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# Republican National Committee

Drew Lewis  
Deputy Chairman

October 8, 1980

Mr. James Stockdale  
c/o Reagan-Bush Committee  
9841 Airport Blvd.  
#1430  
Los Angeles, California 90045

Dear Jim:

Enclosed is a copy of The Carter Record which was prepared by the Public Affairs Department of the Republican National Committee. I thought you might be able to use it.

Sincerely,

Drew Lewis

DL/jw

Enclosure



**Republican  
National  
Committee**

Michael E. Baroody  
Director of Public Affairs

September 29, 1980

TO: Recipients of the Carter Record Book  
FROM: Barry Beringer, Coordinator of Research  
Republican National Committee  
RE: Carter Quotations

BB

Attached are selected Carter Quotations. The quotations are divided into the same issue areas as The Carter Record book itself. The individual quotation sections are designed so that they may be added to the book following the appendix in the appropriate section. The quotations are a useful tool to highlight the inadequacies of the Carter record.

If you have any questions concerning the quotations or any other section of The Carter Record book, please call me at 202/484-6650.



AGRICULTURE

GENERAL

"I grew up as a landowner's son. But I don't think I ever realized the proper interrelationship between the landowner and those who worked on a farm until I heard Dylan's record, 'I Ain't Gonna Work on Maggie's Farm No More.' "

Speech, The Presidential Campaign  
May 4, 1974

"As a farmer, I have been appalled at the maladministration of our nation's agricultural economy...

"I know this nation can develop an agricultural policy which will insure a fair profit to our farmers and a fair price to consumers."

Jimmy Carter in his autobiography,  
Why Not the Best?

"It is time that we developed a coherent, predictable, stable, coordinated food and fiber policy. This policy should:

- insure stable prices to the consumer and a fair profit for farmers;
- increase opportunities in the world market for our agricultural commodities through an innovative, aggressive foreign sales program;
- guarantee an abundant supply of agricultural goods and avoid periodic shortages;
- reduce the tremendous increase in the price of farm goods from the farmer to the consumer (which is not passed along to the farmer in the form of profit) by studying ways to avoid excessive profits made by middlemen and processors;
- create a predictable, stable, reasonable small food reserve, with up to a two-month supply, permitting farmers to retain control of one-half of these reserves, in order to prevent government dumping during times of moderate price increases;
- insure coordination of the policies of the many federal agencies and bureaus, in addition to the Department of Agriculture, which affect the farmer;
- close the revolving door that now exists between the boards of the grain inspection companies and the processors that supply them with their grain, since both the farmer and the consumer pay when regulatory agencies fail to do their job;
- guarantee adequate price supports and a parity level that assures farmers a reasonable return on their investments;
- farmers must be given the ability to transport their produce to market."

Platform Program  
June 16, 1976

"...The costs of production have risen much faster than the prices you can get. Support levels are unreasonably low.

"If I am elected, we will make sure that our support prices are at least equal to the cost of production."

Speech, Presidential Campaign  
August 25, 1976

"Farmers are in danger of being destroyed economically because of an insensitive government."

Speech, Presidential Campaign  
September 17, 1976

"Judging by reports that come to me from drought areas, the main trouble with the disaster relief program is that it is slowly and badly administered."

Interview in The Farm Journal  
October 1976

"(Carter criticizes placing) greater burdens on the farm family--higher fuel prices, higher interest rates, and lower returns for farm products."

Position Paper  
October 15, 1976

"Preservation and encouragement of the family farm and ranch, the cornerstone of American agriculture, will be a basic part of our policy....The rapidly increasing need for capital and the high cost of borrowing money is one of the farmer's biggest burdens. Aggressive leadership...must be brought to the farm credit dilemma....The Carter Administration will once again utilize local soil and water conservation districts to fight erosion."

Position Paper  
October 15, 1976

"Recognition of the importance of agricultural and food research--all the way from the farm to the dinner table--will be an essential element of the new food and agricultural policy...."

"The human opportunities in rural America, especially for young people, must be equal to those in our cities. Health, housing, and community services and job opportunities in the countryside will be improved. The ingenuity of rural people, and the tools available in the Rural Development Act of 1972 and the rural electrification program will be used to provide all farmers and rural people with adequate, reasonably-priced energy, modern communications and transportation services, and water and waste disposal facilities as modern as any in America."

Position Paper  
October 15, 1976



AGRICULTURE--3

"Likewise, the new food and agricultural policy will give farmers, ranchers and consumers a voice in those federal agencies, outside of the Department of Agriculture, which make regulations affecting their livelihood or their health and well-being."

Position Paper  
October 15, 1976

"We need a strong agricultural policy that's predictable, and we're going to have it next January."

Speech, Presidential Campaign  
October 30, 1976

"...because as I am a farmer of this Nation, as I am deeply interested in the small farmers of this Nation, as I am deeply committed, and permanently, to a fine tobacco loan program, obviously I'm also interested in the health of America."

Presidential Documents  
August 5, 1978

"Compared to a year ago, the life of the American farm family and also, I think, the attitude of the American farm family has improved dramatically. I hear this in my own travels through the farm regions, from my own home area, which suffered badly last year. And the statistics prove that the farmers should basically be satisfied."

Presidential Documents  
August 5, 1978

"...I think we still see that farm income is--I started to say the lowest--among the lowest in the Nation per capita, and also certainly the lowest in the Nation per person, compared to the tremendous capital investment required..."

"So, I don't think the general public yet realizes how low farm income is, compared to other farm income, for laborers, and certainly they don't for a farm family that has a tremendous capital investment. There's still a wide disparity there that I hope to help close."

Presidential Documents  
September 29, 1978

Question: How concerned are you about capturing the farm vote in 1980, and what measures will the administration take to bring the vote to your side 2 years from now?

Answer:

"...I would rather my administration and the Democratic Congress be judged on its record. Farmers are responsible people. I think they make judgments by the degree of freedom they have to produce crops; the degree of control they have over their own destiny; the amount of detectable interest in their specific problems derived from an administration including the Congress, on kind of a personal basis; the degree of increase in sale of their products, domestically and overseas; and the amount of net income that they realize, which is a bottom-line thing, after they've worked for a year on the farm."

Presidential Documents  
September 29, 1978

AGRICULTURE--4

"I think on all these issues I've just described--and I could go on--our record has been good. But obviously we want to have an equally good record in the next 2 years. I'm willing to rely on the statistics and the facts and the actual achievements, not just on words or claims or goals that are set and sometimes not realized."

Presidential Documents  
September 29, 1978

"And as I'd like to remind you, farm net income has gone up 25 percent. I think we've made very good success in the roughly 1 year that we've had a new agricultural program on hand."

Presidential Documents  
November 17, 1978

"When food prices go up, the city dwellers are raising Cain. If food prices go down the farmers are extremely unhappy. Sometimes I don't know whether it is harder for a president to try to establish peace in the Middle East or peace in the Mid-West."

Washington Post  
May 5, 1979

"About two-thirds of the cost of food takes place after the food leaves the farm with the processors and distributors and we've been particularly disturbed lately because as the price of food to the farmers has been going down substantially, the price for the consumer at the retail level has still been going up quite rapidly."

Washington Star  
August 14, 1979

"I'm aware....that there has to be some lag between changes in food prices to the farmer and how those prices show up at the retail level. But last winter, when food prices were going up, there was no lag in the farm-to-retail spread. And now, with the food prices going down to the farmer, there is a substantial lag."

Baltimore Sun  
August 14, 1979

"In the agricultural area, I have taken the steps needed to improve farm incomes...."

Presidential Documents  
January 21, 1980

"While much work remains to be done, America's agriculture is by far the best in the world. Efforts made by my Administration, in cooperation with Congress, to secure economic stability for the farmer, have produced results."

Presidential Documents  
January 21, 1980



"Likewise, the new food and agricultural policy will give farmers, ranchers and consumers a voice in those federal agencies, outside of the Department of Agriculture, which make regulations affecting their livelihood or their health and well-being."

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Presidential Documents  
September 29, 1978





## AGRICULTURE--5

"Because the worldwide demand for food has grown substantially, overproduction is no longer the primary problem in agriculture. Government policies now seek to encourage full production, while cushioning the American economy and the American farmer from the sharp swings in prices and incomes to which the farm sector is often subject."

Presidential Documents  
January 30, 1980

"I realize agriculture is the key industry for all of us and our nation..."

Chicago Tribune  
April 20, 1980

"I want our farmers growing crops to feed the nation and the world, secure in the knowledge that the family farm will thrive and with a fair return on the work they do for all of us."

Acceptance Speech  
August 14, 1980

## GOVERNMENT REGULATION

"Nobody who's spent as much time on a farm as I have wants the government to manage our farms."

Speech, Presidential Campaign  
August 25, 1976

"Their (the Republicans') kind of free market means the lowest parity level in decades."

Speech, Presidential Campaign  
August 25, 1976

"America's agricultural productivity and the family farm structure are among the greatest accomplishments of Western civilization. But our agriculture will remain the wonder of the world only so long as we remember a basic fact: The person most competent to make a farmer's decisions is not a bureaucrat in Washington or anywhere else; it's the man or woman on the farm."

Presidential Documents  
August 14, 1978

"I want to go as far as I possibly can to get the Government out of the farm business of America."

Presidential Documents  
August 14, 1978

## AGRICULTURE--6

### ESTATE TAXES

"Estate taxes on the average lifetime investment of our farm families will come to...far more than they can afford. If I am elected, we will reduce the estate tax burden, and base the estate tax value of land on its use for agriculture, rather than its potential value for commercial subdivision."

Speech, Presidential Campaign  
August 25, 1976

"Permanent farm land should be valued for estate taxes at its productive value and not for its value to land speculators."

Interview in the Farm Journal  
October 1976

"The unfair burden of death taxes will be removed, either with a tax credit or an increase in the exemption from estate taxes. Permanent farm land will be valued for estate taxes at its productive value, not for its value to land speculators."

Position Paper  
October 15, 1976

### THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

"We need a President and a Secretary of Agriculture who understand the problems of the family farmer and the American consumer--and if I am elected, we are going to have both."

Speech, Presidential Campaign  
August 25, 1976

"The role of the Secretary of Agriculture should be leadership--not demagoguery."

Position Paper  
October 15, 1976

"I was concerned when I became President, as a farmer, about farmers. We've got a good sound administration. Bob Bergland, Secretary of Agriculture--he's not a college professor or economist exercising his theories in the Agriculture Department in Washington; he's a dirt farmer."

Presidential Documents  
August 5, 1978

### EMBARGOES AND EXPORTS

"If I'm elected President I don't believe there will ever be another grain moratorium. We ought never again remove from our farmers a chance to sell their product because of political reasons."

Speech, Abilene, Texas  
April 29, 1976



AGRICULTURE--7

"We ought to have an aggressive sale of crops abroad."

Atlanta Constitution  
May 25, 1976

Q: In the case of the Soviet Union doing things like intervening in Angola would you favor using our economic leverage and urging our allies to use their economic leverage to try to get the Russians to cease and desist?

"Yes, I would."

Q: Would that include the cancellation of grain sales?

"...The singling out of food as a bargaining weapon is something that I would not do. If we want to put economic pressure on another nation under any circumstances, to use it as a lever by withholding our products, I would not single out food as a singular product. It would be a total withholding of trade."

New York Times  
July 7, 1976

"I prefer to go from my farm to the White House and stop embargoes once and for all!"

Speech, Presidential Campaign  
August 25, 1976

"It's not my idea of a fair shake when the government promotes foreign sales, and then cuts them off for political convenience."

Speech, Presidential Campaign  
August 25, 1976

"We need to have uninterrupted and strong (agricultural) export commitments."

Speech, Presidential Campaign  
September 17, 1976

"Vigorous, constant and aggressive efforts to build dependable world markets will be a key feature of our program."

Position Paper  
October 15, 1976

"Our country can be the breadbasket of the world."

Speech, Presidential Campaign  
October 30, 1976

"One of the promises that I made to the farmers of this state (Iowa) and others during my campaign was there would be no more grain embargoes, and you can depend on that. There won't be as long as I'm in the White House."

Presidential Documents  
October 31, 1977

"The time for uncertainty and for unpredictable, government-imposed embargoes on farm exports is over."

Presidential Documents  
August 14, 1978

"We do have a very high level of feed grains on hand, but we are trying as hard as we can to increase our exports and to have stabilized prices."

Presidential Documents  
November 17, 1978

"We have ended grain embargoes, once and for all."

Washington Post  
December 8, 1978

"I am determined to minimize any adverse impact on the American farmer from this action (i.e., Carter's Soviet grain embargo)".

Presidential Documents  
January 4, 1980

"After consultation with other principal grain-exporting nations, I am confident that they will not replace these quantities of (Carter-embargoed) grain by additional shipments on their part to the Soviet Union."

Presidential Documents  
January 4, 1980

#### IMPORTS

"The farmers of this country can compete on even terms with subsidized (European dairy) imports, but we should not give other countries' products an unfair advantage in our markets."

Position Paper  
October 15, 1976

"We recognize the need to import, if we are to export. We must continuously and carefully scrutinize the entry of subsidized imports of meat, dairy products and palm oil into American markets in direct competition with the products of American producers."

Position Paper  
October 15, 1976

## AGRICULTURE--9

"Our decisions have been sound, careful, and well considered. I will not permit any more expansion in beef imports this year. I will not permit unrestricted beef imports next year. And I am strongly and permanently opposed to any price controls on meat or other farm products."

ENERGY AND RURAL AMERICA

Presidential Documents  
August 14, 1978

"(Carter promises) to provide all farmers and rural people with adequate, reasonably-priced energy..."

Position Paper  
October 15, 1976

"...I intend to take other firm steps to guarantee that you will have adequate supplies of gasoline and other fuel during this very difficult farm season.

"I will not allow agricultural production to be disrupted by a shortage of petroleum. I will not let rural America run dry."

Presidential Documents  
May 4, 1979

"Americans are afraid that we are going to wind up with worthless money and no gas. As those fears grow so do the demands for quicker, simpler and more painless solutions...I will not let rural America run dry. 100 percent of current requirements for natural gas in agriculture will be maintained. I will not allow agricultural production to be disrupted by a shortage of petroleum."

New York Times  
May 5, 1979

"Our priority will continue to be home heating, agriculture, and emergency needs over highway driving."

Washington Post  
July 3, 1979

## GASOHOL

"From the products of our forests and croplands, we can produce more gasohol..."

Presidential Documents  
April 5, 1979

"The government forgot about gasohol, and so did the experts."

Presidential Documents  
May 4, 1979



"I am today announcing that between now and 1981 we will assist farmers and farm cooperatives to build as many as 100 plants to produce gasohol."

New York Times  
May 5, 1979

"This administration's program to accelerate dramatically America's production and use of gasohol is yet another important front on which we will be waging--and winning--our energy war."

Presidential Documents  
January 11, 1980

"We will quadruple current gasohol production capacity by the end of this year."

Presidential Documents  
January 11, 1980

#### WATER POLICY

"When the issue is priorities of the water use in a state, the state must and does have the ability to say no through existing state water-allocation systems. This right must and will be protected in the energy proposals now pending before the Congress."

Washington Post  
October 11, 1979

"I strongly believe that we must preserve the essential and historic role of the states in the process of allocating water among comparable needs. I have and will continue to support legislative language to make it clear that federally supported energy development should be accomplished without preemption or change of state water laws, rights or responsibilities."

Washington Post  
October 11, 1979

"Sound water management is vital to the economic and environmental health of our Nation."

Presidential Documents  
January 21, 1980

"It should be clear that my Administration supports sound water resources development, and has taken several steps to improve the quality of projects sent to Congress for authorization and funding."

Presidential Documents  
January 21, 1980

## BUDGET

"Given the present state of the economy, we must pursue an expansionary fiscal and monetary program in the near future, with some budget deficits if necessary, to reduce unemployment more rapidly. But with a progressively managed economy we can attain a balanced budget within the context of full employment by 1979, prior to the end of the first term of my administration.

"Under my administration, economic growth will generate additional revenues, avoiding the need for recession-related expenditures, and insuring both budget stability and an adequate level of public spending. I favor balanced budgets over the business cycle."

Economic Position Paper for  
Now and Tomorrow  
April 22, 1976

"My commitment is to achieve and maintain a high level of real growth in the economy, which will permit us to have a balanced budget without reductions in important social programs and within the context of full employment."

Economic Position Paper for  
Now and Tomorrow  
April 22, 1976

"Another thing that I think should be done to control inflation is a tight, businesslike management of the government mechanism itself-- a complete reorganization of the structure of government, the institution of zero-based budgeting which would screen out old and obsolescent programs, and a heavy emphasis toward a balancing of the budget."

Interview with Mr. Carter  
May 1976 Fortune Magazine

We can have a balanced budget by 1980 if I'm President. There is no way now to estimate benefits to be derived from top competent management of the government."

Business Week Interview  
May 3, 1976

"With a progressively managed economy we can attain a balanced budget... by 1979."

Newsweek  
May 10, 1976

BUDGET--2

"We must give top priority to a drastic and thorough revision and re-organization of the federal bureaucracy, to its budgeting system and to the procedures for analyzing the effectiveness of its services."

