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"A large part of the worsening of inflation last year, however, stemmed from poor productivity."

Economic Report of the President January 25, 1979

"If we ignore the realities of slower productivity growth—if governments continue to press forward with unabated claims on resources, and private citizens continue to demand large gains in money incomes—our inflationary problem will worsen."

Economic Report of the President January 25, 1979

"Firm, sustained and carefully applied fiscal and monetary restraint must be the first element in our effort to reduce inflation."

Economic Report of the President January 25, 1979

"We will not try to wring inflation out of our economic system by pursuing policies designed to bring about a recession. That course of action would be unfair. It would put the heaviest burden of fighting inflation on those who can least afford to bear it. It also would be ineffective."

Economic Report of the President
January 25, 1979

"Although these actions by government will not, by themselves, bring inflation to an end, they are indispensable. They can create an environment that encourages voluntary cooperation with the pay and price standards. Without restraint by government, the pressures of an overheated economy easily could render meaningless the best efforts of businesses and workers to reduce price and wage increases."

Economic Report of the President January 25, 1979

"Reducing inflation must be the top priority of economic policy in 1979."

Washington Post January 26, 1979

#### INFLATION--8

"We anticipate good results from our anti-inflation effort. And this is mirrored in the projections for this year."

New York Times January 27, 1979

"For more than 10 years now we have lived with rising inflation. Now the program that we've set in force is beginning to work and if we all do our part we can succeed in reducing inflation in our country step by step."

New York Times February 13, 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

"An absolutely vital element in the fight against inflation is to restrain Federal spending. We cannot tolerate ever-increasing Federal spending. I am committed to a balanced budget, and that's a goal I intend to achieve."

Presidential Documents March 24, 1979

"And in my judgement, the anti-inflation program that we have now is the best and perhaps the only way to solve it.

"That program has four main parts: a tight budget and fiscal policy, leading to a balanced budget for our Nation; a tight monetary policy; reforms to attack unneeded regulation; and standards to help slow down the spiral of wages and prices chasing each other ever higher."

Speech in Portsmouth, New Hampshire April 25, 1979

"I'm not going to kid you about this. We are going to see rising price figures coming out week after week for the next few months. Presidents have too often in the past given in to the temptation just before elections to try sudden gimmicks but that has cost the country severely in long-term economic damage and I refuse to do it."

New York Times April 26, 1979 "I am fighting with the best of my ability to bring inflation under control and I am determined to win this fight. But I will not do it through a planned recession that will take jobs away from millions of Americans who want to work."

Fundraising Dinner,
Bedford, New Hampshire
April 25, 1979

"The inflation we have today has been gaining momentum for more than a decade. It can't be halted overnight, because it has seeped into the fabric of our economy. There is no easy solution to it and, frankly, anyone who says there is an easy solution is either a liar or a fool."

Washington Post April 26, 1979

"We have early indications that inflation is peaking out...I think before the end of the year it will be dropping. It is still going to be too high, but the trend will be in the right direction."

> Los Angeles Times May 6, 1979

"The Federal Reserve is directly responsible. We would be much better to have low inflation, low interest rates, and I am doing the best I can as President to bring them both down...The President has a direct rule by proposing budget deficits. We are doing all we can to hold down the federal deficit and control spending, but we have a long way to go."

Philadelphia Inquirer May 7, 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

"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

"An uncontrollable situation."

Washington Post September 23, 1979

"But one of the things that we have to remember is that inflation at a high level and unemployment at a high level are directly related. And one of the reasons that we have the prospect of higher unemployment in the future is because we have not been able to control the inflation rate."

> Question-and-Answer Session New York City, September 25, 1979

"I will not ever use inflation as a means to wring out our economy and make the poor or the unemployed suffer."

Question-and-Answer Session New York City, September 25, 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

"I am the fourth president who has tried to deal with inflation and so far we have not been successful...energy is the main threat and the main cause of high inflation. The oil prices raised by OPEC have caused 4 percent of our inflation rate."

