"...His opponents in Iran are saying that when he is asked to give them more time and to withdraw his threats of sanctions, he pulls back. His political opponents make the same point: whenever Mr. Carter is faced with violent opposition on any policy, he retreats and compromises."

--New York Times
April 2, 1980

"President Carter is really in a jam now between his re-election strategy and his foreign policy. The more moves he makes on Iran or Afghanistan that may appeal to the voters at home, the less support he seems to get from the allies...His latest diplomatic and trade sanctions against Iran illustrate his dilemma. He had to react against the defiance and even humiliation of the United States by Iran. He was beginning to be mocked by his political opponents, by the press, and even by many of his own supporters....So more is at stake in Carter's latest move than a few symbolic acts. He has given up on the moderates in Teheran, even said a good word for the militants, and implied further actions that could split the Western alliance even more seriously than it is....As for the hostages, it is hard to believe them safer or closer to liberation than they were last week. The tragedy is that the greater the tension between Washington and Teheran, the more the terrorists are in control and the greater the menace to the prisoners."

--New York Times
April 9, 1980

William Safire

"This week's next year's budget is better than last week's next year's budget, but I wonder what next week's next year's budget will be?...The reason nobody believes President Carter will stick to his Anti-Inflation Plan No. 4 is the same reason nobody put much faith in his previous three plans: when public opinion shifts, so will he. His single consistent sail on a sea of inconsistency is a determination to stay in office."

--New York Times
March 17, 1980

FOREIGN PRESS

"The weekly Economist of London...warned that the President could not solve the country's problems 'unless there is some understanding of how the world works and some readiness to eschew symbolism and appearances and go instead after the substance of the problems.'"

--Time
July 30, 1979

The following quotes were taken from the Chicago Tribune, August 21, 1979:

"The American presidency is experiencing its most serious crisis in 50 years, in many respects more serious than Watergate."

--Il Giornale, Milan

"Placing a 34-year-old imagemaker, Hamilton Jordan, at that power level of the Western world leaves some people uneasy. The members of Carter's young team are the most expensive apprentices in the world."

--Handelsblatt, Dusseldorf

"The painful truth is that the President has been unable to transform his charisma into a political base."

--Jornal do Brasil, Rio de Janeiro

"The recent housecleaning's only purpose was to mask the departure of certain presidential associates judged undesirable and a liability among the electorate."

--Le Nouvel Observateur, Paris

"Jimmy Carter's difficulties are the result of his ambiguous relationship with the traditional political groups that dominate Congress."

--Le Matin, Paris

"After 30 months in office, Carter appears to be more a preacher than a statesman, with many exhortations but little action."

--Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Frankfurt

"President Carter changes his policies as readily as he changes his neckties."

--Ad-Dustour, Amman

"Carter confessed that he had lost touch with ordinary American people. But there are many who felt instead that he is out of the mainstream of American politics."

--The Age, Melbourne

"Can President Carter turn his fortunes around? It seems increasingly impossible."

--The Guardian, London

DEMOCRATIC MAYORS

Jane Byrne, Chicago

"We must withhold our support from Jimmy Carter in 1980 with a touch of sadness, with a touch of deep regret and with a sense of disenchantment -- a disenchantment that I believe unfortunately has spread throughout the American electorate with respect to his performance in the last three years."

--New York Times
November 19, 1979

"He [Carter] has not been off that phone calling people here on the primary....I know for a fact that jobs have been offered."

--Chicago Tribune
January 11, 1980

Richard Hatcher, Gary, Indiana

(Regarding Carter's economic policies)

"We don't feel the poor and the minorities ought to bear the burden."

--Time
December 18, 1978

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNORS

Jerry Brown, California

"I don't think Carter has captured the excitement and imagination of the Democratic Party.

"I just don't get a sense of where he's at or where he's coming from."

--Los Angeles Times
May 1, 1976

"Jimmy Carter is not electable in 1980."

--Christian Science Monitor
August 15, 1979

"Carter is playing politics with the Iranian Situation.

"This is obviously part of the Iowa campaign. We are seeing more and more politics and less diplomacy."

--Las Vegas Sun
December 23, 1979

"Jimmy Carter said in the last week that he just found out that the Russians can't be trusted. Not too many other people have that kind of slow learning curve."

--Sacramento Bee
January 6, 1980

"Carter's got us into a mess now, and he cannot escape responsibility and the discussion of how we got here in the first place.

"It was Carter who brought the shah in, and since he wanted to do that, he had an obligation to protect the American diplomats. He didn't do that. Now they're over there, and to try to get them back safely is a real dilemma.

"I think he [Carter] obscures the issue with these [campaign] films, and these other political hypes that he's engaging in are making it look like he's doing something, and he's doing absolutely nothing."

--Washington Star

"President Carter cannot escape full responsibility for the problems we face."