Speech to Democratic Party,  
New York, New York  
June 16, 1976

"First, the federal government should be committed to requiring zero-base budgeting by all federal agencies.

"Second, we must commit ourselves to a greater reliance upon long-term planning budgets.

"Third, reforming the budget process will not be enough unless we are also committed to insuring that programs are carried out with efficiency."

Speech to Democratic Party,  
New York, New York  
June 16, 1976

"There's no doubt in my mind that before I go out of office the budget will be balanced..."

Los Angeles Times  
June 16, 1976

"I believe that...we can carry out the promises that I have made and have the budget balanced by 1980."

Boston Advertiser  
July 25, 1976

"I am committed to achieving a balanced federal budget by the end of my first term and to keeping government spending at or beneath its current share of our national output."

Position Papers III  
The Presidential Campaign 1976

"I am committed to...having a balanced budget when I go out of office at the end of my first term in 1981."

Press Conference in Indianapolis  
September 16, 1976

"We project a balanced budget by 1979. This is a reasonable and very conservative projection, and I feel we can do that."

Reader's Digest  
October 1, 1976

"I intend to keep my commitment of a balanced budget at the end of four years."

Press Conference  
December 14, 1976



BUDGET--3

"The economic program I have proposed will set the stage for substantial growth in the years ahead. It will restore consumer confidence and consumer purchasing power; it will encourage businessmen to invest in a long-term growing economy; it will pave the way for a balanced Federal budget by fiscal year 1981."

Economic Recovery Program  
January 31, 1977

"This budget includes the economic stimulus package, which will reduce unemployment and promote steady, balanced economic growth."

Fiscal Year 1978 Budget Revisions  
February 22, 1977

"I intend to cut down the expenditure of Government programs well enough to bring about a balanced budget by 1981."

The President's News Conference  
March 24, 1977

"I'm determined to hold down the deficit that will exist in our Federal Government this year, in 1978 fiscal year, 1979-80, leading toward a balanced budget in 1981."

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session on the Tax Rebate and Business Tax Credit Proposals  
April 14, 1977

"Inadequate tax revenues from a stagnant economy not legitimate Federal spending programs are the principal source of the deficits."

Statement Outlining Administration Action  
April 15, 1977

"The budget that I will submit will contain responsible expenditure ceilings..."

Statement Outlining Administration Action  
April 15, 1977

"And by the time my term is over in 1980, I would like to get government spending to about 21 percent of GNP through careful management and wise spending of our funds."

Conversation With the President  
December 28, 1977

BUDGET--4

"Lately, Federal spending has taken a steadily increasing portion of what Americans produce. Our new budget reverses that trend, and later I hope to bring the Government's toll down even further. And with your help, we'll do that.

"In time of high employment and a strong economy, deficit spending should not be a feature of our budget.

"With careful planning, efficient management, and proper restraint on spending, we can move rapidly toward a balanced budget and we will."

State of the Union  
January 19, 1978

"I intend to continue prudent expenditure controls in the future. With good management we can, I believe, achieve our Nation's important social goals and still reduce over time the share of gross national product committed to Federal expenditures to about 21 percent."

Economic Report of the President  
January 20, 1978

"In formulating my budgetary decisions thus far, I have been careful to avoid commitments that would make it impossible for us to balance the budget by 1981."

Economic Report of the President  
January 20, 1978

"In an economy growing less strongly, however, balancing the budget by 1981 would be possible only by forgoing tax reductions needed to reach our goal of high employment. In those circumstances, the date for reaching the goal of budget balance would have to be deferred."

Economic Report of the President  
January 20, 1978

"Well, my goal as you know, is to balance the budget."

The President's News Conference  
February 17, 1978

"We have expectations, with some fairly accurate projections, that the budget deficit next year, fiscal year 1980, will be considerably below 1979."

The President's News Conference  
Providence, Rhode Island  
February 17, 1978

BUDGET--5

"I will work closely with the Congress, and if necessary, I will exercise my veto authority to keep the 1979 budget deficit at or below the limits that I've proposed."

Anti-Inflation Policy  
April 11, 1978

"Our first and most direct efforts are within government itself. Where government expenditures are too high, that spending must be reduced. Where government imposes an inflationary burden on business, labor, and the consumer, those burdens must be lightened. Wherever government can set an example of restraint and efficiency, it must do so. The budget that I propose for our next fiscal year is both tight and capable of meeting the nation's most pressing needs."

Speech to American Society of  
Newspaper Editors  
May 1, 1978

"But someone has to hold the line on the budget, and I'm determined to do so."

Anti-Inflation Policy  
June 8, 1978

"But I think we've got to keep a lid on spending. And I intend to use every resource at my command, including the veto, to hold down unwarranted spending on the part of Congress."

Interview With the President  
June 30, 1978

"I promised to cut the Government's share of our total national spending from 23 percent, which it was then, to 21 percent in fiscal year 1981. We now plan to meet that goal 1 year earlier."

Address to the Nation  
October 24, 1978

"To reduce budget expenditures is one thing that's directly under my control, and the 1980 fiscal year budget will be very tight, very tough, very closely patterned to meet the needs of our people without inflationary pressures."

White House Forum on Inflation  
November 8, 1978



"By the end of the 1980 fiscal year, which I'm working on now, that budget deficit will drop from 4 percent of our GNP down to 1 percent of our GNP, a very substantial improvement."

Presidential Documents  
December 14, 1978

"So, to summarize, the budget commitment will be to control inflation. It will be very austere, stringent, tough, fiscal policy, but fair to the American people and oriented to help those who are most disadvantaged have a better quality of life."

The President's News Conference  
January 17, 1979

"I think it's important that the Government set an example. We can't ask business, labor, and private Americans to make any sort of sacrifice in controlling inflation if the Federal Government doesn't set an example."

The President's News Conference  
January 17, 1979

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Asked about the arbitrariness of the \$30 billion deficit goal,  
"Was very carefully considered and was as a matter of fact hotly debated among us."  
"I decided to choose the most stringent figure."

Wall Street Journal  
January 18, 1979

"This budget when it is examined in its entirety...I think will be seen by any fair person as meeting the legitimate needs of those who are most dependent on government, on meeting the defense needs of our country, on being well balanced, on being fair and contributing greatly to controlling inflation."

Washington Post  
January 18, 1979

"We must reduce the growth of total federal spending while protecting the security of our nation and the well-being of the American people."

New York Times  
January 23, 1979

BUDGET--7

"However only through its leadership and its example can the federal government secure this cooperation. This budget provides that leadership, it restrains government's demand on the economy. At the same time, it makes the federal dollar work harder and better."

New York Times  
January 23, 1979

"This budget for fiscal year 1980 is lean and austere...this policy of restraint is not a casual one. It is imperative if we are to overcome the threat of accelerating inflation. If that threat is realized, it would severely disrupt our economy and the well being of our society."

New York Times  
January 23, 1979

"I believe this discipline represents an opportunity to reassess and build strong foundations for future government activity. An opportunity to change government for the better. It is my firm intention to continue these policies in future years, to reduce the size of the deficit and to achieve a balanced budget as soon as economic conditions permit."

New York Times  
January 23, 1979

"By contrast, this budget supports a balanced fiscal policy. It is sufficiently restrained to ease inflationary pressures, but it will permit continued economic growth."

New York Times  
January 23, 1979

"The 1980 budget provides enough spending restraint to begin unwinding inflation, but enough support for our country to keep American workers productive and to encourage the investments that provide new jobs."

State of the Union  
January 23, 1979

"We cannot afford to live beyond our means, to create programs we can neither manage nor finance, or to waste our natural resources; and we cannot tolerate mismanagement and fraud."

New York Times  
January 24, 1979

"Under the best circumstances, designing economic policies to carry out that task calls for restraint and careful choices!"

Annual Message to the Congress  
January 25, 1979

BUDGET--8

"The budget for 1980 must be very tight, and I intend to make sure that a fiscal policy of firm and measured restraint is maintained."

Annual Message to the Congress  
January 25, 1979

"The FY '80 budget projects a deficit of \$29 billion, which is less than half the deficit the Nation had when I ran for office and represents the smallest budget deficit in the last six fiscal years."

State of the Union  
January 25, 1979

"I set forth a goal in my campaign, and I'm using the powers of my office to move our Nation toward it, the goal of a balanced Federal budget. We can achieve this goal by sensible, sensitive, and well-considered public policy which will at the same time protect the strength of the American economy."

Presidential Documents  
February 20, 1979

"The government can set an example of eliminating fraud, eliminating waste, eliminating unnecessary regulation, having a drastic reduction in employment, having a drastic reduction in the deficit levels, and this is what we have done and what we are doing."

Washington Post  
February 25, 1979

"The Federal Government is now setting an example though, in its battle against inflation. We've restored sanity to the Federal budget."

Democratic Congressional  
Campaign Dinner  
May 9, 1979

"We are working for a balanced budget. We've made a lot of progress."

American Retail Federation  
May 10, 1979

"Inflation robs the poor, it robs minorities and it robs those starting out in life as surely as it robs old people on fixed incomes...forces the government to tighten the budget and cut back on many programs that might help some of you..."

New York Times  
May 21, 1979



"If we see a real need to do something about the economy, if the unemployment rate starts getting too high, then I will take action. But that action won't be to raise taxes. It would be to lower taxes. And if we lower them, my first preference would be to lower the payroll tax. So I think you needn't fear tax increase while I am in office."

Wall Street Journal  
July 17, 1979

"Now is no time to change course.

"I am determined to maintain a steady course, to maintain a sound fiscal policy. I am determined to maintain a responsible policy concerning our monetary systems, and also a sound and conservative budget policy.

"We have now experienced more than a decade of persistent inflation, which has sapped away the confidence of the American people."

New York Times  
August 7, 1979

"Government cannot solve all our problems, set all our goals or define our vision. Government cannot eliminate poverty...reduce inflation... save our cities..."

Washington Star  
September 12, 1979

"We all know that we must pursue a policy of fiscal discipline--with protection for the poor and disadvantaged. We cannot spend our way out of this inflation. Austerity is unavoidable and inevitable."

Washington Post  
October 12, 1979

"This is a responsible, restrained budget, whose enactment will help control Federal spending, significantly reduce the Federal deficit, and aid in our fight against inflation."

Message to the Congress  
January 21, 1980

"The 1981 Budget will continue my policy of restraint. Real growth in spending will be close to zero. The deficit will be cut by more than half from last year. The deficit as a percent of the budget and of GNP will be at the second lowest point in this decade. We will have the smallest deficit in seven years. And if the economy were to continue to grow at a rate which held the unemployment rate at the current level, this budget would be in surplus."

National Health Plan  
January 21, 1980

BUDGET--10

"I think we've come up with a very fine, balanced document, which does indeed spell out a fine life for the American people in years to come."

Budget Message  
January 28, 1980

"This is a fairly stringent budget."

Budget Message  
January 28, 1980

"This budget for 1981 is prudent and responsible. It continues the strategy of restraint that I proposed, and the Congress accepted, for the 1980 budget."

Budget Message  
January 28, 1980

"Proposing a responsible Federal budget is a fundamental task of public leadership."

Budget Message  
January 28, 1980

"I believe that this budget, and those I have submitted in the past, support the fundamental policies that will prepare America for the new decade."

Budget Message  
January 28, 1980

"...Our immediate objective for 1980 must be to prevent the spread of double-digit price increases from oil and other problem sectors to the rest of the economy. My budget and economic policies have that as their primary goal. Halting the spread of inflation is not enough, however. We must take steps to reduce it."

New York Times  
January 31, 1980

"This budget for 1981 is prudent and responsible. It continues the strategy of restraint that I proposed, and the Congress accepted, for the 1980 budget."

Congressional Quarterly  
February 2, 1980

"I will veto any legislation that exceeds the spending limits which I consider to be inconsistent with a balanced budget."

Anti-Inflation Program  
March 14, 1980



## BUDGET--II

"Cutting back Federal spending to match revenue is not a cure-all, but it is an essential first step. The sources of inflation are far too complex to be treated by a single remedy. But nothing will work in an overall anti-inflation program until the Federal Government has demonstrated to the American people that it can discipline its own spending and its own borrowing--not just as a 1 year exercise but as a long-term policy."

Anti-Inflation Program  
March 14, 1980

"We have been cutting out waste and fraud and trimming the bureaucratic fat. But this time, there will also have to be cuts in good and worthwhile programs--programs which I support very strongly."

Anti-Inflation Program  
March 14, 1980

"I will cut expenditures throughout the Government. I will freeze Federal employment immediately, to cut down the total number of employees on the Federal payroll by at least 20,000 between now and the 1st of October."

The President's News Conference  
March 14, 1980

"We will have a balanced budget beginning in October. To ensure this goal I will veto any legislation that exceeds our spending limit."

The President's News Conference  
March 14, 1980

In reference to the 1981 Budget, "This balance in the budget has been brought about not by increasing revenues or taxes, but by reductions in expenditures. This will be the first balanced budget that our Nation has had in 12 years, and only the second balanced budget in the last 20 years."

Budget Revisions  
March 31, 1980

In reference to the 1981 Budget, "I will do everything in my power to ensure that my budget proposals are realized. I repeat that I intend to veto any legislation that threatens the spending reductions required for a balanced budget. I will use the powers available to me to defer spending or to rescind funds. If adequate steps are not being taken by the Congress to achieve the required fiscal restraint, I intend to seek from the Congress a temporary grant of extraordinary budget restraint powers."

Budget Revisions  
March 31, 1980

In reference to his revised 1981 Budget, "I must ask the Congress and the American people to support a revised budget that is even more restrained and austere."

New York Times  
April 1, 1980



"...balancing the budget is not a cure-all, but it is an essential element in the more comprehensive program. I believe that no overall anti-inflation program can work until the Federal government has demonstrated to the American people that it will discipline its own spending and its own borrowing..."

New York Times  
April 1, 1980

"We have cut down tremendously the debt that the government accumulates each year."

Los Angeles Times  
May 18, 1980

In reference to the revised 1981 Budget, "I sent to the Congress the first balanced budget in 12 years."

Annual Conference of the US  
Conference of Mayors  
June 10, 1980

CRIME AND JUSTICE

" 'We will not lie, cheat or steal, nor tolerate among us those who do'...  
Is this too strict a code for any public official who serves our nation?  
I think not."

Speech, Atlanta, Georgia  
August 11, 1976

"Our nation has seen crimes discovered, publicized, and then condoned.  
This almost inevitably produces a subtle lowering of standards, and a  
pervasive acceptance in government of the right to break the law."

Speech, Atlanta, Georgia  
August 11, 1976

"The purpose of our system of law is to ensure justice. But first it  
must permit our people to be safe in our homes, on our streets, and  
in our places of business, meeting and worship."

Speech, Detroit, Michigan  
October 15, 1976

"Our overcrowded court system is now a major source of crime."

Speech, Detroit, Michigan  
October 15, 1976

"We should encourage local police to give priority to violent crimes-  
assault, robbery, rape, muggings, murders."

Speech, Detroit, Michigan  
October 15, 1976

"I will consolidate the three overlapping Cabinet level committees  
dealing with drug abuse and control into one and I will personally see to  
it that it functions."

Speech, Detroit, Michigan  
October 15, 1976

"We must provide more help for our courts to ensure better adminis-  
tration and to simplify their procedures."

Speech, Detroit, Michigan  
October 15, 1976

"We must reform our prisons and carefully plan every inmate's prison  
career..."

Speech, Detroit, Michigan  
October 15, 1976

"Presidential leadership can make a difference. We can make our  
existing crime fighting programs more efficient and effective."

Speech, Detroit, Michigan  
October 15, 1976

CRIME AND JUSTICE--2

"I intend, as President, to provide the leadership that will turn the tide against the scourge of crime."

Speech, Detroit, Michigan  
October 15, 1976

"Substantial improvements can be made in the administration of the federal courts with administrative officers assigned to federal court districts to help insure rapid reductions in court dockets and trial delays."

Position Brief, Judicial Reform  
1976

"I favor registration of all handguns..."

Position Brief, Gun Control  
1976

"Street crime is a serious problem in America's cities and communities."

Presidential Documents  
March 27, 1978

"No resources of talent and training in our own society, even including the medical care, is more wastefully or unfairly distributed than legal skills."

Presidential Documents  
May 4, 1978

"I'll propose a consolidation and a reorganization of many of the functions now performed by more than 110 different Federal agencies that have direct responsibility for law enforcement."

Presidential Documents  
May 4, 1978

"For the past 10 years, Federal efforts to control crime through LEAA have been uncoordinated and ineffective."

Presidential Documents  
July 10, 1978

"To date, Federal leadership in developing the necessary tools has been uncoordinated, fragmented, and has generally lacked focus. My proposal will remedy this problem by creating a National Institute of Justice within the Justice Department."

Presidential Documents  
July 10, 1978



CRIME AND JUSTICE--3

"Under my proposal, a Bureau of Justice Statistics will be created in the Department of Justice."

Presidential Documents  
July 10, 1978

"To coordinate the operation of the...LEAA, the National Institute of Justice and the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the Department of Justice will establish the Office of Justice Assistance, Research and Statistics."

Presidential Documents  
July 10, 1978

"My Administration will continue to work with the Congress to develop a Federal Criminal Code which simplifies and clarifies our criminal laws..."