Washington Star October 17, 1979

"The increase in the inflation rate is almost completely attributable to the rapid increase in OPEC oil prices imposed over our objection, and over which we have no control. The energy price increases are here. There's no way to avoid them."

Washington Post January 4, 1980

"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."

FY 1981 Budget

"We cannot, and will not, rest until reasonable price stability has been achieved."

Annual Message to the Congress January 30, 1980

## INFLATION--II

"Over the longer term, we will either bring inflation down or it will assuredly get worse."

Wall Street Journal January 31, 1980

"As President I must tell the truth about inflation."

Speech to the Consumer Federation of America February 7, 1980

"Domestically, the most significant challenge that I face is a high inflation rate, which is attributable in a major degree to the fact that after all these years we still do not have a comprehensive energy policy."

Washington Star February 26, 1980

"Inflation is a symptom of economic distress. The truth is that we have inflation because our economy is not productive enough to do all the things that we demand of it."

Letter to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate March 14, 1980

"Our whole society, the entire American family, must try harder than ever to live within its means."

Letter to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate March 14, 1980

"So, in my judgment the best thing that I could do for the people about whom I am deeply concerned, the disadvantaged and the poor, is to take every step to control inflation."

The President's News Conference March 14, 1980

"There are no quick answers to inflation and above all no painless answers. If there were any such solutions, they would have been implemented long ago..."

Congressional Quarterly March 15, 1980

In speaking of his anti-inflation program Mr. Carter said, "Finally, let me say that we must tell the truth. There cannot be any dissembling, any misleading statements, any equivocation, any falsehood, any false hopes raised in the minds of the American people. The credibility of this entire process is crucial to its success."

White House Briefing on Inflation and Energy March 20, 1980

"I would like to point out that...the basic (economic) policies that we have espoused suit me fine."

National Journal March 22, 1980

"Oil imports are the greatest single factor in the high inflation rate which afflicts our country."

Presidential Documents April 29, 1980

"And following that, we believe and I predict to you that during these next few months—during the summer months—we'll have a sharp drop in the inflation rate, which will be gratifying to all Americans, particularly those who are poor or who are old or who are living on fixed incomes and who are least able to pay that 15 or 20 percent tax on them caused by inflation."

White House Briefing for Community Leaders
May 27, 1980

"Of the 20 most modern and productive steel plants in the world, not a single one is in the United States. And our productivity advantage over other industrialized nations is narrowing fast. Their rate of increase in productivity is greater than our own."

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

"We have laid the foundation for a sustained period of economic recovery and economic growth, based on lower inflation and interest rates."

Presidential Documents August 6, 1980

## SMALL BUSINESS

"I produce certified seed on my farm--mostly peanuts. And I process peanuts now, starting this past year, for the market. I know what it means to meet a payroll. I know what it means not to waste my own money. I know what it means to have balanced budgets. I know what it means as governor not to waste the taxpayer's money."

Speech in Birmingham, Alabama September 13, 1976

"First of all, we need to have more private investment participation in loans for the new starting business. We need to have more equity capital and not debt financing."

Speech in Birmingham, Alabama September 13, 1976

"We need to increase the opportunity for sales of products produced in small business."

Speech in Birmingham, Alabama September 13, 1976

"We need to have tough enforcement of the antitrust laws. Our system of private enterprise must be preserved. And when the government does anything to lessen competition it hurts us all. It hurts the small businessman, it hurts big business, and particularly it hurts consumers. Tough enforcement of the anti-trust laws is mandatory."

Speech in Birmingham, Alabama September 13, 1976

"As President, I would reorganize the federal government into an efficient competent, honest and open government, developing policies and programs which are fair and equal to the small businessman and woman."

Position Paper, Small Business October II, 1976

"We will move this economy out of its present state of stagnation, thus providing greater opportunity for growth and expansion and enabling thousands of men and women to start their own businesses."