--New York Times
January 9, 1980

Hugh Carey, New York

Governor Hugh Carey criticized Carter's Administration for: "The interest rates, the discharge of auto workers, the near collapse of the economy on the housing side, unemployment raging upwards, a lack of consistency and total uncertainty in foreign policy."

--New York Times
May 6, 1980

Patrick Lucey, former Wisconsin governor

"We don't need an administration [that] continually walks out...on the American farmer..."

--The Bismark Tribune
April 19, 1980

"I sense a certain hypocrisy on the part of Jimmy Carter...by ducking out of a debate and at the same time calling precinct captains in Iowa and asking for their support."

--Boston Globe
January 14, 1980

DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATIVES

Shirley Chisholm, New York

"President Carter had been a 'great disappointment' to many liberals and...his record 'has become one of the unfulfilled promises for the little folks out there.'"

--New York Times
December 6, 1979

Walter E. Fauntroy, D.C. delegate

D.C. Delegate Walter E. Fauntroy criticized Carter's economic policies, terming the federal budget an "unmitigated disaster."

--Washington Star
February 14, 1980

Thomas R. Harkin, Iowa

Democratic Representative Thomas R. Harkin from Iowa, who endorsed Carter in 1976, this year charged that the administration "seems to be following a policy of benign neglect," toward American grain farmers.

--Washington Star
April 11, 1980

Toby Moffett, Connecticut

"Completely at odds with what his party stands for."

--Washington Post
May 23, 1979

Benjamin Rosenthal, New York

"The immediate impact is overwhelmingly negative. Everyone around here is very, very disgusted. I'm genuinely worried about the stability of the country. What he wants -- team players -- is a legitimate element, but the destruction of confidence in our Government is hardly worth it."

--New York Times
July 20, 1979

Morris Udall, Arizona

Udall characterized Carter as "a candidate who will not tell us where he stands."

"I don't believe we can accept the premise that a candidate first earns our votes and then tells us what policies we have voted for...and I don't think we can afford simply a wink and a smile from a man who would be our President."

--Wall Street Journal
March 24, 1979

Udall said that Carter "has flip-flopped all over on the issues. He's fuzzy, and if you pin him down, you'll find he really doesn't have a program."

--Los Angeles Times
April 22, 1976

DEMOCRATIC SENATORS

Joseph R. Biden, Jr., Delaware

"I don't see any way Carter can be re-elected with an inflation rate of 18 percent...."

--The Delaware State News
February 26, 1980

Robert C. Byrd, West Virginia

"People in West Virginia believe President Carter is a good man, but they don't give him high marks for leadership."

--Washington Post
September 16, 1979

Alan Cranston, California

"I think the Carter Administration has not fulfilled its commitments to the Hispanic community. I don't know why...All I know is that they have failed...That is overall one of the problems of the Carter Administration, that he seemingly has not been able yet to establish full control over his own Administration."

--Los Angeles Times

Gary Hart, Colorado

Carter has "limited the scope of the office and sacrificed some of the psychological and political weight that the presidency has gained."

--National Journal
January 14, 1978

Ernest F. Hollings, South Carolina

"Senate Budget Committee Chairman Ernest F. Hollings (D-S.C.) accused President Carter yesterday of the 'height of hypocrisy' and 'outrageous, deplorable conduct' for assailing a compromise congressional budget plan as too defense-heavy."

--Washington Post
May 29, 1980

Henry Jackson, Washington

Jackson accused Carter of talking out of both sides of his mouth:

"In Pensacola and Jacksonville, he is for a strong defense. In Miami, he promises to cut the defense budget by billions. In Iowa, he promises to abolish legalized abortion. In New York, he promises to oppose a constitutional amendment for such a change.

"In Atlanta, he writes letters to special interest groups promising support for a right-to-work law. In Florida, he promises audiences he would sign a repeal of the right-to-work laws."

--United Press International
February 17, 1976

"I don't see how he can be viable in November. I don't see how he can really win the nomination without tearing the party apart."

--Los Angeles Times
July 30, 1979

"'We appear to be going from one crisis to another' with the Carter administration dispensing 'red-hot rhetoric at least once a week about the dire consequences of this or that or something else....Littered along the way are all of these strong positions, with no follow-through and no clear cut policy...The tragedy is that we've ended up in a position where we're not credible either to the Soviets or the weakest oil-producing state.'"

--Wall Street Journal
May 13, 1980

"What is the voter to think of the steadfastness of our party's foreign policy objectives if our candidates warn us against an inordinate fear of Communism one day and, on another, admit they had misjudged Soviet intentions in the world?"

--New York Times
May 23, 1980

Edward M. Kennedy, Massachusetts

Edward Kennedy stated that Carter is "intentionally...indefinite and imprecise."

--Washington Post
May 27, 1976

"The president speaks of a decade of high inflation...but there are peaks and valleys in that decade. And the highest peak...has erupted since the present administration came to power."

--Washington Post
October 28, 1979

"We do not have to throw millions of men and women out of work by putting the economy through the wringer of high interest rates and severe recession.