Presidential Documents  
January 25, 1979

"I might err on a few occasions in appointing a woman or a black to the Federal Court who doesn't prove to be as efficient or effective as they might have been..."

Presidential Documents  
May 1, 1979

"LEAA's potential to improve and strengthen State and local criminal justice programs has never been realized."

Presidential Documents  
January 21, 1980

## CARTER'S QUOTES ON DEFENSE

"In addition to that we've had a chance to become now, contrary to our longstanding beliefs and principles, the arms merchant of the world. We've tried to buy success from our enemies at the same time we've excluded from the process the normal friendship of our allies.

"The ability to fight, if necessary, is the best way to avoid the chance for or the requirement to fight.

"As a matter of fact, Mr. Ford has made a political football out of the defense budget.

"The United States' purpose is to insure peace. It is for that reason that our military posture and our alliances will remain strong as necessary to deter attack.

"However, the security of the global community cannot forever rest on a balance of terror. In the past, war has been accepted as the ultimate arbiter of disputes among nations.

"But in the nuclear era, we can no longer think of war as merely a continuation of diplomacy by other means. Nuclear war cannot be measured by the archaic standards of 'victory' or 'defeat'. This stark reality imposes on the United States and the Soviet Union an awesome and special responsibility."

United Nations Speech  
October 4, 1977

"In order to reduce the reliance of nations on nuclear weaponry, I hereby declare on behalf of the United States that we will not use nuclear weapons except in self-defense; that is, in circumstances of an actual nuclear or conventional attack on the United States, our territories or armed forces, or such an attack on our allies."

United Nations Speech  
October 4, 1977

"The paramount responsibility of any President is the security of the American people, the American Nation. I feel very strongly that I have got to maintain a strong defense. And I'm not going to yield in that commitment."

Interview with Barbara Walters  
December 14, 1978

"The American nuclear deterrent will remain strong after SALT II. For example, just one of our relatively invulnerable Poseidon submarines--less than two percent of our total nuclear force of submarines, aircraft, and land-based missiles--carries enough warheads to destroy every large and medium-sized city in the Soviet Union. Our deterrent is overwhelming--and I will sign no agreement unless our deterrent force will remain overwhelming"

State of the Union  
January 23, 1979

DEFENSE--2

"We have learned the mistake of military intervention in the internal affairs of another country when our own vital security interests were not directly involved. But we must understand that not every instance of the firm application of power is a potential Vietnam."

Washington Post  
December 13, 1979

"We have not been weak. We have been firm and resolved and consistent and clear in our policy since I have been in the White House. We have had a steady increase in our commitment to the strength of our national defense as measured by budget levels and measured by the tone and actions that I have and the Congress has taken."

Meet the Press  
January 20, 1980

"I am determined that the United States will remain the strongest of all nations, but our power will never be used to initiate a threat to the security of any nation or to the rights of any human being. We seek to be and to remain secure--a nation at peace in a stable world. But to be secure we must face the world as it is."

State of the Union  
January 23, 1980

"I think if nuclear war should erupt, that there would be a high likelihood of it escalating into a much broader nuclear conflict."

Boston Globe  
August 22, 1980

"It does no good to increase that destructive power in search of a temporary edge or in pursuit of the illusion of absolute superiority. Chasing either advantage can undercut the stability and assured deterrence that is our real goal and need...We need-and we are getting-the right answer for the long haul."

Washington Star  
August 21, 1980



DEFENSE SPENDING

"Another myth is that our defense budget is too burdensome, and consumes an undue part of our Federal revenues."

Wake Forest University  
July 17, 1978

"I don't see any prospect, even with a successful SALT agreement of having a substantial reduction in military spending. We have to maintain our defense capability. It is a necessary and good investment. And in spite of that, we will continue reducing the budget deficit."

Business Week  
August 21, 1978

"If we are to meet our responsibilities, we must continue to maintain the military forces we need for our defense and to contribute to the defense of our allies. This year I have proposed a substantial real increase in the defense budget. The events of recent weeks underscore the responsibility of the Congress to appropriate these funds in full. There must be no doubt that the people of the United States are fully prepared to meet its commitments, and to back up those commitments with military strength."

Georgia Institute of Technology  
February 20, 1979

"It is imperative that Congress approve this strong defense budget for 1981, encompassing a five percent real growth in authorizations, without any reduction."

State of the Union  
January 23, 1980

"In my judgement, our forces are adequate. We cannot afford to let the Soviets choose either the terrain or the tactics to be used by any other country...Ever since the first year I've been President, we've had a substantial and steady increase in spending for defense, because I recognized that we had some defects in our defense capability when I became President."

New York Times  
February 14, 1980

"During the eight years of Republican administration before I became President, we had a net reduction in real dollars of 30 percent expenditures for defense, 30 percent over a eight year period."  
"...we have made the Defense department much more efficient. We did cut out literally billions of dollars of waste in the Defense Department under my leadership with the Joint Chiefs of Staff agreeing, and also under the leadership of Harold Brown."

Face the Nation  
June 1, 1980

"We have reversed the Republican decline in defense. Every year since I have been President we have made real increases in our commitment to a stronger defense--increases which are prudent and rational."

Acceptance Speech  
August 14, 1980

#### ARMS CONTROL

"I hope that we can take joint steps with all nations toward eliminating nuclear weapons completely from our arsenals of death. We will persist in this effort."

Speech at the Notre Dame University  
May 22, 1977

"The United States also recognizes a threat of continued testing of nuclear explosives...My country believes that the time has come to end all explosions of nuclear devices, no matter what their claimed justification, peaceful or military, and we appreciate the efforts of other nations to reach this same goal."

United Nations Speech  
October 4, 1977

#### SALT

"Not one of these proposals involves a sacrifice of security. All of them are meant to increase the security of both sides. Our view is that a SALT agreement which just reflects the lowest common denominator that can be agreed upon will only create an illusion of progress and, eventually, a backlash against the entire arms control process. Our view is that genuine progress in SALT will not merely stabilize competition in weapons but can also provide a basis for improvement in political relations."

Address to the Southern  
Legislative Conference,  
Charleston, South Carolina  
July 21, 1977

"The United States is willing to go as far as possible, consistent with our security interests, in limiting and reducing our nuclear weapons. On a reciprocal basis we are willing now to reduce them by 10 percent or 20 percent, even 50 percent. Then we will work for further reductions to a world truly free of nuclear weapons."

United Nations Speech  
October 4, 1977

"It is my firm intention to proceed with the testing, development, and deployment of the recently approved sheltered ground mobil MX basing system, and with currently programmed cruise missile deployments. Both are needed for our defense, and I cannot envisage any circumstances under which there would be any de facto extension of the protocol which could interfere with our firm intention to deploy these systems."

New York Times  
1977



"We and the Soviet Union are negotiating in good faith almost every day because we both know that a failure to succeed would precipitate a resumption of a massive nuclear arms race."

Speech at the Naval Academy,  
Annapolis, Maryland  
June 8, 1978

"Before I sign any SALT agreement on behalf of the United States, I will make sure that it preserves the strategic balance, that we can independently verify Soviet compliance, and that we will be at least as strong relative to the Soviet Union as we would be without any agreement."

Speech at Wake Forest University  
July 17, 1978

"SALT II is not based on sentiment. It is based on self-interest--of the United States and the Soviet Union. Both nations share a powerful common interest in reducing the threat of a nuclear war. I will sign no agreement which does not enhance our national security.

"SALT II will not rely on trust. It will be verifiable. We have very sophisticated, proven means--including our satellites--to determine for ourselves whether the Soviet Union is meeting its treaty obligations. I will sign no agreement which cannot be verified."

State of the Union  
January 23, 1979

"A SALT agreement cannot substitute for wise diplomacy or a strong defense, nor will it end the danger of nuclear war. But it will certainly reduce that danger. It will strengthen our efforts to ban nuclear tests and to stop the spread of atomic weapons to other nations. And it can begin the process of negotiating new agreements which will further limit nuclear arms."

State of the Union  
January 23, 1979

"My understanding is that prior to the time I came into office, and since I've been in office, they have negotiated in good faith. They are tough bargainers. We are too."

Speech at the Georgia Institute  
of Technology  
February 20, 1979

"...let me put this (SALT) agreement in the context of our overall relations with the Soviet Union and the turbulence that exists in many parts of the world. The question is not whether SALT can be divorced from this context. It cannot. As I have often said, our relationship with the Soviet Union is a mixture of cooperation and competition, and as President of the United States, I have no more difficult and delicate

Speech at Georgia Institute  
of Technology  
February 20, 1979



DEFENSE--6

task than to balance the two. I cannot and I will not let the pressures of inevitable competition overwhelm possibilities for cooperation--any more than I will let cooperation blind us to the realities of competition."

Speech at Georgia Institute  
of Technology  
February 20, 1979

"To reject SALT would mean that the inevitable competition in strategic nuclear arms would grow even more dangerous. Each crisis, each confrontation, each point of friction--as serious as it may be in its own right--would take on an added measure of significance and an added dimension of danger. For it would occur in an atmosphere of unbridled strategic competition, and deteriorating strategic stability.

"It is precisely because we have fundamental differences with the Soviet Union that we are determined to bring this most dangerous dimension of our military competition under control."

Speech at the Georgia Institute  
of Technology  
February 20, 1979

Carter, in a Washington press conference May 29, 1979, said that SALT II "is a major step toward my ultimate goal, which I believe is one shared by the Soviet Union leaders, of eliminating nuclear weapons from the face of the earth in the future."

Charles Corddry, Baltimore Sun  
May 30, 1979

"It is a delusion to believe that rejection of SALT would somehow induce the Soviet Union to exercise new restraints in troubled areas. The actual effect might be precisely the opposite. The most intransigent and hostile elements of the Soviet power structure would be encouraged and strengthened by a rejection of SALT. The Soviets might well feel they have little to lose by creating new international tensions...A rejection of SALT II would have significance beyond the fate of a single treaty. It would mean a radical turning away from America's long-term policy of seeking world peace. We would no longer be identified as a peace-loving nation."

Washington Post  
April 26, 1979

"Without SALT the world would be forced to conclude that America had chosen confrontation rather than cooperation. This is the inescapable choice we face, for the fact is that the alternative to this treaty is not a perfect agreement drafted unilaterally by the United States in which we gain everything and the Soviets nothing. The alternative now and in the foreseeable future, is no agreement at all."

Washington Post  
April 26, 1979

"If the only purpose of the Soviet Union in the long, tedious negotiation of a SALT treaty is to have a document that they can violate...it would make our problem worse. But there is an element of rationality and stability because the Soviets know that if we ever detect any violation of the SALT agreement, that that would be a basis on which to reject the treaty in its entirety: there would be a possible termination of the good relationship between our country and the Soviet Union on which detente is based and it might very well escalate into a nuclear confrontation."

Washington Post  
May 1, 1979

"If we think the Soviets have violated the agreement, if they think we have violated, in any way, we refer it to a joint committee, and in every instance since the first SALT agreement, that committee has made the final decision in favor of the challenging nation. In other words, the other country has always backed down."

Interview with the Los Angeles  
Press Corporation, Los Angeles  
Times  
May 6, 1979

Carter said that if SALT II were rejected:

"We would lose our competitive ability to reach effectively the hearts and minds of other people around the world who will be making a choice between us, on the one hand and the Soviets, on the other, in the future for military, political, trade alliances. We would be put in the role of a powerful nation, that was, in effect, a warmonger who refused even to participate in an equitable restraint of the most destructive weapons on earth."

Washington Star  
May 13, 1979

"I believe SALT will be ratified this year, basically on its own merits."

Washington Star  
October 10, 1979

"The SALT II agreement is a major accomplishment of my administration."

Speech to the World Affairs  
Council of Philadelphia  
May 9, 1980

"I hope that, with some move toward resolution of the Afghanistan invasion problem, that we can rejuvenate quickly and enthusiastically the consultations and negotiations with the Soviets to go beyond what SALT II prescribes to much more drastic reductions in nuclear weapons on a balanced basis."

Boston Globe  
August 22, 1980



ARMS SALES

"We will, as a matter of national policy now in our country, seek to reduce the annual dollar volume of arms sales, to restrict the transfer of advanced weapons and to reduce the extent of our co-production arrangements about weapons with foreign states."

Speech at the Notre Dame University  
May 22, 1977

"...the United States has now begun to reduce its arms exports. Our aim is to reduce both the quantity and the deadliness of the weapons that we sell. We have taken the first few steps, but we cannot go very far alone."

Speech at the United Nations  
October 4, 1977

"My commitment to reduce on an annual basis our total conventional arms sales will be carried out."

Question and Answer Session with  
Hispanic Media  
May 12, 1978

MILITARY BALANCE

"I think the cumulative strength of our own military forces, plus those of NATO and others, are still superior to the Soviet Union. I think that our vast economic capabilities in agricultural production, electronics and so forth gives us a decided edge and will for the next 15 years."

Washington Post  
March 21, 1976

"Our analysis of American military strength also furnishes a basis for confidence. We know that neither the United States nor the Soviet Union can launch a nuclear assault on the other without suffering a devastating counterattack which could destroy the aggressor nation."

Speech at the Naval Academy  
Annapolis, Maryland  
June 8, 1978

"Accurate analyses are important as a basis for making decisions for the future. False or excessive estimates of Soviet strength or American weakness contribute to the effectiveness of the Soviet propaganda effort...Let there be no doubt about our present and future strength. This brief assessment, which I have just made, shows that we need not be overly concerned about our ability to compete and to compete successfully. Certainly there is no cause for alarm."

Speech at the Naval Academy  
Annapolis, Maryland  
June 8, 1978



"They will never be superior to us in national strength nor overall military strength. We are by far the stronger nation economically. Our productivity capacity is superior, and I think always will be."

Interview with Bill Moyers of PBS  
November 13, 1978

"There are those that think the military balance has tipped against us. I do not believe this to be so, but I am concerned about the trends. I believe that it is necessary for us to act now to reverse these trends."

Washington Star  
September 12, 1979

"Our national defenses are unsurpassed in the world. Those defenses are stronger tonight than they were two years ago; they will be stronger two years from now than they are tonight, because of carefully planned improvements that are going forward with your support and with the support of Congress."

New York Times  
October 2, 1979

"We have begun to rebuild a deteriorating relationship in military strength versus the Soviet Union, to pull together our alliances, that with a new commitment of spirit and common trust over a long period of time this will pay dividends in the future."

Los Angeles Times  
May 13, 1980

## STRATEGIC BALANCE

"I think we still have a superiority over Russia in the multiplicity of delivery systems for atomic weapons and our ability to defend ourselves compared to Russia."

Address to the American Legion  
Convention, Seattle, Washington  
September 24, 1976

"In its balanced strategic nuclear capability, the United States retains important advantages. But over the past decade, the steady Soviet buildup has achieved functional equivalence in strategic forces with the United States...

We will match, together with our allies and friends, any threatening power through a combination of military forces, political efforts and economic programs. We will not allow any other nation to gain military superiority over us."

Wake Forest University  
July 17, 1978

"Our strategic forces must be--and must be known to be--a match for the capabilities of the Soviets. They will never be able to use their nuclear forces to threaten, to coerce, or to blackmail us or our friends."

Wake Forest University  
July 17, 1978

"There is no doubt that the United States can meet any threat from the Soviet Union. Our modernized strategic forces, a revitalized NATO, the Trident submarine, the cruise missile, the Rapid Deployment Force--all these guarantee that we will never be second to any nation. Deeds, not words--fact, not fiction."

Acceptance Speech  
August 14, 1980

#### MILITARY MANPOWER AND THE DRAFT

"Military readiness may be the best guarantee that military force need never be used. Even in the nuclear age, we must be prepared for conventional conflict--and deterring such conflict may depend on the timely availability of our forces."

New York Times  
February 9, 1980

"I have not called for and do not anticipate calling for a draft. The best way to prevent having a draft in the future and mobilization of our nation's efforts--both natural and human efforts--is to be prepared."

New York Times  
February 14, 1980

"Registration for the draft is another symbolic important act..."

Briefing before Student Body  
Presidents  
Washington Star  
February 16, 1980

"I'm determined to maintain our military forces at the highest level of readiness, at the highest level of strength. In doing so, I realize quite clearly that the well-being of our military families is crucial...We will therefore ask that the Congress move without delay to appropriate compensation, in addition to what's already provided, to give you more help when you move from one location to another, for reassignments; to provide more appropriate compensation for sea duty; to provide more compensation for flight duty; to provide more compensation for housing in high-cost areas in the United States..."

Address on board the  
U.S.S. Nimitz  
May 26, 1980

NATO

"I think it's accurate to say that when I became President, because of historical events years past, there was a shaky NATO Alliance. Many of our partners there were not convinced of the resolve of America, and we had to commit ourselves to them, not only to set an example but to join with them in a recommitment to vitalize the NATO Alliance. The commitment will be carried out."

Presidential Documents  
December 13, 1978

"We have helped to strengthen NATO and other alliances and recently we and other NATO members have decided to develop and to deploy modernized intermediate range nuclear forces to meet an unwarranted and increased threat from the nuclear weapons of the Soviet Union."