Position Paper, Small Business October II, 1976

"I consider small business to be the heart and soul of our free enterprise system."

Position Paper, Small Business October II, 1976 "Currently there are at least nine agencies and departments charged with the direct responsibility of assisting small business...Reorganization and consolidation of these functions involved with the SBA programs will be given priority in my administration."

Position Paper, Small Business October II, 1976

"As President, I will see that small business has a strong voice in the White House and personally work to stimulate a new wave of scientific and technological creativity which will create new businesses, new jobs, new products, new markets and get America back on the move."

Position Paper, Small Business October II, 1976

"As President, I would introduce and support concrete programs which would have as high priority the expansion of the independent small business sector of the economy. To measure the success of these programs, my administration would develop specific statistical yardstick formulas to measure the relative growth of small business in relationship to other sectors of the economy."

Position Paper, Small Business October II, 1976

"...a revision of the income tax structure would help a great deal, and elimination of paperwork and forms and reports and guidelines and directives and regulations, that pour out in a constant stream from Washington, ought to be stopped to a major degree. And I'm committed to do that."

Presidential Documents March 16, 1977

"One of the most aggravating programs, and I think a good program, is the OSHA program. But it's despised by many business people because of the way it has been administered in the past."

> Presidential Documents March 16, 1977

"Another thing that we can do is to have the Commerce Department help open up foreign trade opportunities for small business people."

> Presidential Documents March 16, 1977

## SMALL BUSINESS--3

"In 1978, we will continue efforts to support small business through tax cuts and special tax incentives, reduced regulations, and other programmatic reforms, and expanded SBA loan authority."

> Presidential Documents January 19, 1978

"I'm a small businessman myself. I own a cotton gin, a peanut shelter. I sold fertilizing seed to farmers. I know what it means to have unnecessary reports and regulations and red tape. So, we've got some good people in office now, in Washington, who are trying to turn this trend around."

Presidential Documents August 5, 1978

"I am withholding my approval of H.R. 11445, omnibus amendments to the Small Business Act and the Small Business Investment Act."

Presidential Documents October 25, 1978

"I herewith report a revision to a previously transmitted resci ssion proposal for the Small Business Administration. This revision decreases the amount previously proposed by \$6.0 million."

Presidential Documents March 15, 1979

"One of the most important responsibilities that I have as President is to make sure that in the 1980's, and also now, we have a strong and vital economy with adequate job opportunities and with the competitive position of our country maintained in world markets and also giving our own people a better quality of life."

Presidential Documents October 31, 1979

"We will establish two corporations for industrial development, specifically to assist small businesses."

Presidential Documents October 31, 1979

"We must...develop and maintain a climate conducive to industrial innovation. The federal government must take the lead in creating that climate."

Presidential Documents October 31, 1979

#### SMALL BUSINESS--4

"Government regulation sometimes poses special problems for small business."

Presidential Documents October 31, 1979

"...in my present job, I carry out one of the important small business traditions. As you know, I live right next to the store where I work."

Presidential Documents January 13, 1980

"...we are reducing the cost of regulation on our economy and at the same time encouraging more competition."

Presidential Documents January 13, 1980

"Our efforts to control inflation, maintain high levels of employment, and stimulate productivity and economic growth depend in large measure upon a strong small business sector."

Presidential Documents
January #, 1980

"Inflation is one of the most vexing and intractable problems we face as a Nation. It afflicts all segments of our society, but some elements are especially vulnerable. Small business is one of the sectors that is particularly hard hit."

Presidential Documents
January 14, 1980

"During a period of high inflation and accompanying high interest rates, many small businesses may face special financing problems."

Presidential Documents
January 14, 1980

"This year marks the high point of three years of accomplishment for small business under my Administration."

Presidential Document January 21, 1980

"There is no doubt in my mind that the small business conference, and the way it was handled, has been one of the major forces in strengthening the American economy and our free enterprise system."