"We do not have to destroy the economy to save it."

--New York Times
November 3, 1979

"I say it isn't the American people that are in a malaise, it's the political leadership that's in a malaise."

--Washington Post
November 7, 1979

"...when present difficulties grow so large that they threaten the essential confidence of the nation, the energies of our people must be marshaled toward a larger purpose -- and that can only be done from the White House. Only the president can provide the sense of direction needed by the nation. Only the president can inspire the common will to reach our goals.

"For many months, we have been sinking into crisis, yet we hear no clear summons from the center of power. Aims are not set. The means of realizing them are neglected."

--Washington Star
November 7, 1979

"It's the failure of leadership....I want a president who's going to take a stand on issues, go to the American people and say this is what we need, this is what we're going to fight for, and then go ask Congress to say yea or nay on these issues."

--Washington Post
November 8, 1979

"We do not have to settle for things the way they are. Our problems today are no more difficult than those we have faced before. I regret the views of those who say this nation has reached the limits of its strength, or that the time has come to lower our sights and accept the status quo. They are the counsels of defeat and despair, excuses for leadership that has failed to do its job."

--Boston Globe
November 8, 1979

"The sounds coming out of the White House these days are not the sounds of leadership. Instead, they are the sounds of uncertainty and of retreat."

--Boston Globe
November 14, 1980

"President Carter likes to say he tackles the tough issues. Most of the time he misses the tackles. I reject the view that doing badly is the best we can do. How dare anyone tell us that we have to set a low horizon for our future?"

--Washington Star
November 15, 1979

"A constructive, effective policy on law enforcement should have been forthcoming long ago from the White House. The nation cannot wage an effective war on crime unless it has a commander in chief who is willing to lead the fight....During the past three years, the White House has not issued a single major statement on crime and law enforcement. In my view it would have been a good idea for President Carter to say a little more about crime and a little less about the Central Arizona Project."

--Arizona Republic
November 30, 1979

"Not one additional state has ratified ERA since President Carter took office."

--Des Moines Register
December 5, 1979

"The most troublesome aspect I have found in recent years is the proliferation of different voices that speak for the administration."

--Boston Globe
December 11, 1979

"[Carter told the country that government] cannot set our goals, define our vision, eliminate poverty or reduce inflation.

"It seems to me he should be asked the question, why then, does he want to be President of the United States?"

--New York Times
December 14, 1979

"If you take this new deficit and add it to other Carter deficits of the past three years...[it] will go down in the economic record book as the largest...of any presidential term."

--Washington Post
January 29, 1980

Carter's 1981 budget "is a harsh and insensitive document that defies the great historic traditions of the Democratic Party and promises only more hardship for the poor, the sick, the cities and, cities and, above all, the unemployed."

--Wall Street Journal
February 12, 1980

In a speech at Harvard University, February 12, Kennedy sharply attacked Carter's foreign policy, saying: "No President should be re-elected because he happened to be standing there when his foreign policy collapsed around him....Instead of pursuing a consistent course, the President has rushed helter-skelter in foreign affairs.... This President did not comprehend until the other day that 'the long twilight struggle' with the Russians still goes on. Another President would have heeded the months of warning signals about Afghanistan and given the Russians reason to pause. He would have raised the issue in advance instead of drawing a line after it was already crossed. In the hands of other Presidents, the crisis might have ended with nothing more than Soviet military maneuvers near the Afghan border."

--New York Times
February 13, 1980

"Whether by incredible misjudgment, mismanagement or irresponsible action, the Carter administration has managed to jeopardize the security of Israel, damaged the peace process in the Middle East, undermined our relations with other friends and made American foreign policy the laughingstock of nations throughout the worlds."

--Baltimore Sun
March 6, 1980

"I do believe that the American people have suffered because of the inadequate policies of this Administration in the areas of the economy, but it is only really emerging as the political dynamite issue in very recent days."

--"Face the Nation"
March 9, 1980

"President Carter stood on this spot in October 1977, saw the devastation and pledged to repair it....Two and a half years later...the housing has not been built, the economy of the Bronx has not been developed, the jobs have not been created."

--New York Times
March 23, 1980

George McGovern, South Dakota

"We can't afford leadership that will reveal their charms but not their plans for the country."

--New York Times
April 6, 1976

Carter "continues to show signs that he is not a forceful enough leader -- not forceful enough in dealing with the great issues or in dealing with Congress for that matter. He just doesn't seem to be able to get control of his office and his leadership potential."

--Louisville Courier Journal
September 10, 1979

Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island

Claiborne Pell characterized the President as a man whose "ability to lead and administer and to mold the country is not great." He continued: Mr. Carter "ran as an outsider, saying we all were dreadful jerks in the Congress, and that Washington was a dreadful place and he was going to show everybody. This created some problems in cooperation right then and there."

--The Providence Journal
July 2, 1979

Adlai Stevenson, Illinois

The President lacks "the instinct for power."

--Chicago Tribune
July 22, 1979