State of the Union Address  
January 23, 1980

"Now the United States is leading its allies in a steady, sustained growth in defense expenditures, not just for the last 3 years but with a commitment to the next 5 years and beyond. We have turned the tide in military strength."

Address in Columbus Ohio,  
Presidential Documents  
May 29, 1980

"We've got about 300,000 American service people in the Europe area to maintain the defense of our allies and also directly to maintain the defense of our own country against communist aggression from the Warsaw Pact. I would not advocate the cutting of those troops at all."

Face the Nation  
June 1, 1980

MX MISSILE

"It is my firm intention to proceed with the testing, development, and deployment of the recently approved sheltered ground mobil MX basing system..."

New York Times  
October 27, 1977

"The MX missile could increase the threat of nuclear war, because of its size and accuracy, which might in time bait the Soviets into firing first in some future nuclear confrontation."

Washington Post  
January 27, 1979

"The system will make it clear to the Soviet Union that they will gain no strategic advantage out of continuing a nuclear arms race."

New York Times  
September 8, 1979



EDUCATION

"As President, I will initiate a comprehensive program as one of my early, major priorities for the implementation by the President, the Congress, and the states. I will not hesitate to propose such basic and controversial changes as:

- The creation of a separate Department of Education.
- Expanded vocational and career education opportunities.
- The expansion of educational rights of the handicapped.
- Imaginative reforms to strengthen colleges and universities in times of financial difficulties."

Position Paper, Education  
1976

"First of all, any child who wants to be bused can be bused at public expense."

Position Brief  
School Busing  
1976

"...this is important in my opinion, no child is bused against the wishes of the child."

Position Brief  
School Busing  
1976

"I will remedy this state of affairs by appointing more people with practical experience of teaching and running our school systems to administrative positions at the national level."

The American Teacher  
October 1976

"I will consult with NEA on matters of policy and before making educational appointments."

NEA Reporter  
June, 1976

"I would like to reduce drastically the number of categorical aid programs."

Interview with  
John Ryor, President of the  
National Education Association  
1976

"The only new department that I know of that ought to be created is a separate Department of Education."

Interview with  
John Ryor, President of the  
National Education Association  
1976

EDUCATION--2

"Tuition tax credits would provide benefits to those who do not need them..."

Presidential Documents  
February 8, 1978

"...within the bounds of Federal court and constitutional prohibitions, I would be in favor of giving aid to the parochial school students whenever possible."

Presidential Documents  
February 17, 1978

"We can be justly proud of the accomplishments of our system of education."

Presidential Documents  
February 28, 1978

"...our schools face many important challenges. We must do a better job of teaching the basic skills of reading, writing, and mathematics."

Presidential Documents  
February 28, 1978

"We must give education a more prominent and visible role in the Federal government."

Presidential Documents  
February 28, 1978

"I strongly oppose the enactment of a tuition tax credit."

Presidential Documents  
February 28, 1978

"I cannot support a tax credit for private elementary and secondary school tuition."

Presidential Documents  
February 28, 1978

"I do not favor the tuition tax credit approach to college students."

Presidential Documents  
August 17, 1978

"When I was Governor, I probably spent 25 percent of my time on education. Here I don't spend one percent of my time on education."

Presidential Documents  
September 23, 1978

EDUCATION--3

"I think by any measurement, our schools are not doing a good enough job, compared to the amount of money we are putting into them."

Presidential Documents  
September 23, 1978

"I have increased the Federal Office of Education budget authority alone by 50 percent since taking office."

Presidential Documents  
January 25, 1979

"...we have computed that the establishment of a department of education would result in the saving of about \$100 million in administrative costs."

Presidential Documents  
May 12, 1979

"We've got some problems in education."

Presidential Documents  
May 12, 1979

"The law says that we've got to have 500 fewer employees in the new Department of Education than we have now. With increased efficiency, we can do that."

Presidential Documents  
October 16, 1979

"The challenge of the 80's in education is to see that quantity education becomes quality education."

Presidential Documents  
January 21, 1980

"...I have requested, since taking office, an overall increase in Federal aid to education of 75%..."

Presidential Documents  
January 21, 1980

"We've fought together successfully against a proposal that would undermine public education, and that is tuition tax credits, and we're going to continue that fight."

Speech, American Federation  
of Teachers  
August 22, 1980



ENERGY

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

"What is needed is organization, not continued chaos; leadership not the passivity of the past two years. The energy problem is not insoluble if we meet it with the vision, determination, and competence that will come about only with a change of leadership."

Position Paper  
October 11, 1976

"We must make hard and bold decisions that will insure that our future is bright. We need a national, unified, long-range and comprehensible energy policy."

Position Paper  
October 11, 1976

"...my plan for energy reorganization at the federal level...will permit us to be properly organized to carry out the programs necessary to deal with our energy crisis.

"Nowhere is the need clearer for a coordinated and coherent policy than in the area of energy."

Position Paper  
October 11, 1976

"...Government policies must be predictable and certain...this is one reason that I'm working with Congress to create a new Department of Energy..."

Presidential Documents  
April 18, 1977

"Our decision about energy will test the character of the American people and the ability of the President and the Congress to govern this Nation. This difficult effort will be the 'moral equivalent of war', except that we will be uniting our efforts to build and not to destroy."

Presidential Documents  
April 18, 1977

"...we've tried to bring some order out of chaos of some of the problems in the Federal Government (by)...the creation of a Department of Energy, to have a comprehensive energy policy for the first time..."

Presidential Documents  
May 4, 1978

"Our nation's energy problem is serious--and it's getting worse. We are wasting too much energy, we are buying far too much oil from foreign countries and we are not producing enough oil, gas or coal in the United States. To control energy price, production, and distribution, the federal bureaucracy and red tape have become so complicated, it's almost unbelievable."

New York Times  
April 5, 1979

"We have known since 1973-74 that something like this was bound to happen. The reason for the gas lines and terrible inconvenience here (in California) and the rest of the nation faces similar problems later this summer and maybe worse next year--is that we have failed to be prepared."

Washington Star  
May 6, 1979

OPEC

"There is an oversupply of oil in the international market at this time. The value of the dollar has been fairly stable and has varied very little from early 1974, immediately after the OPEC price change occurred. I would hope the present arrangement concerning the dollar and OPEC prices would be maintained and that any increase in the price of oil would be minimized. We have a good relationship with the majority of the OPEC nations. I think they have acted very responsibly and their responsible action is not a temporary circumstance."

Business Week  
August 21, 1978

"We have no control over prices that other nations establish for their products including oil."

Washington Star  
February 28, 1979

"I don't see how the rest of the world can sit back in a quiescent state and accept unrestrained and unwarranted increases in OPEC oil prices...There has been an excessive amount of timidity on the part of the consuming nations."

Wall Street Journal  
July 2, 1979

"(It is) "unethical" (to) "blame OPEC for our failure to cut back our use of oil and to do the other things we ought to do to take care of our energy need."

New York Times  
August 1, 1979

"I don't approve of his (the Ayatollah Khomeini's) government, but the fact is that they send us about a million and a half barrels (of oil) every day."

Los Angeles Times  
August 24, 1979

"Although I can't control this (OPEC price hikes), we do not anticipate any further increases."

Wall Street Journal  
September 13, 1979

"...I intend to propose further joint action to smooth the transition from oil to more abundant fuels and to slow the growth in oil prices."

Presidential Documents  
January 21, 1980

OVERDEPENDENCE ON FOREIGN OIL

"Because of dependence on foreign oil, we continue to be in danger of having supplies disrupted as they were five years ago. It is essential that we continue to move forward with an effective national energy program that will decrease our demand for foreign oil and protect against disruption of foreign oil supplies."

New York Times  
January 23, 1979

"To put it bluntly, we must not let America be held hostage by foreign oil. We must conserve it, eliminate waste in every possible way we can."

Presidential Documents  
April 29, 1980

"The American people have absolutely refused to accept a simple fact. We have an energy crisis. We have shortages of oil. The shortages are going to get worse in the future. We are going to have less oil to burn, and we are going to have to pay more for it."

New York Times  
May 24, 1979

"We must also now recognize, that it is our entire nation that is vulnerable to being held hostage by our overwhelming dependence on oil from foreign countries...(This) "is a direct, physical threat to our national security, and we must join together to fight for our nation's energy freedom."

New York Times  
November 29, 1979

"...We are determined to make America an energy-secure nation once again. It is unthinkable that we will allow ourselves to be dominated by any form of over dependence at home or any brand of terrorism abroad. We are determined that the freest nation on Earth shall protect and enhance its freedom."

New York Times  
November 29, 1979



## ENERGY--4

"...our nation is still subject to the oil pricing and production decisions of foreign countries."

Carter's 1980-Draft Platform  
June 21, 1980

### STRATEGIC PETROLEUM RESERVE

"No substantial increase in stockpiling facilities is underway...oil from... domestic and foreign sources should...be channeled into permanent storage facilities until we have accumulated at least an additional thirty-day reserve supply."

Carter's Address on Energy to the  
Washington Press Club  
July 11, 1975

"We had no emergency oil stockpile at the time of the Arab embargo (of 1973); three years later, we still have no oil stockpile; and under the Ford program it would take us another seven years to accumulate a minimum energy supply."

Position Paper  
October 15, 1976

"These are the goals that we set for 1985: ...to establish a strategic petroleum reserve of one billion barrels."

Presidential Documents  
April 18, 1977

### OIL PRICE DECONTROL

"The price of all domestic oil should be kept below that of OPEC oil. There is no need to, and I oppose efforts to, deregulate the price of old oil."

Carter's 1976 Platform Program  
June 16, 1976

"It is time for responsible national leaders in the Congress and elsewhere to forget about extending controls or taking away my power to begin phased decontrol. Those proposals will never pass."

Washington Star  
May 6, 1979

ENERGY--5

"The most effective action we can take to encourage both conservation and production here at home is to stop rewarding those who import foreign oil and to stop encouraging waste by holding the price of American oil down far below its replacement or its true value."

Position Paper  
April 5, 1979

"If the oil companies take the profits and invest them back in the exploration and the production of additional oil and gas in our country, then I have no objections to their profits being made."

New York Times  
August 1, 1979

"I don't think there is much prospect that we would increase the rate of production of oil."

Presidential Documents  
February 21, 1980

NATURAL GAS PRICE DECONTROL

"First, I will work with Congress, as the Ford Administration has been unable to do, to deregulate new natural gas."

Congressional Quarterly Almanac  
October 19, 1976

"I do not support complete deregulation of natural gas prices."

Congressional Quarterly Almanac  
September 29, 1977

"As I said in my campaign and also as I said to Congress when I made my energy speech last April, we are working toward deregulation of natural gas."

Congressional Quarterly Almanac  
October 28, 1977

"I don't believe that I've changed my position. I don't interpret it that way. My position was that I would work with Congress, as had President Ford, for deregulation of natural gas."

Congressional Quarterly Almanac  
March 9, 1978

## ENERGY--6

### COAL

"We must substantially shift our efforts to increase our production of coal."

Carter's Platform Program  
June 16, 1976

"We can burn twice as much coal in this nation and not lower our environmental standards at all. That's what I believe our nation wants to do. And that's what I'm determined to do."

New York Times  
August 1, 1979

### NUCLEAR POWER

(NOTE: Jimmy Carter's Platform Program of 1976 did not even mention nuclear power.)

"I will redirect our energy research and development efforts to correct the disproportionate emphasis which we placed on nuclear power..."

The Presidential Campaign, 1976  
September 25, 1976

"It (nuclear power) must play an important role in our energy future. We cannot simply shut down all our nuclear power plants."

New York Times  
July 17, 1979

"We believe that the NRC (Nuclear Regulatory Commission) should proceed with issuing operating and construction licenses."

Wall Street Journal  
November 19, 1979

"We cannot shut the door on nuclear energy. Every domestic energy source, including nuclear power, is critical if we are to free our country from its overdependence on unstable sources of high-priced foreign oil. We do not have the luxury of abandoning nuclear power or imposing a lengthy moratorium on its further use."

Wall Street Journal  
December 10, 1979

"This nation must make a commitment to conservation and to finding alternatives to nuclear power."

Philadelphia Inquirer  
December 14, 1979

"Nuclear power is an option that we should keep open."

Presidential Documents  
January 21, 1980



## ENERGY--7

"Yet past governmental efforts to manage radioactive wastes have not been technically adequate. Moreover, they have failed to involve successfully the States, local governments, and the public in policy or program decisions."

Presidential Documents  
February 12, 1980

## RENEWABLE ENERGY SOURCES

"...we must start now to develop the new, unconventional sources of energy that we will need to rely on in the next century."

Presidential Documents  
April 18, 1977

"We must also pursue solar energy as aggressively as possible."

Time  
August 2, 1976

"I think that a \$5 billion allocation this next year for solar energy would be completely excessive. I don't think there's any way that we could either finance it without destroying the American budget, nor do I think that we could administer it for the benefit of the American people."

Presidential Documents  
May 5, 1978

## CONCLUSION

"Washington is full of people selling snake oil cures for inflation or telling science fiction stories about energy."

New York Times  
May 5, 1979

"I've been a lonely voice. So far the American people, who I don't want to condemn and the Congress, who I don't condemn, won't accept the truth of the energy crises...I admit these failures may be my fault. Maybe if I was a better politician, I'd have gotten them (his energy proposals) through Congress. But I did the best I can."

Philadelphia Inquirer  
May 26, 1979

"It is necessary to stop aggravating the problem by blaming one another and by seeking out scapegoats."

Washington Post  
May 29, 1979

ENERGY--8

"Energy will be the immediate test of our ability to unite the Nation. It can also be a standard around which we rally. On the battlefield of energy, we can win for our nation a new confidence and we can seize control of our common destiny."

Washington Post  
July 15, 1979

## ETHICS

"The other source of my understanding about what's right and wrong in this society is from a friend of mine, a poet named Bob Dylan. After listening to his records about 'The Battle of Hattie Carol' and 'Like a Rolling Stone' and 'The Times, They Are a-Changing,' I've learned to appreciate the dynamism of change in a modern society."

Speech  
May 4, 1974

"First, the voters want a President who will address the issues with truth, openness, and common sense. I will never disappoint them."

Letter to friends  
December 4, 1974

"There are many other things I would not do to be President. I would not tell a lie; I would not mislead the American people; I would not avoid taking a stand on a controversial issue which is important to our country or the world. And I would not betray your trust."

Atlanta Rally  
December 12, 1974

"Following recent presidential elections, our U.S. Attorney General has replaced the Postmaster General as the chief political appointee; and we have recently witnessed the prostitution of this most important law enforcement office.

"Special prosecutors had to be appointed simply to ensure enforcement of the law! The Attorney General should be removed from politics."

Formal Announcement  
December 12, 1974

"...(W)e top this off with the disgraceful and counter-productive policy of appointing unqualified persons to major diplomatic posts as political payoffs. This must be stopped immediately...All federal judges, diplomats, and other major officials should be selected on a strict basis of merit..."

Formal Announcement  
December 12, 1974

"We ought not to lower our standards in government. Our government in Washington ought to be an inspiration to us all and not a source of shame. I want to spell out to you a number of things that can be done.

"An all-inclusive 'Sunshine Law' similar to those passed in several states, should be implemented in Washington. Meetings of federal boards, commissions and regulatory agencies must be opened to the public, along with those of congressional committees. The only exceptions should involve narrowly defined national security issues, unproven legal accusations or knowledge that might cause serious damage to the nation's economy."

Position Paper  
March 1, 1976



"Complete revelation of all business and financial involvement of all major officials should be required, and none should be continued which constitute a possible conflict with the public interest."

Position paper  
March 1, 1976

"As President, I will be responsible for the conduct of the Executive Branch of government. Errors or malfeasance will be immediately revealed, and an explanation given to the public, along with corrective action to prevent any recurrence of such actions. The same responsibility for campaign actions will be assumed by me as a candidate.

"There is only one person in this nation who can speak with a clear voice, who can set a standard of morals, decency and openness, who can spell out comprehensive policies and coordinate the efforts of different departments of government, who can call on the American people for sacrifices and explain the purpose of that sacrifice and the consequences of it. *That person is the President.* The President ought to be personally responsible for everything that goes on in the Executive Branch of government, whether that be the appointment of major officials, the clear description of policy, the relationship of the Executive with Congress, the revelation of mistakes and mismanagement, if any, or violations of the law, should they occur, unfairness on the part of regulatory agencies and so forth."

Position paper  
March 1, 1976

"Together we can have an open, compassionate, and effective government which will reflect the best qualities of the American people."

"A New Beginning"  
Carter's Platform Program presented  
to the DNC Platform Committee  
New York City, New York  
June 16, 1976

"Our Party and the platform should emphasize...(t)he need for an *open, responsive, honest government*, at home and abroad."

Carter's Platform Program  
June 16, 1976

"The Attorney General should be appointed without respect to political considerations...."

Carter's Platform Program  
June 16, 1976

"*Errors or malfeasance* in the Executive Branch should be *immediately* revealed by the President and an explanation given to the public, along with corrective action, where appropriate, to prevent any recurrence of such actions."