> Washington Post May 16, 1980

## SOCIAL SECURITY

"My proposal for decoupling would assure to workers retiring in future years benefits which are the same proportion of recently earned wages as are the benefits of workers retiring now"

Position Paper, The Elderly September 22, 1976

"We should...move continually to make sure that the Social Security System always keeps pace with inflation."

Speech, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania October 28, 1976

"Treatment of the disabled should be improved, especially by shortening the waiting period before benefits can begin for those who deserve them."

Speech, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania October 28, 1976

"...we should encourage Social Security recipients who want to take jobs to do so by liberalizing the earnings test, which currently penalizes retirees who earn more than about \$2,600 per year."

Speech, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania October 28, 1976

"I am announcing today a set of proposals which...solve both the short-term and long-term problems in the Social Security system through the end of the twentieth century. These proposals are designed to:

- -- Prevent the default of the trust funds now predicted to occur.
- --Bring income and expenses into balance in 1978 and keep them that way through the end of the century.
- --Create sufficient reserves to protect the system against sudden decline in revenue caused by unemployment or other economic uncertainties.
- --Protect the system's integrity beyond the turn of the century to the extent we can predict what will happen in the next 75 years.
- --Provide for an orderly review and examination of the system's basic structure."

Presidential Documents
May 9, 1977

"I am instructing the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to appoint the independent Social Security Advisory Council required by law to meet each four years. I will ask the Council to conduct a thorough re-examination of the structure of the system, the adequacy of its benefits, the effectiveness and equity of disability definitions, and the efficiency and responsiveness of its administration. Their report,

which will be issued within the next two years, will provide the basis for further improvements."

Presidential Documents May 9, 1977

"I am happy to be here today to sign legislation which will reassure the 33 million people who are receiving benefits and the 104 million workers now making contributions that the Social Security System will be financially sound well into the next century."

Presidential Documents
December 20, 1977

"The taxes are higher than those I proposed, but I believe that much of the increase can be offset by my income tax reduction proposals next month and additional reform in the Social Security System."

Presidential Documents December 20, 1977

"As you know, the bill that was passed by Congress was much more costly to the working families, the taxpayers, than the one we proposed."

Presidential Documents February II, 1978

"I don't see any substantial change in the Social Security income and payments."

Presidential Documents February II, 1978

"We are convinced that the recommendations that I have made to the Congress to lower income taxes will compensate in almost every instance for the increase in Social Security tax payments that were... increased last year."

Presidential Documents March 2, 1978

"It (Social Security) provides more effective protection against inflation than pension plans or savings."

Speech, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania May 15, 1978

"...the Social Security system from time to time needs adaptation to changing conditions, so the Administration this year will make proposals which will reduce the cost of the program by trimming the costs of certain benefits."

Presidential Documents January 25, 1979

## SOCIAL SECURITY--3

"...it would be possible to consider a reduction in Social Security taxes beginning in 1981."

Presidential Documents January 25, 1979

"The Social Security System was bankrupt. It's now in a sound condition."

Presidential Documents March 31, 1979

"We must...address the continuing financial viability of the Social Security System..."

Presidential Documents January 21, 1980

"To help ensure the system's viability, I will propose legislation to permit borrowing among the seperate trust funds."

Presidential Documents January 21, 1980

#### TAXES

"...I favor a simplified tax system which treats all income the same, taxes all income only once, and makes our system of taxation more progressive."

Speech to Democratic Party June 16, 1976

"We will bring our new initiatives onstream carefully and prudently, without any increase in taxes and within the constraint of achieving a balanced budget by the end of my first term."

Position Papers III
Presidential Campaign 1976

"First, I think all income ought to be taxed basically the same. I see no reason to tax capital gains income, for instance, at half the rate of income earned from manual labor."

> Readers Digest October 1976

"I propose:

a. A \$50 non-refundable rebate of 1976 taxes for each taxpayer up to the limit of the taxpayer's liability."