Carter's Platform Program  
June 16, 1976

"Well, there's only one person in this country who can speak with a clear voice or set a standard of ethics and morality or excellence or greatness or detect and expose and root out injustice or inequality or prejudice or hatred or propose and carry out bold programs, and that person is the President."

Interview with John Ryor of the  
National Education Association  
June 19, 1976

"If I become President, I will never turn my back on official misdeeds. I intend to take a new broom to Washington and do everything possible to sweep the house of government clean."

Speech  
August 11, 1976

"There is a reservoir of honesty and decency and fairness among our people that can, in a democracy, find expression in our government."

Speech  
August 11, 1976

"...If any member of my Cabinet should ever tell you a lie, they'll be gone the next day. This is a very important and simple consideration -- to make sure that we can have a government we can both love and trust."

Detroit Sunday News, Michigan  
April 18, 1976

"I would also try to make appointments of officials on the basis of merit and not as a political payoff. I would try to tell the American people the truth."

Interview in Liberty magazine  
September/October 1976

"We can have a government that's strong once again. If we are part of it. We can have a nation's government that's moral once again. If we, the people, are part of it..."

"We need a standard of ethics, a standard of excellence, and (sic) to make us proud once again."

Speech  
September 27, 1976

"...The only way that I know that we can restore the trust of the American people in public officials is for the public officials to be trustworthy, to tell the truth, and to make sure that there's a closeness and an intimacy between leaders who've been elected and the people who put them in office. This is something crucial to me."

Town Meeting  
Clinton, Massachusetts  
March 16, 1977



"To complement the Ethics in Government Act, I am also announcing my support for legislation which would require appointment of a Special Prosecutor to investigate and prosecute alleged offenses by high government officials.

"...This approach will eliminate all appearance of high-level interference in sensitive investigations and prosecutions. The American people must be assured that no one, regardless of position, is above the law."

Presidential Documents  
May 3, 1977

"I think that after a period of two or three years, the difference between what I am and what the people perceived me to be during the campaign and what my programs actually are as they wind their way through the Congress -- that difference will be narrowed and people will see that there's no difference."

ABC Interview  
August 10, 1977

"...There's a general feeling that when we make a mistake, that the mistake is not concealed but is instantly revealed. I think the frequent news conferences and the frankness with which we've discussed formerly secret issues has (sic) been constructive."

ABC Interview  
August 10, 1977

"I don't really believe there's that basic conflict between what I am, what I stand for, what I said during the campaign on the one hand, and our actual programs on the other."

ABC Interview  
August 10, 1977

"I don't know what the results (of the General Services Administration scandal) will be, about the number of indictments and so forth. But we will stop that corruption of the core of our Government. What has occurred there over the last decades has amounted to hundreds of millions of dollars stolen from you, the taxpayers of our country. We are trying to set up a mechanism to prevent this happening in other agencies."

Presidential Documents  
September 23, 1978

"I was a little bit upset the other day when Amy came home and said they'd been playing a new game at school. And I said, 'What is it?' She said, 'Cops and GSA.' (Laughter) So, we are trying to make government better."

Presidential Documents  
September 23, 1978



"This Special Prosecutor could only be removed on the basis of extraordinary impropriety or incapacity, which gives the Special Prosecutor in the future, if needed, a great protection in carrying out his responsibilities without interference.

"I'm hopeful, of course, that this authority will rarely be needed, but I believe it is necessary in response to the lessons that we have learned to the embarrassment of our country in the past."

Presidential Documents  
October 26, 1978

"We're cutting out corruption. I signed an ethics bill this morning to make public officials accountable for where their income is derived and how they spend the money and whether they are honest. This will go a long step forward."

Presidential Documents  
October 26, 1978

"Do you want a government whose officials are honest and who are free of embarrassment and corruption? Do you? (Applause) That's what we're trying to bring to Washington."

Presidential Documents  
October 26, 1978

"...I signed a bill this week that requires all the Members of Congress, the President, the Vice President, the Cabinet members, every person who has any kind of top leadership role in the executive branch of Government, all the Federal judges, to reveal their net worth and to reveal their source of income to the people of our country, not only to prove they're honest but to remove temptations which sometimes afflict those in positions of power."

Presidential Documents  
October 28, 1978

"The Presidential Records Act of 1978 carries forward my commitment to making sure that our Government is not above the law, and merits the trust of the people from whom a President and his Government derive their power."

Presidential Documents  
November 6, 1978

"I have never known nor do I now know of any illegal action taken at Carter's Warehouse. There have been allegations widely discussed in the press and verbally by some people about the channel of loan funds to Carter's Warehouse into the campaign itself. I don't know if any evidence has ever been put forward to the public from any source that could form a basis for those allegations. These allegations are absolutely and totally untrue."

New York Times  
April 11, 1979

"He (Bert Lance) was the first person that I thought about when I was finally sure that I would be elected president. I wanted him in a major and very complicated department that had profound influence on the rest of the government."

Washington Post  
May 8, 1979

"Well, since I've been in the White House, I've done everything possible to strengthen our own Nation, not only militarily but economically and politically and, I think, morally and ethically as well."

Presidential Documents  
January 20, 1980

"(C)onfidence in the government's integrity has been restored, and respect for the government's openness and fairness has been renewed...."

Presidential Documents  
January 21, 1980

"From the founding of this Republic, questions of propriety have been raised about actions of Presidents, Cabinet officers and members of Congress. It is an important part of our tradition that the people know the truth as quickly as possible, and that all the facts be disclosed...."

"My own personal and business affairs and those of members of my staff have been intensely examined. Despite the inconvenience and expense, the investigation of every charge has served the public's right to know and has enhanced public confidence in the integrity of our Government."

"Questions have now been raised concerning my actions and those of my Administration regarding the relationship between my brother Billy Carter and the Government of Libya."

"We have made as thorough an investigation as possible. The facts are available for the committees of Congress and the public to examine. They will show that neither I nor any members of my Administration has violated any law or committed any impropriety."

Report to the Senate Judiciary  
Subcommittee  
August 4, 1980

"Neither I nor anyone in the White House knew any details about the conduct of the investigation (of Billy Carter) under the Foreign Agents Registration Act or tried to influence or affect the department's actions or decisions."

"Neither I nor anyone else in the White House informed Billy of any leads or evidence obtained by the department."

"Everything that I and the White House staff did with respect to this case was designed to serve the interests of law enforcement and justice."

Report to the Senate Judiciary  
Subcommittee  
August 4, 1980



FAMILY

"Not only have the Nixon-Ford policies failed in their stated purpose, they have failed to consider their human consequences. When the head of a family is out of work, the entire family suffers and not just in an economic sense. There is a loss of dignity and pride and self-respect."

Manchester, New Hampshire  
August 3, 1976

"In short, we need a government that thinks about the American family and cares about the American family and makes its every decision with the intent of strengthening the family."

Manchester, New Hampshire  
August 3, 1976

"We must be dedicated to the preservation and enhancement of these basic institutions of family and community which can give use to a more perfect justice than any written code can hope to compel."

American Bar Association  
Atlanta, Georgia  
August 11, 1976

"Unemployment hurts every family almost. And, particularly, those who are unemployed for a long time."

Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner  
Charleston, West Virginia  
August 14, 1976

"...the impact of inadequate leadership on our families. Forty percent of all marriages today end in divorce. In 1960, children born of unwed mothers comprised one out of twenty. Last year, one out of eight. There's a tremendous increase in crime brought about primarily by unemployment, a shift toward drug addiction, alcoholism, emotional problems for young people. Among those in our society today, black and white, rich and poor, between 15 and 19 years old, the second most frequent cause of death is suicide. This is coupled with a lowering of moral standards. In the last ten years, the gonorrhoea rate has tripled among our children less than 14 years old. This has got to be dealt with."

Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner  
Charleston, West Virginia  
August 14, 1976



FAMILY--2

"We have seen the demoralizing impact on a family whose breadwinner cannot find a job. We understand the frustration of young people whose first encounter with the economic system consists of closed doors and dead ends. We are aware of the special impact on minority families who find that although the law is on their side, the economy is not."

AFL-CIO General Board Meeting  
Washington, D.C.  
August 31, 1976

"Between 1969 and 1976, Republican tight money and the Republican recession reduced the percentage of families who can afford their own homes from more than 50 to only 32."

Brooklyn College  
Brooklyn, New York  
September 6, 1976

"The present welfare system is anti-work, and anti-family. And it also ought to be completely revised."

Hot Springs, Arkansas  
September 17, 1976

"Think about a father proud like you are, competent like you are, self-reliant like you are. The head of a household--like many of you, or a mother, eager to work--can't find a job. They come home at night, face the children with the authority and the responsibility and the respect that should go to the breadwinner stripped away. Put yourself in that position. Think of going down and drawing your first welfare check. When you've worked all your life. It tears a family apart. It destroys their self-respect, it eliminates basic human dignity. And in this last 2 years, 2 1/2 million more Americans have had to accept that circumstance."

Dallas, Texas  
September 24, 1976

"Because of the importance of the issue for America, I have called for a White House Conference on the American family to be held next year, whether I am President or not."

American Teacher  
October 1976

"I am deeply concerned about the impact that the Republican mismanagement of the economy is having on family life in America."

National Conference of Catholic  
Charities, Denver, Colorado  
October 4, 1976

FAMILY--3

"One thing I intend to do as President is to make sure that every action our government takes helps our families rather than hurts them."

National Conference of Catholic Charities, Denver, Colorado  
October 4, 1976

"I believe the government ought to do everything it can to strengthen the American family, because weak families mean more government. And many of the things that we see in our government now tends to destroy a family. Inadequate education, inadequate housing, a lack of jobs, rising inflation, hurts those families quite often that are tied together most loosely."

New York Liberal Party  
October 14, 1976

"My Administration will continue its strong commitment to strengthening the American family and to expanding programs for children.

"The Administration will propose this year that the school breakfast program be made mandatory in schools with high concentrations of needy children. Further, we will propose a major expansion in special supplemental food programs for women, infants, and children.

"Among other major actions in 1978 will be:

- convening a White House Conference on Families;
- pressing for enactment of our proposed reforms in foster care programs including new financial assistance to aid in the adoption of hard-to-place children;
- more than doubling the budget outlays for child welfare services, with an emphasis on services that help keep families together;
- continuing \$200 million in special funding for day care under Title XX of the Social Security Act.

"We will also depend upon the revitalized Community Services Administration to develop new approaches to assist the poor."

State of the Union  
January 19, 1978

"Families are both the foundation of American society and its most important institution. In a world becoming more complex every day, our families remain the most lasting influence on our lives.

"I am confident that the American family is basically sound and that we can and will adjust to the challenges of changing times. Yet American families confront growing problems. Two out of five marriages now end in divorce. One child in eight is born outside of marriage."

Statement Announcing White House Conference on Families  
January 30, 1978

"A million young Americans now run away from home each year. In the face of these difficulties, I am encouraged by the increasing interest in the state of the family by people from all walks of life."

Statement Announcing White House  
Conference on Families  
January 30, 1978

"Our major social initiatives and goals for this year will be undertaken with vigor and with a commitment to the security and enhancement of the American family structure. Our government must never impede nor work against the American family, but rather we must design programs and policies that support families and ensure that future generations of American families will thrive and prosper."

State of the Union  
January 25, 1979

"I want this conference to be a catalyst for a new awareness in the government, which I head, and also in State and local governments throughout this Nation, of the importance of families and the needs of families and for a period of intense reassessment of programs and policies. Where government is helpful to families, let it be strengthened. Where government is harmful to families, let it be changed."

White House Conference on  
Families  
Baltimore, Maryland  
June 5, 1980

"I hope that we'll come out of this conference with a reaffirmation of families as the fundamental building blocks of our society. I hope we will unite around a commitment to strengthen and not weaken families, to help and not hinder families, to lift families up and not drag them down."

White House Conference  
on Families  
Baltimore, Maryland  
June 5, 1980



FOREIGN POLICY

"I consider the foremost responsibility of any president to be the guaranteeing of our nation's security, or freedom from the threat of successful attack or blackmail and the ability to carry out our foreign policy and meet our commitments to our allies. I would be deeply committed to that proposition."

Boston Advertiser  
July 25, 1976

"...I think the Republican administration has been almost all style and spectacular and not substance."

Carter-Ford Debate  
October 6, 1976

"We've lost in our foreign policy the character of the American people. We've ignored or excluded the American people and Congress from participation in shaping of our foreign policy. It has been one of secrecy or exclusion."

Carter-Ford Debate  
October 6, 1976

"First of all, I would quit conducting the decision-making process in secret....I would restore the concept of the fireside chat.... (referring to Truman and the bipartisan support of foreign policy). And before we made a bluffing statement, we were sure that we had the backing not only of the President and the Secretary of State but also of the Congress and the people. This is the responsibility of the President, and I think it's very damaging to our country that Mr. Ford has turned over this responsibility to the Secretary of State."

Carter-Ford Debate  
October 6, 1976

"Mr. Ford has shown an absence of leadership, and an absence of a grasp of what this country is and what it ought to be."

Carter-Ford Debate  
October 6, 1976

"This is what it takes to have a sound foreign policy - strong at home, strong defense, permanent commitments, not betray the principles of our country, and involve the American people and the Congress in the shaping of our foreign policy....So these are the ways that we can restore the strength of our country, and they don't require a long experience in foreign policy."

Carter-Ford Debate  
October 6, 1976

"While the Secretary of State's in one country, there are almost 150 others wondering what we're going to do next; what will be the next secret agreement. We don't have a comprehensible, understandable foreign policy that deals with world problems or even regional problems."

Carter-Ford Debate  
October 6, 1976

"When something happens and it endangers our national security, or when something happens that threatens our stature in the world, or when American people are endangered by the actions of a foreign country or just 40 sailors on the Mayaguez, we have to move aggressively and quickly to rescue them."

Carter-Ford Debate  
October 6, 1976

"I believe we can have a foreign policy that is democratic, that is based on fundamental values, and that uses power and influence which we have for humane purposes. We can also have a foreign policy that the American people both support and for a change know about and understand."

Notre Dame  
May 22, 1977

"In international affairs our country has injected itself, I think wisely into regional disputes where we have no control over the outcome but we've added our good services in some instances with almost no immediate prospect of success. And my own reputation has been at stake and that of our country."

New York Times  
December 13, 1978

"National security in this complicated age requires more than just military might. The choice is not which superpower will dominate the world. None can and none will. The choice is between a world of anarchy and destruction or a world of cooperation and peace."

Wall Street Journal  
January 24, 1979

"The problems we face today are different in nature from those that confronted earlier generations of Americans. They are more subtle, more complex, more interrelated. At home few of these problems can be solved alone, abroad few of them can be solved by the United States alone. But Americans as a united people - working with our allies and friends - have never been afraid to face and to solve problems either here or abroad."

State of the Union Address  
January 23, 1979



"We have not been at war; we have had some foreign policy success."

Time  
September 24, 1979

"We have not been weak. We have been firm and resolved and consistent and clear in our policy since I have been in the White House."

Meet The Press  
January 20, 1980

"...what I want to emphasize today is that amid the crises of the moment, no matter how profoundly significant they are, the fundamentals of American foreign policy are being carried forward with consistency, with strength, and with determination."

Speech Before the World  
Affairs Council of Philadelphia  
May 9, 1980

#### AFGHANISTAN

"History teaches perhaps very few clear lessons. But surely one such lesson learned by the world at great cost is that aggression unopposed becomes a contagious disease.

"The response of the international community to the Soviet attempt to crush Afghanistan must match the gravity of the Soviet action."

Televised Address to the Nation  
January 4, 1980

"...neither the United States nor any other nation which is committed to world peace and stability can continue to do business as usual with the Soviet Union."

Televised Address to the Nation  
January 4, 1980

"The United States wants all nations in the region to be free and to be independent. If the Soviets are encouraged in this invasion by eventual success, and if they maintain their dominance over Afghanistan and then extend their control to adjacent countries, the stable, strategic and peaceful balance of the entire world will be changed. This would threaten the security of all nations, including, of course, the United States, our allies and our friends.

"Therefore, the world simply cannot stand by and permit the Soviet Union to commit this act with impunity."

Televised Address to the Nation  
January 4, 1980

Jimmy Carter said that the U.S. actions taken against the Soviet Union "are more punitive than the American people realize and than the Soviets expected."

Washington Star  
January 10, 1980



"...we did have adequate intelligence prior to the Soviets' action in Afghanistan. We knew about the degree of their buildup. We let our deep concern be expressed directly and forcefully to the Soviet Union. We did not know ahead of time that they would have a massive invasion of Afghanistan, as they did, but we did know that they were building up a capability for it....

"We were not caught by surprise, but there was no way to anticipate that they would actually invade Afghanistan. We did know about their high presence there and also about their buildup."

Question and Answer Session  
with Editors and News Directors  
January 29, 1980

"The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan poses a serious threat to a region that is vital to the long term interests of the United States and our allies for it represents the first time since World War II that the Soviets have used their military force to invade an independent nation outside the sphere of the Warsaw Pact. This brutal act of aggression has called forth the condemnation of the whole world - and a series of firm and measured responses from the United States."

New York Times  
February 9, 1980

"With the withdrawal of all Soviet forces from Afghanistan we would be prepared to join in assurances and arrangements to establish a truly independent, nonaligned Afghanistan with a government acceptable to the Afghan people."