Message to the Congress January 31, 1977

"We've had an overcollection of about \$3 billion from the American taxpayers...And I think the best thing to do with this extra money is to return it to the taxpayers immediately and directly, rather than having the Government spend it."

Dobbins Air Force Base, Georgia April 8, 1977

"My own approach to government is that when we do have a windfall of unexpended funds, plus increased tax collections, that the best approach would be to give it back to the taxpayers."

Dobbins Air Force Base, Georgia April 8, 1977

"I think to give them their part of their 1976 taxes back would be a good way to buy goods that would then cut down on inventories...But I don't know enough about it to say that that's the only possibility. In my opinion, it's the best approach."

Dobbins Air Force Base, Georgia April 8, 1977 "Michigan State public opinion poll has shown that about 78 percent of the American people favor the tax refund. And this always, of course, makes a good impression on Presidents and Members of Congress."

> Dobbins Air Force Base, Georgia April 8, 1977

"The recent improvements in all the economic indicators, the recent reduction in unemployment, the recent increase in the inflationary indicators, and the prospective impact of the new energy proposals-all have convinced me...we do not need to proceed in the Congress with the \$50 tax rebate, nor with the optional business tax credits."

Economic Stimulus Package April 14, 1977

"If I could unilaterally decide to initiate these two stimuli, the \$50 rebate and the business tax credits, I would not do it."

Economic Stimulus Package April 14, 1977

"My commitment and my hope is that the amount of money that was going to be spent on the tax rebate will be used to reduce the 1977 deficit."

Economic Stimulus Package April 14, 1977

"If the Congress should pass the Republican alternative, which is a permanent tax cut, I would veto it. I don't think the Congress is going to take that action, which would be irresponsible."

The President's News Conference April 15, 1977

"Well, I think the benefits to be derived from tax cuts in 1978 and 1979 will exceed any tax burdens that have been added onto the American people's shoulders by the Congress."

Conversation with the President December 28, 1977

"I am proposing a \$25 billion program of net tax reductions accompanied by substantial tax reforms."

Economic Report of the President January 20, 1978

"The tax reductions will more than offset the recent increase in social security taxes and will provide the consumer purchasing power and business investment strength we need to keep our economy growing strongly and unemployment moving down.

"Together with the programs that I will outline in my Budget Message, these tax cuts should assure that our economy will grow at a 4 1/2 to 5 percent pace through 1979, with unemployment declining to between 5 1/2 and 6 percent by the end of 1979. Without the tax cuts, economic growth would slow markedly toward the end of 1978 and fall to about 3 1/2 percent in 1979. Unemployment would be unlikely to fall below 6 percent and, by the end of 1979, might be moving upward.

"This tax program will mean up to one million additional jobs for American workers. It should lead to a pattern of economic growth which is steady, sustainable, and noninflationary."

Tax Reduction and Reform January 20, 1978

"Under this tax program, virtually all Americans will receive substantial tax relief, principally through a simple, across-the-board reduction in personal tax rates."

Tax Reduction and Reform January 20, 1978

"It's imperative that we raise the price of crude oil up to the world market price, to stabilize markets and also to reduce the waste brought about by excessive use. And what we want to do is to impose the tax, but return the tax collected directly to consumers..."

Presidential Documents August 18, 1978

"In the years beyond 1980, as we are successful in containing the growth in Federal spending and bringing down the rate of inflation, we can look toward reductions in Federal taxes. Rising real income and inflation, even at a reduced pace, push taxpayers into higher tax brackets and thereby raise the average effective tax rate. Both to sustain economic growth and to relieve citizens from unwarranted tax burdens, tax reductions will, from time to time, be highly desirable."

Annual Message to Congress January 25, 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

"Citizens all across our country are facing rising tax burdens because of increased social security taxes and because inflation pushes individuals into higher income tax brackets."