Carter's Official Toast at  
State Dinner in Belgrade, Yugoslavia  
New York Times  
June 25, 1980

## AFRICA

"In Africa we and our African friends want to see a continent that is free of the dominance of outside powers, free of the bitterness of racial injustice, free of conflict and free of the burdens of poverty and hunger and disease.

We are convinced that the best way to work toward these objectives is through affirmative policies that recognize African realities and that recognize African aspirations.

The persistent and increasing military involvement of the Soviet Union and Cuba in Africa could deny this hopeful vision.

Speech at Annapolis  
June 8, 1978

"We are deeply concerned about the threat to regional peace and to the autonomy of countries within which these foreign troops seem permanently to be stationed. That is why I have spoken out on this subject today and that is why I and the American people will support African efforts to contain such intrusions as we have done recently in Zaire."

Speech at Annapolis  
June 8, 1978

#### ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

"...I would not be rash about the withdrawal of troops from South Korea...I'd make sure the Japanese knew what we were doing... I would make sure that in the four or five years when we get our troops in Korea substantially removed that Korea would still be able to defend itself against North Korea."

Washington Post  
March 21, 1976

"We have a commitment made by the Congress, the President, the people and the United Nations in South Korea. I would prefer to withdraw all of our troops and land forces from South Korea over a period of years - three, four years, whatever."

Los Angeles Times  
May 16, 1976

"Japan and South Korea, closely linked with the United States, are located geographically where the vital interests of great power converge. It is imperative that Northeast Asia remain stable. We will maintain and even enhance our military strength in this area, improving our air strength, and reducing our ground forces, as the South Korean army continues to modernize and to increase its own capabilities."

Wake Forest  
July 17, 1978

"The United States has been, is and will remain a Pacific power. Everyone must know Koreans and Americans will continue to stand shoulder to shoulder to prevent aggression on this peninsula and to preserve the peace. Our military commitment to Korea's security is unshakable, strong and enduring."

Washington Post  
July 1, 1979

"We have a long-range schedule for withdrawal of troops incrementally as we assess South Korea's ability to defend herself against any possible North Korean intrusion. After I got in office, we did a complete analysis based on aerial surveillance and other means of the North Korea defense capability. It was much greater than we had presupposed."

Boston Globe  
August 22, 1980



CHINA/TAIWAN

"I would never let that friendship with the People's Republic of China stand in the way of the preservation of the independence and freedom of the people of Taiwan."

Carter-Ford Debate  
October 6, 1976

Asked if he envisioned moving quickly to normalize relations with Peking, perhaps involving recognition, Jimmy Carter said: "No, I don't envision that. It's an ultimate goal that's good for us to maintain.

"Eventually we're going to have to recognize the existence of the People's Republic of China. But I would want to have an assurance in some way, to my satisfaction, that there would not be a military attack on Taiwan and that the Taiwanese people would be relatively independent and our commitment to them respected."

U.S. News & World Report  
September 13, 1976

"It is important that we make progress toward normalizing relations with the People's Republic of China. We see the American-Chinese relationship as a central element of our global policy and China as a key force for global peace. We wish to cooperate closely with the creative Chinese people on the problems that confront all mankind, and we hope to find a formula which can bridge some of the difficulties that still separate us."

Notre Dame  
May 22, 1977

"In the first place, the People's Republic of China does not have the capability of launching a 120-mile attack across the ocean against Taiwan, who are heavily fortified and also heavily armed. And we have made it clear to the People's Republic that after this year, when the treaty does expire, this coming year, that we will sell to Taiwan defensive weapons."

Presidential Documents  
December 19, 1978

"We never intend to use our improved relationships with China against the Soviet Union or the relationships with the Soviet Union, which I hope to improve as a factor to endanger or threaten China."

Washington Post  
January 18, 1979



"I myself am committed to a strong and prosperous and free people on Taiwan. We intend to carry on our diplomatic relations with the people on Taiwan."

New York Times  
January 27, 1979

"I think statements made by the Chinese leaders since the announcement of intentions to establish diplomatic relations have been very constructive and have indicated a peaceful intent."

Washington Star  
January 27, 1979

"We will be cautious in not trying to have an unbalanced relationship between China and the Soviet Union."

Washington Post  
January 28, 1979

CUBA

"Many countries are becoming very concerned that the nonaligned movement is being subverted by Cuba, which is obviously closely aligned with the Soviet Union and dependent upon the Soviets for economic sustenance and for military and political guidance and direction."

Annapolis  
June 8, 1978

"The presence of a Soviet combat brigade in Cuba is a very serious matter. This status quo is not acceptable."

Washington Star  
September 8, 1979

"We do have a right to insist that the Soviet Union respect our interests and our concerns if the Soviet Union expects us to respect their sensibilities and their concerns. Otherwise, relations between our two nations will inevitably be adversely affected."

New York Times  
September 8, 1979

"We are now trying through diplomacy to get the Soviets to eliminate the combat nature of this troop. And I don't know yet whether we will succeed. If we do not succeed, we will take appropriate action to change the status quo."

St. Louis Post-Dispatch  
September 26, 1979

"This is not a large force, nor an assault force. It presents no direct threat to us. I have concluded that the brigade issue is certainly no reason for a return to the cold war."

Speech on the Soviet Combat  
Brigade in Cuba  
October 1, 1979

Carter enumerated five steps in response to the Soviet combat brigade in Cuba:

"We will monitor the status of the Soviet forces by increased surveillance of Cuba.

"Second, we will assure that no Soviet unit in Cuba can be used as a combat force to threaten the security of the United States or any other nation in this hemisphere.

"Third, I am establishing a permanent, full-time Caribbean Joint Task Force Headquarters at Key West, Florida.

"Fourth, we will expand military maneuvers in the region, and we will conduct these regularly from now on. In accordance with existing treaty rights, the United States will, of course, keep our forces in Guantanamo.

"Fifth, we will increase our economic assistance to alleviate the unmet economic and human needs in the Caribbean region and further to insure the ability of troubled peoples to resist social turmoil and possible Communist domination."

Presidential Speech  
October 1, 1979

"...until Cuba can bring their own troops back from unwarranted involvement in the internal affairs of other countries, until they release the hundreds and hundreds, even thousands of political prisoners they have in jail - and some of them have been there over 20 years - and until they stop interfering in the internal affairs of countries even in this hemisphere, we will not recognize Cuba. After that, we'll consider it."

Washington Post  
October 17, 1979

"We see the hunger of the people on that island to escape. Our hearts go out to the 10,000 freedom-loving Cubans who have entered the gate of the Peruvian embassy this week."

Address in the White House East Room  
to Caribbean-Central American Action  
Washington Post  
April 10, 1980

Carter pledged that the United States would "provide an open heart and open arms" to Cuban refugees entering the country. "Those of us who have been here for a generation, or six or eight generations, ought to have just as open a heart to receive the new refugees as our ancestors were received in the past..."

New York Times  
May 6, 1980

"To insure legality and order, all people will have to be screened before departure from Cuba. We will work with the Congress, the Cuban-American community, interested nations, and the Cuban Government to determine the total number of people that we will receive both on a monthly basis and during the next 12 months."

New York Times  
May 15, 1980

"I don't fear any military capability that Cuba has accumulated. The Soviet brigade has been in Cuba since the early 1960's. Their weapons are not offensive in nature to the extent that they can attack the United States. They have no weapons with a range that would reach our country."

Los Angeles Times Interview  
May 18, 1980

#### EASTERN EUROPE

"I have maintained from the very beginning of my campaign - and this was a standard answer that I made in response to the Yugoslavian question - that I would never go to war or become militarily involved in the internal affairs of another country unless our own security was directly threatened, and I don't believe that our security would be directly threatened if the Soviet Union went into Yugoslavia. I don't believe it will happen; I certainly hope it won't. I would take the strongest possible measures, short of actual military action there by our own troops. But I doubt that that would be an eventuality."

Ford-Carter Debate  
October 22, 1976

"I am here to reiterate our firm support of Yugoslavia's independence, territorial integrity and unity and our respect for Yugoslavia's nonaligned position."

Official Toast at State Dinner  
in Belgrade, Yugoslavia  
New York Times  
June 25, 1980



HUMAN RIGHTS

"Part of the Soviet leaders' current attitude may be due to their apparent - and incorrect - belief that our concern for human rights is aimed specifically at them or is an attack on their vital interests. There are no hidden meanings in our commitment to human rights. We stand on what we have said on this subject before. Our policy is exactly what it appears to be: the positive and sincere expression of our deepest beliefs as a people. It is addressed not to any particular people or area of the world, but to all countries equally, including our own. And is specifically not designed to heat up the arms race or bring back the cold war."

Charleston  
July 21, 1977

"We are a confident nation. We've restored a moral basis for our foreign policy. The very heart of our identity as a nation is our firm commitment to human rights...."

"Thousands of political prisoners have been freed. The leaders of the world - even our ideological adversaries - now see that their attitude toward fundamental human rights affects their standing in the international community, and it affects their relations with the United States."

State of the Union  
January 19, 1978

"...there is a growing realization that there must be some flexibility in the application of our human rights policy. There is also a growing realization that we must have a foreign aid capability to compete with the Soviet Union on a peaceful basis."

Business Week  
August 21, 1978

"The effectiveness of our human rights policy is now an established fact."

Presidential Documents  
December 6, 1978

"But I want to stress again that human rights are not peripheral to the foreign policy of the United States. Our human rights policy is not a decoration. It is not something we've adopted to polish up our image abroad or to put a fresh coat of moral paint on the discredited policies of the past."

Presidential Documents  
December 6, 1978

"There is a growing consensus within the international community about the fundamental value of human rights, individual rights, individual dignity, political freedom, freedom of the press and the rule of law."

Washington Post  
July 1, 1979

IRAN

"When the Shah took over the leadership of his nation 36 years ago, Iran was occupied by foreign powers. Since that time, the progress in his country and his growth into a world leader has indeed been remarkable and has aroused the admiration of the world."

Remarks of the President at the  
Welcoming Ceremony in Washington, D.C.  
Presidential Documents  
November 15, 1977

Jimmy Carter described the Shah's leadership as "enlightened" and said that "our military alliance is unshakeable." He said "it is an alliance that is beneficent in its impact on the rest of the world. Iran seeks no dominion over other people. They seek no territorial gains. They just want peace. They have spread their influence, because of the great leadership of the Shah, very rapidly.

"We look upon Iran's strength as an extension of our own strength and Iran looks upon our strength as an extension of theirs."

Remarks at the State Dinner  
November 15, 1977  
Washington Star  
November 16, 1977

"Iran, because of the great leadership of the Shah, is an island of stability in one of the more troubled areas of the world.

"This is a great tribute to you, Your Majesty, and to your leadership and to the respect and the admiration and love which your people give to you.

"The transformation that has taken place in this nation is indeed remarkable under your leadership. And as we sat together this afternoon, discussing privately for a few moments what might be done to bring peace to the Middle East, I was profoundly impressed again not only with your wisdom and your judgment and your sensitivity and insight but also with the close compatibility that we found in addressing this difficult question...."

Presidential Documents  
December 31, 1977

"The cause of human rights is one that also is shared deeply by our people and by the leaders of our two nations.

"Our talks have been priceless, our friendship is irreplaceable, and my own gratitude is to the Shah, who in his wisdom and with his experience has been so helpful to me, a new leader.

"We have no other nation on Earth who is closer to us in planning for our mutual military security. We have no other nation with whom we have closer consultation on regional problems that concern us both. And there is no leader with whom I have a deeper sense of personal gratitude and personal friendship."

Toast of the President at a State  
Dinner in Teheran  
Presidential Documents  
December 31, 1977

"The strategic importance to our country, I think to the entire Western world, of a good relationship with a strong and independent Iran is crucial. We have historic friendships with Iran. I think they are a great stabilizing force in their part of the world. They are a very important trade partner. They've acted responsibly."

Press Conference  
October 10, 1978

"I fully expect the Shah to maintain power in Iran and for the present problems in Iran to be resolved, although there have been certainly deplorable instances of bloodshed which we would certainly want to avoid or see avoided. I think the predictions of gloom and disaster which came from sources have certainly not been realized at all. The Shah has our support and he has our confidence. We have no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of Iran and we have no intention of permitting others to interfere."

New York Times  
December 13, 1978

Speaking of the Shah of Iran, Jimmy Carter said: "There is no leader with whom I have a deeper sense of personal gratitude and personal friendship."

Wall Street Journal  
January 9, 1979

"We have a very important relationship with Iran, past, present, and I hope in the future...They have been good allies of ours, and I expect this to continue in the future."

New York Times  
January 18, 1979



"I have confidence in the Iranian people to restore a stable government and restore their economic circumstances for the future."

New York Times  
January 18, 1979

"Well its impossible for anyone to anticipate all future political events. And I think that the rapid change of affairs in Iran has not been predicted by anyone so far as I know. Our intelligence is the best we can devise. We share intelligence data and diplomatic information on a routine basis with other nations, and this is a constant process whenever a problem arises in a country throughout the world."

New York Times  
January 18, 1979

"Our goals are now as they have been for the past few months; to insure the safety of Americans in Iran, to minimize bloodshed and violence, to insure that Iran is militarily capable of protecting her independence and her territorial integrity, to prevent interference or intervention in the internal affairs of Iran by any outside power and to honor the will of the Iranian people."

New York Times  
February 13, 1979

"We don't own Iran and we never have had any intention nor ability to control the internal affairs of Iran. I don't know of anything we could have done to prevent the very complicated social and religious and political interrelationships from occurring in Iran in the change of government. We will just have to make the best of the change."

Washington Star  
February 28, 1979

Referring to Khomeini, Jimmy Carter said: "I don't approve of his government, but the fact is that they send us about a million and a half barrels (of oil) every day."

Los Angeles Times  
August 24, 1979

"The last American hostage is just as important to the United States as the first. The consequences of harm to any single hostage will be extremely grave."

New York Times  
November 24, 1979

Speaking about the release of the hostages, Jimmy Carter said: "It would not be possible or advisable to set a deadline."

Press Conference  
November 28, 1979

"We have encouraged all those who have become announced candidates for President to restrain their comments, which might be misconstrued overseas."

Chicago Tribune  
November 30, 1979

"I am not going to take any military action that would cause bloodshed or arouse the unstable captors of our hostages to attack them or to punish them."

Los Angeles Times  
December 8, 1979

"I will not permit this incident to become acceptable and to be dragged out. I will do my utmost to prevent that. I don't want that to be interpreted as threatening military action. I will do everything I can to avoid any bloodshed, provided our hostages are not physically harmed."

Washington Post  
December 15, 1979

In announcing his "Rose Garden" strategy, Jimmy Carter said:  
"I cannot break away from my duties here, which are extraordinary now and ones which only I can fulfill...."

"We will just have to take the adverse political consequences and make the best of it. Right now, both Iran and Afghanistan look bad and will need my constant attention."

Boston Globe  
January 13, 1980

"Because of the way that I've handled Iran, they think I don't have the guts to do anything...."

"You're going to be amazed at how tough I'm going to be."

Washington Star  
January 21, 1980

When asked about speculation that the Iranian parliament might not take up the hostage issue until July, Jimmy Carter said:  
"I would think that would be excessive time for us to wait."

New Conference  
April 17, 1980

Responding to accusations that he was timing announcements about Iran to coincide with primaries, Jimmy Carter said: "I would like for you to look at the calendar since the first of January and find a time there wasn't immediately before or immediately after a primary...And I have never designed the announcement of an action to try to color or modify the actions of voters in a primary."

News Conference  
April 17, 1980

"I do not feel it appropriate for me to set a specific time schedule for the imposition of further actions which may include military action but it's an option available to me.

"I think our key allied leaders understand the timeframe under which we are acting and making our plans, and their decisions next week, I think, will be colored perhaps by the messages that I have exchanged with them both by cable and by direct telephone conversations with them."

News Conference  
April 17, 1980

On the aborted rescue mission, Jimmy Carter said: "It was my decision to attempt the rescue operation; it was my decision to cancel it when problems developed in the placement of our rescue team for a future rescue operation. The responsibility is fully my own....In the aftermath of the attempt, we continue to hold the Government of Iran responsible for the safety and for the early release of the American hostages who have been held so long. The United States remains determined to bring about that safe release at the earliest date possible."

New York Times  
April 26, 1980

In announcing that he would resume a "limited" campaign schedule, Jimmy Carter said: "...I have stayed in the White House under extraordinary circumstances. But times change and a lot of the responsibilities that have been on my shoulders have been alleviated." He said that the problems had become "manageable enough" to allow him to begin a limited schedule of travel.

Washington Post  
May 1, 1980

"I don't want to mislead anyone...I do not think the hostage question is any more manageable than it was before."

New York Times  
May 10, 1980



"Military measures are not being considered....Now I think the best avenue is through multitude of diplomatic and economic efforts being made through the United Nations and through other countries to convince the Iranians that it is counterproductive for them to continue to hold these innocent people."

Washington Post  
June 14, 1980

"Many nations would forget about 53 people...When 220 million people are obsessed with the lives of 53 people, to me that's a sign of greatness."

Los Angeles Times  
July 5, 1980

## MEXICO

"Our perceptions of each other have sometimes been distorted. But we have made progress, and I believe that in the coming years, we will make greater progress towards fuller cooperation, understanding and mutual respect...This commitment is more than just words."

Los Angeles Times  
February 17, 1979

"In the midst of the Folkloric performance, I discovered I was afflicted with Montezuma's revenge."

Carter Trip to Mexico  
Presidential Documents  
February 14, 1979

## MIDDLE EAST

"This may be the most propitious time for a genuine settlement since the beginning of the Arab-Israeli conflict almost thirty years ago. To let this opportunity pass could mean disaster, not only for the Middle East, but perhaps for the international political and economic order as well."

Notre Dame  
May 22, 1977

"The United States has been meeting with the foreign ministers of Israel and the Arab nations involved in the search for peace. We are staying in close contact with the Soviet Union, with whom we share responsibility for reconvening the Geneva Conference."

United Nations  
October 4, 1977

"As a result of these consultations, the Soviet Union and the United States have agreed to call for the resumption of the Geneva Conference before the end of this year. While a number of procedural questions remain, if the parties continue to act in good faith, I believe that these questions can be answered."

United Nations  
October 4, 1977

"If we allow the prospects for peace - that seemed so bright last September when we came back from Camp David - to continue to dim and perhaps even to die, the future at best is unpredictable. If we allow that hope to vanish, then the judgment of history and our own children will of necessity, and rightly, condemn us for an absence of concerted effort."

Washington Star  
February 28, 1979

"Our negotiations are based on the idea that peace can only be achieved when we meet the legitimate needs of all who are affected by the conflict. Real peace will not come with a single treaty - important as that would be. But a treaty between Egypt and Israel is an indispensable step toward the broader comprehensive peace we all seek."

New York Times  
March 8, 1979

"I am against any creation of a separate Palestinian state. I don't think it would be good for the Palestinians. I don't think it would be good for Israel. I don't think it would be good for the Arab neighbors of such a state."

New York Times  
August 12, 1979

"Let our position be absolutely clear, an attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America. And an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force."

State of the Union  
January 23, 1980

"Yes, we can protect our interest there. Obviously we don't intend and never have claimed to have the ability unilaterally to defeat any threat to that region with ease. What we called for was an analysis by all those nations who are there who might be threatened. We'll cooperate with them, as they request and as they desire, to strengthen their own defense capabilities.... But I don't think it would be accurate for me to claim that at this time, or in the future, we expect to have enough military strength and enough military presence there to defend the region unilaterally, absent the kind of cooperation that I've described to you."

Question and Answer Session with  
Editors and News Directors  
January 29, 1980

#### ISRAEL

Referring to the U.N. vote that had to later be disavowed: "I don't think anybody in my administration doubts that I am the one who sets the policy. The U.N. resolution, as it was passed, was not in accordance with the policy that I have established....But I made it known as quickly as I discovered it, that this resolution did violate the policy and disavowed our vote for it."

Press Conference  
March 15, 1980

"It was an honest breakdown in communications between me and the United Nations. I'm responsible for anything that goes wrong in this Government and I'm also responsible, on occasion for things that go right."

Press Conference  
March 15, 1980

#### PANAMA

"I would never give up complete control or practical control of the Panama Canal Zone....But I would not relinquish the practical control of the Panama Canal Zone anytime in the foreseeable future."

Carter-Ford Debate  
October 6, 1976

#### SOVIET UNION

"In addition to that, we've become fearful to compete with the Soviet Union on an equal basis. We talk about detente. The Soviet Union knows what they want in detente, and they've been getting it. We have not known what we've wanted and we've been out-traded in almost every instance."

Carter-Ford Debate  
October 6, 1976



"Now I believe in detente with the Soviet Union. To me, it means progress towards peace. But the effects of detente should not be limited to our own two countries alone. We hope to persuade the Soviet Union that one country cannot impose its system of society upon another, either through direct military intervention or through the use of a client state's military force, as was the case with Cuban intervention in Angola.

"Cooperation also implies obligation. We hope that the Soviet Union will join with us in playing a larger role in aiding the developing world, for common aid efforts will help us build a bridge of mutual confidence in one another."

Notre Dame  
May 22, 1977

"Being confident of our own future, we are now free of that inordinate fear of communism which once led us to embrace any dictator who joined us in that fear. I am glad that that is being changed.

"For too many years, we have been willing to adopt the flawed and erroneous tactics of our adversaries, sometimes abandoning our own values for theirs. We have fought fire with fire, never thinking that fire is better quenched with water. This approach failed, with Vietnam the best example of its intellectual and moral poverty. But through failure, we have now found our way back to our own principles and values, and we have regained our lost confidence."

Notre Dame  
May 22, 1977

"The word detente can be simplistically defined as the easing of tension between nations. The word is in practice, however, further defined by experience as those nations evolve new means by which they can live with each other in peace. To be stable, to be supported by the American people and to be a basis for widening the scope of cooperation, detente must be broadly defined and truly reciprocal."

Annapolis  
June 8, 1978

"...I'm convinced that the people of the Soviet Union want peace. I cannot believe that they could possibly want war."

Annapolis  
June 8, 1978

"A competition without restraint and without shared rules will escalate into graver tensions and our relationship as a whole with the Soviet Union will suffer.

"I do not wish this to happen and I do not believe that Mr. Brezhnev desires it. And this is why it is time for us to speak frankly and to face the problem squarely by a combination of adequate American strength, of quiet self-restraint in the use of it, of a refusal to believe in the inevitability of war and of a patient and persistent development of all the peaceful alternatives we hope eventually to lead international society into a more stable, more peaceful and a more hopeful future."

Annapolis  
June 8, 1978

"It's to the advantage of our country to have trade with the Soviet Union. I think embargoes that have been imposed in the past by previous administrations, for instance, an unannounced and unilateral stopping of shipments of feed grains and food grains and soybeans overseas, has been very detrimental to our country. I do not intend to do that."

Press Conference  
August 17, 1978

"My belief is, based on evidence...that the Soviets have been somewhat chastened and surprised by the strong reaction in the other nations in the world, as exemplified by the United Nations vote, and also that other countries have rallied along with us to lead action that would restrain the Soviets from repeating this in the future."

Speech to a Group of Editors  
Los Angeles Times  
January 15, 1980

"The industrial democracies are being tested...Let there be no misunderstanding about this anywhere in the world: We are not motivated by hostility or by any desire for reckless confrontation or a return to the cold war. But we must sustain world opposition to Soviet aggression, and not allow the Soviets to derive any permanent benefits from their invasion of a neutral nation."

Statement in Rome  
New York Times  
June 20, 1980

"In this ever more interdependent world, to assume that aggression need be met only when it occurs at one's own doorstep is to tempt new and very serious adventures...The Soviets must understand that they cannot recklessly threaten world peace, or still enjoy the benefits of cooperation while pursuing a policy of armed intervention...Above all, everyone must know that efforts cannot succeed to divide our alliance or to lull us into a false belief that somehow America and Europe can be an island of detente while aggression is carried out elsewhere."

Statement in Rome  
Baltimore Sun  
June 21, 1980

"My opinion of the Russians has changed most dramatically in the last week (after the Russian invasion of Afghanistan) than even the previous two and one-half years before that...The action of the Soviets has made a more dramatic change in my opinion of what the Soviets' ultimate goals are than anything they've done in the previous time that I've been in office."

Interview with Frank Reynolds  
ABC  
December 31, 1979

"It would be good to go back and read the quote to see if you have it accurate. I didn't insinuate or say that my assessment of the Soviet policy or ultimate goals had been changed at all."

Interview with Meg Greenfield  
Washington Post  
March 29, 1980

## VIETNAM

"Several months ago, the Vietnam government said, 'We are ready to sit down and negotiate for release of information on MIAs.' So far, Mr. Ford has not responded. I also would never normalize relationships with Vietnam nor permit them to join the United Nations until they've taken this action. But that's not enough. We need to have an active and aggressive action on the part of the President, the leader of this country, to seek out every possible way to get that information, which has kept the MIA families in despair and doubt, and Mr. Ford has just not done it."

Carter-Ford Debate  
October 6, 1976



WESTERN HEMISPHERE

"In our own hemisphere, we have initiated a new era of mutual respect and cooperation with our neighbors. And I am proud that the United States Senate had the courage and vision to demonstrate to the world the greatness and the strength of our Nation by ratifying the Panama Canal treaties."

Presidential Documents  
December 8, 1978

## HEALTH

"Is a practical and comprehensive national health program beyond the capacity of our American government? I think not."

Formal Announcement  
National Press Club  
December 12, 1974

"We have failed so completely to control medical costs that only 38 percent of Medicare expenses are now being met, and the elderly have increasingly limited access to needed service.

"Medicaid has become a national scandal. It is being bilked of million of dollars by charlatans."

National Health Policy Statement  
Student National Medical Association  
Washington, D. C.  
April 16, 1976

"We have built a haphazard, unsound, undirected, inefficient non-system which has left us unhealthy and unwealthy at the same time."

National Health Policy Statement  
Student National Medical Association  
Washington, D. C.

"Medical care costs must be controlled. We must find incentive for productivity and efficiency."

National Health Policy Statement  
Student National Medical Association  
Washington, D. C.

"National health insurance alone cannot redistribute doctors or raise the quality of care. So we must plan, and decisively phase in, simultaneous reform of services and refinancing of costs. Reform will enable us to set and secure the following principles of a national health insurance program.

- Coverage must be universal and mandatory...
- Benefits should be insured by a combination of resources: employer and employee shared payroll taxes, and general tax revenues..."

National Health Policy Statement  
Student National Medical Association  
Washington, D. C.

"Uniform standard and levels of quality and payment must be approved for the nation as part of national health planning."

National Health Policy Statement  
Student National Medical Association  
Washington, D. C.

"We must have strong and clear built-in cost and quality controls. Necessary machinery for monitoring the quality of care must be developed.

National Health Policy Statement  
Student National Medical Association  
Washington, D. C.

"I favor a nationwide, comprehensive, mandatory health insurance program. It ought to be financed partially from federal funds. Also, employees and employers ought to contribute to the cost of the health program."

U.S. News and World Report Interview  
May 24, 1976

"Our present health care system is in need of drastic reorganization. Despite per capita and absolute expenditures on health care that are largest in the world, our nation still lacks a workable, efficient and fair system of health care.

"First, we need a national health insurance program, financed by general tax revenues and employer-employee shared payroll taxes, which is universal and mandatory. Such a program must reduce barriers to preventive care."

Carter Platform Program Presentation  
New York City  
June 16, 1976

"To make the elderly less subject to the financial burden caused by illness, I support a comprehensive, universal national health care program with interim relief until the system is fully implemented through expansion of Medicare coverage."

Carter Platform Program Presentation  
New York City  
June 16, 1976

"Let me say also, in case there is any question in anyone's mind, that I am not anti-government. I am anti-waste in government. I don't believe in give-away programs. I don't believe in wasting money. I do believe in tough, competent management, and I have tried to practice it as a naval officer, as a farmer, as a businessman and as a governor."

Town Hall Forum  
Los Angeles, California  
August 23, 1976

"I have not wedded myself to the Kennedy-Corman bill. I have my own -- my ethic would be to minimize government responsibilities as long as I could guarantee an equitable quality of health care for our people throughout the country. If it took extra money, I would try to provide it through increased tax revenues or from some other mechanism."

Los Angeles Times  
August 24, 1976



HEALTH --3

"I want to have a comprehensive health care program fully established in this country in four years but how much we do each succeeding year will have to be determined by what we have available."

Los Angeles Times  
August 24, 1976

"I also would like to have the option, which I am maintaining, of providing a basic package of health care to be provided to everyone. With the indigents, the cost would primarily come from government revenues which it is now."

Los Angeles Times  
August 24, 1976

"What we have now obviously is whenever something goes wrong, with mismanagement in the government, whether it involves the FBI or the CIA or the Medicaid program, nobody's responsible. I think the President ought to be responsible, and, as such, I will be responsible."

Carter/Mondale Press Conference  
Plains, Georgia  
September 3, 1976

"The first thing, is to make Medicaid and Medicare delivery systems work. The second, compatible with that, is to eliminate the horrible bureaucracy that now gives us 72 different agencies trying to administer health care programs.

"And another one would be to make sure that we understood ahead of time how much the programs are going to cost."

Carter/Mondale Press Conference  
Plains, Georgia  
September 3, 1976

"We need to enact a national health care program that contains strong, built-in controls on spiraling health care costs. This system should promote early preventive and diagnostic care. Most importantly for older persons, our health care program should allow for home care alternatives to institutionalization. Rather than providing only for expensive and often unwanted hospital and nursing home care, we should begin now to develop the national capability to care for individuals in the homes and to help them care for themselves at home. This alternative is not only cheaper; it is preferable to many older Americans and to their families."

Health and Welfare Statement  
Fall, 1976

"Housing absorbs the greatest proportion of the incomes of the elderly, requiring an average of one-third of all their income. Property taxes can be especially burdensome for those living on fixed incomes. We need to attack these problems with multiple steps to insure that the elderly have real choice of how and where they wish to live. This should include greater support for the Section 202 Housing Program for the elderly, more rapid implementation of the rental housing program, and strong federal protection for persons threatened with displacement by landlords seeking to convert to condominium ownership."

Health and Welfare Statement  
Fall, 1976

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

Health and Welfare Statement  
Fall, 1976

"I support the enactment of a phased-in, comprehensive national health insurance program. I think the public wants such a program and I intend to work vigorously to get it.

"I have also repeatedly said that financing reform alone is not enough. We must bring about basic changes in the way health care is provided to our people. We must emphasize the value of personal preventive care.

We must work to make our environment more health-promoting, and less health-damaging."

Nation's Health  
October 1976

"We do need to move on national health care in a phased basis. I would say the first thing we need to do -- and Joe and I have already talked about this extensively -- is to assess what we presently spend on health care. There are some abuses in Medicaid and Medicare. I think there is a rapidly increasing cost for both hospital and physicians' care that's unwarranted."

Remarks at Department of HEW  
February 6, 1977

"I've sent to the Congress today, with the help of Secretary Joe Califano, a proposal for hospital cost containment which, through a carefully defined and a very fair formula, will put a limit on the increase in hospital costs. We anticipate that this proposal, if implemented by Congress, would save about \$2 billion next year alone.

"Mr. Califano can explain the exact formula, but it would permit an increase in hospital costs within the next 12 months of about nine percent."

Remarks at New Briefing  
April 25, 1977



"I am today proposing legislation which will limit the growth of the major component of health cost increase -- rising hospital expenditures. The Hospital Cost Containment Act will restrain increases in the reimbursements which hospitals receive from all sources: Medicare, Medicaid, Blue Cross, commercial insurers, and individuals. The limit will be set using a formula which not only reflects general inflation, but also extends to hospitals an additional allowance for improving their quality of care. Based on current trends, the limit for fiscal year 1978 will be approximately nine percent."

Message to Congress  
April 25, 1977

"And finally, I'm committed to the phasing-in of a workable national health insurance system. It's certainly not difficult to guess which union has made national health insurance a national issue. Beginning many months ago, Leonard Woodcock has given me an education about the need and the possible ways for meeting it. He's a member of the advisory committee that will help design the whole system and will hold its first meeting later on this week. And we are aiming to submit legislative proposals early next year.

"We must move immediately to start bringing health care costs under control. If we don't -- and I want you to listen carefully to this -- if we don't bring the health care costs, particularly hospitals, under control, no matter what kind of health system we have in our country, the cost will double every five years."

Remarks at the United Auto Workers  
Convention  
Los Angeles, California  
May 17, 1977

"I made a speech to the United Automobile Workers, UAW, this morning in Los Angeles. And I pointed out that I would like to have established a complete national health insurance program before I go out of office. We will be developing the comprehensive proposal, the advisory committee will be meeting for the first time this week, and I would guess that I'll go to the Congress early in 1978 with the basic legislative proposal developed by us."

Remarks in Los Angeles  
May 17, 1977

"I do favor a comprehensive health proposal. Now at this time, the high inflation rate and the very tight budget constraints would not permit immediate implementation of it. It might take many years before the final plan is completely put into effect."

News Conference  
June 26, 1978



"We are also deeply concerned that our national health plan be prudently designed, be phased in in a reasonable and cautious manner, reflect economic and budgetary realities, and avoid the imposition of excessive costs on the average American taxpayer."

Statement by Former Secretary of HEW  
Joseph Califano  
July 28, 1978

"I proposed cost containment legislation last year to restrain rising hospital costs. These costs have been growing by about 17 percent a year-far faster than the rate of expansion in the economy as a whole. Approval of this bill is essential for restraining health care costs. If legislation I proposed last year had taken effect in October of 1977, our country would already have saved \$2 billion in hospital costs by now. A vote against the bill is a vote against putting the brakes on runaway health inflation. A vote for this bill is a vote against inflation."

Hospital Cost Containment Statement  
June 7, 1978

"No American family should be reduced to poverty, or bankruptcy, or go without needed health care because they cannot afford the cost. We have begun the fight for hospital cost containment. Next year we're going to win that fight. This is one of the essential steps toward reaching the goal that we all share - to protect every American through a comprehensive system of national health care."

National Democratic Party Conference  
Memphis, Tennessee  
December 8, 1978

"My national health plan - which will be phased into operation prudently, consistent with the state of our economy - minimizes direct governmental control over health care, restrains the growth of Government, and provides maximum individual choice. I am continuing to seek enactment of my hospital cost containment proposal, which I believe is an essential part of any national health plan. When fully enacted, these two proposals - welfare reform and the national health plan - will significantly and permanently improve the lives and prospects of all Americans."

1981 Budget Statement  
January 28, 1980

"Hospital Cost Containment -- This long overdue legislation is a major weapon in our fight against inflation; it will save consumers more billions of dollars and is the single most important anti-inflation bill before the Congress."

State of the Union Address  
January 21, 1980

"National Health Plan -- The time for improving the health care provided to our citizens is long overdue, and I am convinced that the health plan I proposed last year provides a realistic, affordable and beneficial way of providing our citizens with the health care they need and deserve. It will provide millions of low-income Americans with health coverage for the first time, improved Medicare coverage for the elderly, and protect every American against the disastrous costs of extended illness."

State of the Union Address  
January 21, 1980

"Hospital Cost Containment remains the single most important piece of legislation that the Congress can pass to demonstrate its commitment to fight inflation. This legislative initiative will save billions of dollars for our Nation's consumers by eliminating unnecessary and wasteful hospital services. We can no longer allow hospital inflation to put needed health care out of the reach of the average American. In a sector where there is an absence of competitive forces, Hospital Cost Containment legislation is necessary to restrain spending, while the process of developing other effective measures proceeds. The longer we delay enacting Cost Containment, the more expensive our fight against hospital inflation will become."

State of the Union Address  
January 21, 1980

"During the last three years, my Administration has developed a very cooperative and productive record with Congress. Landmark legislation has been enacted; major domestic and international problems have been addressed directly and resolved; and a spirit of mutual trust and respect has been restored to Executive-Legislative relations. Indeed, in no other three-year period in our recent past has there been a comparable record of progress and achievement for the American people."

State of the Union Address  
January 21, 1980

## HOUSING

"...I believe we do need some incentives for private homeownership. If I made any changes, I would maintain stimulation for housing but shift the tax credit more toward lower and middle income families..."

"I would utilize mortgage guarantees, and I favor interest subsidies..."

Business Week Interview  
May 3, 1976

"...I submit the following agenda on housing which will, in addition, put back to work hundreds of thousands of unemployed construction workers and fulfill our national commitment to build 2 1/2 million housing units per year:

- direct federal subsidies and low interest loans to encourage the construction of low and middle income class housing;
- expansion of the highly successful Section 202 housing program for the elderly, which utilize direct federal subsidies;
- greatly increased emphasis on the rehabilitation of existing housing to rebuild our neighborhoods;...
- greater attention to the role of local communities under the Housing and Community Development Act 1974;..."

Urban Policy for the Remainder  
of the Twentieth Century  
New York City,  
April 1, 1976

"I think there is no industry that I can think of in the country that would have a more greatly magnified beneficial effect on employment and general stimulus of the country than housing. Here we have suffered because of an inadequate commitment on the part of the federal government to constraints and predictable housing policy.

"We have got developers who would like to build homes, and 600,000 construction workers who want to go back to work, and lenders who want to lend money for better housing."

Hearst Newspaper Interview  
New York City  
July 22, 1976



HOUSING--2

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

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

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

Economic Issues Statement  
Summer, 1976

"We cannot restore national economic health by crushing the housing sector. Such a result is the opposite of national comprehensive economic planning."

Economic Issues Statement  
Summer, 1976

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

Economic Issues Statement  
Summer, 1976

"We must make homes available to our people again -- in our urban neighborhoods as well as in the suburbs. Tight money, shrinking paychecks, and a stagnant housing industry are some of the saddest products of the Republicans' disastrous record."

Urban Policy Statement  
Brooklyn College  
Brooklyn, New York  
September 6, 1976

"The Republicans say that housing is one of their campaign issues. But they have plunged the construction industry into a depression. The cost of a new house has increased by more than 50 percent, from an average of \$30,000 in 1968 to an average of \$46,000 in 1976. Interest rates are also up 50 percent. When Lyndon Johnson left office, more than half the families in this country could afford their own homes. Eight years later, less than a third of our families can."

Address to the AFL-CIO  
Dearborn, Michigan  
September 15, 1976

"Under the Nixon-Ford Administration, interest rates have reached their highest levels since the Civil War.

- 1.) Interest rates for triple A bonds issued by our strongest corporations have averaged almost eight percent under the Nixon-Ford Administration, compared to less than five percent during the Kennedy-Johnson years. Less credit worthy corporations have had to pay much higher rates or been unable to borrow long term at all.
- 2.) Short-term interest rates on bank loans to businesses have increased from an average of 5 1/2 percent during the Kennedy-Johnson Administration to 8 percent during the Nixon-Ford years.
- 3.) Interest rates on new home mortgages have moved from an average of less than 6 percent under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson to 8 1/2 percent under Presidents Nixon and Ford (and are presently about 9 percent)."

Economics of Stagnation Statement  
September 14, 1976

"The rate of new housing starts is lower today than it was in 1968. The average cost of a new home has increased from \$30,000 in 1968 to \$46,000 today. The rate of unemployment among construction workers is 17 percent.

1. The number of new private housing units started is lower today (1,387,000 units as of July) than it was in 1968 (1,500,000 units).
2. The explanation for this decline in the housing sector may be found in a stagnant economy and record high interest rates and housing prices. Interest rates on new home mortgages have moved from an average of less than 6 percent during the Kennedy-Johnson years to an average of about 8 1/2 percent under the Nixon-Ford Administration (and are presently about 9 percent). The average cost of a new home has moved from \$30,000 in 1968 to 46,000 today, and the monthly mortgage payment has gone from \$154 to \$288.
3. Unemployment among construction workers is 17 percent."

Economics of Stagnation Statement  
September 14, 1976



"I would like to channel as much of that encouragement as I can to the family who is trying to purchase that first home."

Associated Press Interview  
Washington, D.C.  
September 17, 1976

"One of the reasons that houses cost so much is that there are so few of them being built. In multi-family home units in July alone, there was a 30 percent decrease in housing starts. Overall, there was a 9 percent decrease in that month alone. Ordinarily, we've been producing about 2 million houses per year. Last year we only produced about 1 million new home units. We've got about an 18 percent unemployment rate in construction. We don't have any government programs that are predictable except the Section 208 program, which subsidizes rent.

"I would also concentrate on reducing interest rates. I think there needs to be a better long-range commitment to housing programs, with some last resort government payment of interest rates if they exceed a certain level.

"But the main thing about the housing industry is predictability--similar to farming. You have to know three years, four years, five years ahead of time what the government is going to be doing, and the hit or miss approach to better housing construction is one of the things that exacerbates inflation."

Business Week Interview  
September 20, 1976

"We've just begun to address the housing question. I think this last month we had the highest rate of new homes that were begun to be constructed in the history of our country.

"We're trying to hold down interest rates as best we can. We're trying to supplement low-cost housing, and we're trying, through the community block grant program, under the Housing and Urban Development Department, to set aside I think about \$7 billion for the reconstitution of neighborhoods, the repair of old homes and the guarantee of loans for young families like your own."

Remarks in Los Angeles  
May 17, 1977

"The decline in residential construction in 1979 was about in line with expectations at the beginning of the year, although interest rates increased much more than had been anticipated. For the year as a whole, real residential construction was 6 percent below the high 1978 level, and new housing starts fell to about 1.74 million units from 2 million in the previous year. A decline in single-family starts to below 1.2 million units accounted for most of the overall reduction. Multifamily starts were only slightly below 1978 levels."

Economic Report of the President  
January, 1980



"A severe winter led to a drop of more than 20 percent in housing starts in the first quarter. Making up the resulting shortfall helped to sustain construction activity over the next 2 quarters, when housing starts exceeded an annual rate of 1.8 million. During the fourth quarter, housing starts dropped sharply to a rate of about 1.6 million in response to a marked increase in mortgage interest rates and reduced availability of mortgage credit.

"The rising cost of mortgage and construction financing depressed housing sales and starts only moderately until late in the year. Interest rates on mortgage loans rose a full percentage point--to about 11 percent--from late 1978 to September 1979. Nevertheless sales of both new and existing homes continued at a fairly high rate. While this strength was partly attributable to demographic trends, the perception of housing as a good hedge against inflation was a major factor sustaining demand. The average price of new homes, adjusted for changes in quality, increased by about 15 percent last year.

"Following Federal Reserve action in early October to tighten monetary policy, mortgage interest rates rose sharply, reaching levels well above usury limits in many States. In some cases these usury limits resulted in severe disruptions in local housing markets. In other States potential home buyers found mortgage credit less readily available as mortgage lenders raised down payments, made loans only to established depositors, and took other steps to reduce their lending. Housing starts fell by 14 percent in November to a 1.5 million annual rate and remained at that level in December."

Economic Report of the President  
January, 1980

## INFLATION

"There are far more humane and economically sound solutions to curbing inflation than enforced recession, unemployment, monetary restrictions and high interest rates."

Economic Position Paper for  
Now and Tomorrow  
April 22, 1976

"A constant effort to battle inflation must accompany our drive for full employment. This requires measures to:

--increase the productive capabilities of our economy, with increased attention to the supply side of our economy..."

Economic Position Paper for  
Now and Tomorrow  
April 22, 1976

"I don't see any reason why the permanent level of inflation can't be as low as 2 or 3 percent."

Fortune Magazine Interview  
May, 1976

"But I think just common sense shows that one of the major inflationary pressures has been brought about by very high unemployment rates."

Meet the Press  
July 11, 1976

"There has been a philosophy...that the best way to hold down inflation is to create a buffer supply of unemployed human beings. Any economic concept that thinks that the best way to control inflation is to keep people out of work is bankrupt, and our country cannot tolerate this any longer."

Jackson-Jefferson Day Dinner  
Charleston, West Virginia  
August 14, 1976

"Under Nixon and Ford, do you know what the average inflation rate has been per year? 6.9%. This is not progress."

Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner  
August 14, 1976

"An achievable goal, as determined by many independent economic advisors, and I am sure agreed to by you, is that we can bring the inflation rate down below 4 percent in four years with top competent management and with the commitment to a broad range of measures designed to stop inflation."

Speech to the AFL-CIO Board  
August 31, 1976

INFLATION--2

"This Administration will never let its guard down against inflation..."

Economic Recovery Program  
January 31, 1977

"The economic stimulus package can be implemented completely without any adverse effect, in my opinion, on inflationary pressures."

Dobbins Air Force Base, Georgia  
April 8, 1977

"...I believe that government, business, and labor together can, as an interim goal, reasonably aim at reducing the rate of inflation by two percentage points by the end of 1979..."

Anti-Inflation Program  
April 15, 1977

"Our goal is to reduce the inflation rate by 2 percent by the end of 1979..."

The President's News Conference  
April 15, 1977

"The human tragedy and waste of resources associated with policies of slow growth are intolerable, and the impact of such policies on the current inflation is very small."

Economic Report of the President  
January 20, 1978

"Our first task in combating inflation is to guard against a renewed outbreak of higher price increases in the future. Firm discipline over the Federal budget and a prudent monetary policy are the most important steps that can be taken."

Economic Report of the President  
January 20, 1978

"My Administration cannot and will not pursue policies in the future that threaten to trigger a new and more virulent round of inflation in this country."

Economic Report of the President  
January 20, 1978

"Our first and most direct efforts are within government itself. Where government contributes to inflation, that contribution must be lessened; where government expenditures are too high, that spending must be reduced; where government imposes an inflationary burden on business, labor, and the consumers, those burdens must be lightened; wherever government can set an example of restraint and efficiency, it must do so."

Anti-Inflation Policy  
April 11, 1978



"I am asking American workers to follow the example of federal workers and accept a lower rate of wage increases. In return they have a right to expect a comparable restraint in price increases for the goods and services they buy. Our national interest simply cannot withstand unreasonable increases in wages and prices. It's my responsibility to speak out firmly and clearly when the welfare of our people is at stake."

Speech to the American Society  
of Newspaper Editors  
May 1, 1978

"And I would say that I spend more time dealing with inflation and all of its ramifications than any other single subject."

Interview with the President  
July 28, 1978

"We have, at the same time, a continual problem of inflation that's been pressing upon us now for about 10 years, an underlying inflation rate of around six and one-half percent. The only way I know to deal with this is by very tough management of the Government."

Presidential Documents  
August 18, 1978

"The Federal Reserve Board doesn't consult with me before it takes any action. I deplore the rapid increases in interest rates that have occurred this year. I'm not an economist, but I think the board perhaps has put too much dependence on one single measuring rod--that is, the money supply figure, which fluctuates wildly."

Business Week  
August 21, 1978

"We have always had a very strong anti-inflation program."

The President's News Conference  
September 28, 1978

"Inflation has, therefore, been a serious problem for me ever since I became President. We've tried to control it, but we have not been successful."

Anti-inflation Program  
October 24, 1978

"And we will oppose any further reduction in Federal income taxes until we have convincing prospects that inflation will be controlled."

Anti Inflation Program  
October 24, 1978

INFLATION--4

"I think if we had a complete failure and inflation ran rampant, then the prospect for a recession and maybe a depression would be there. The definition of recession, the way I understand it, is zero growth for two quarters. We anticipate still a growth rate that's fairly substantial next year. Charlie Schultze's projections still, on which we base our budget preparations, is that if our inflation package is moderately successful, then the growth rate next year would average about 3 percent."

Presidential Documents  
November 16, 1978

"If we have a complete and abject failure in our anti-inflation program, then I think a recession or even a depression is a possibility...."

Presidential Documents  
November 16, 1978

"I just don't think we're going to have a substantial economic setback next year. I anticipate success with the anti-inflation program."

Interview With the President  
November 16, 1978

"I think it's obvious that we are determined to control inflation."

Democratic National Committee  
November 29, 1978

"We've not caused inflation."

Democratic National Committee  
November 29, 1978

"We can't continue to inflict the American people with rapidly increasing inflation and expect them to have confidence in us in the future."

Democratic National Committee  
November 29, 1978

"We have not successfully addressed the question of inflation."

New York Times  
December 13, 1978

INFLATION--5

"Inflation has been a serious problem for me ever since I became President. We have tried to control it, but we have not been successful. If there is one thing I have learned beyond any doubt, it is that there is no single solution for inflation. We must face a time of national austerity."

New York Times  
January 7, 1979

"There's an erroneous premise that exists in this country that to control inflation hurts poor people. The ones who suffer the most in our nation from rampant inflation are those who have fixed incomes that can't be changed..."

Wall Street Journal  
January 18, 1979

"My anti-inflation program includes first systematic review of Federal regulations to reduce their cost and to eliminate those whose costs are not warranted by their effects. I urge state and local governments to join us periodically in reviewing such regulations as those affecting construction, environmental protection and energy production to speed decisions and reduce burdensome and inflationary costs."

White House Conference  
on Balanced National Growth  
and Economic Development  
January 19, 1979

"This budget for fiscal year 1980 is lean and austere...this policy of restraint is not a casual one. It is imperative if we are to overcome the threat of accelerating inflation. If that threat is realized, it would severely disrupt our economy and the well being of our society."

New York Times  
January 23, 1979

"The challenge to us is to build a new and firmer foundation for the future--for a sound economy, for a more effective government, for more political trust, and for a stable peace, so that the America our children inherit will be even stronger..."

State of the Union  
January 23, 1979

"We know that inflation is a burden for all Americans, but it's a disaster for the poor, the sick, and the old. No American family should be forced to choose among food, warmth, health care, or decent housing because the cost of any of these basic necessities has climbed out of reach."

State of the Union  
January 23, 1979



INFLATION--6

"This budget is a clear message that, with the help of you and the American people, I am determined, as President, to bring inflation under control."

State of the Union  
January 23, 1979

"We must also fight inflation by improvements and better enforcement of our anti-trust laws and by reducing government obstacles to competition in the private sector.

"We must begin to scrutinize the overall effect of regulation in our economy. Through deregulation of the airline industry we've increased profits, cut prices for all Americans, and begun--for one of the few times in the history of our Nation--to actually dismantle a major Federal bureaucracy. This year, we must begin the effort to reform our regulatory processes for the railroad, bus, and the trucking industries."

State of the Union  
January 23, 1979

"America has the greatest economic system in the world. Let's reduce government interference and give it a chance to work."

New York Times  
January 24, 1979

"In our economy it is a myth that we must choose endlessly between inflation and recession. Together, we build the foundation for a strong economy with lower inflation without contriving either a recession with its high unemployment, or unworkable mandatory government controls."

New York Times  
January 24, 1979

"...reducing inflation must be our top economic priority."

Economic Report of the  
President  
January 25, 1979

"...government must do its job better. Reducing inflation will require budgetary austerity and moderation of economic growth."

Economic Report of the  
President  
January 25, 1979

"...we will not reduce inflation at the expense of the most vulnerable members of our society--the poor, the elderly, and those who have difficulty finding jobs even in a high-employment economy."

Economic Report of the  
President  
January 25, 1979