Economic Report of the President January 30, 1980

"As part of this anti-inflation program, I have used my existing authorities to impose a gasoline conservation fee on imported oil. In the budget revisions, I am proposing to replace this fee with an ad valorem equivalent gasoline tax that, at current prices, will yield 10 cents per gallon. I am also proposing the withholding of taxes on interest and dividend payments at the source to ensure that Federal income taxes owed on those payments are in fact paid, and paid promptly. The resulting receipts will not be used to balance the 1981 budget."

Budget Revisions March 31, 1980

"If the Congress should pass tax legislation absent a sure commitment, enough to satisfy me, that the budget for 1981 will be balanced, yes, I would veto such legislation."

American Society of Newspaper Editors April 10, 1980

"Well the question that's come up, of course, is whether to have a stimulative tax reduction. I see no prospect of having a stimulative tax reduction in effect this year. But we will move, if we can cut down excessive federal spending in accordance with the balanced budget proposal I made to the Congress, and if I'm sure that the tax reduction will not be inflationary in nature, we will begin to prepare for a tax reduction to be considered for application in 1981, but not this year."

Face the Nation June 1, 1980

"We will stand firm, hold a steady course on economics. It is not easy to promise magic answers from massive tax cuts. This has been proposed by some, but I will not do that until I am sure that we are in control of inflation. And until I am sure that the Federal Government has exercised proper discipline in setting an example for the rest of the Nation, I see no reason for moving ahead on a tax cut."

The Economy July 17, 1980

## TRANSPORTATION

#### TRANSPORTATION POLICY

"Priority now needs to be given not to developing massive new national transportation systems, except in the case of public transportation, but rather to achieving more effective utilization of the existing rail, highway and airport networks."

Platform Program
New York, New York
June 16, 1976

"The present patch-work scheme of rail, truck and airline regulation at the federal level needlessly costs consumers billions of dollars every year. However valid the original purpose of promoting fledgling industry and protecting the public from the tyranny of monopoly or the chaos of predatory competition, the present system has more often than not, tended to discourage desirable competition."

Platform Program
New York, New York
June 16, 1976

"We will also continue our policy of increasing competition and reducing air fares in international flights and pursue additional bilateral agreements. Consumers have already benefited from reduced international fares and improved services."

State of the Union Address January 19, 1978

"This year we will build on the efforts we made last year to strengthen the Nation's transportation system by decreasing consumer cost, pursuing increased energy efficiency and improving safety."

State of the Union Address January 19, 1978

"I share your (Brock Adams) belief that our country's system of transportation can and must be greatly improved in the future."

Letter to Brock Adams upon his resignation as Secretary,
Department of Transportation
July 20, 1979

"Although we have developed an extraordinary transportation system, we have missed opportunities in the past to improve transportation and at the same time to achieve these other national objectives."

Message to Congress
"Environmental Priorities and Programs"
August 2, 1979

"We have done a great deal to make our transportation policies and actions more sensitive to our national environmental and energy goals. We can do a great deal more with cooperation of state and local governments as our partners in the national transportation system."

Message to Congress
"Environmental Priorities and Programs"
August 2, 1979

"We all have an interest in public transit because we all have interest in solving the problem of energy...Dependence on foreign oil threatens our economy. It threatens our security. It threatens our very future. Therefore, we must stop and then reverse its growth. Public transit can help us do that.

"Cutting our reliance on foreign oil will curb inflation, strengthen our dollar, and stimulate new jobs. Public transportation is part of this chain of support - saving energy, adding jobs, and improving the overall quality of life in our nation's cities."

Speech
Annual meeting of the American
Public Transit Association
New York, New York
January 9, 1980

"Transportation is vital. The difference between a healthy transportation network and a broken-down highway or a dying railroad is the difference between jobs and joblessness for thousands of people and between strength and weakness for our nation..."

August Economic Renewal Speech Washington Star August 29, 1980

RAIL SERVICE AND AMTRAK

"The reorganization and revitalization of our railroad system remains one of the most important and pressing issues in transportation today. We must deal not only with the immediate problems of the bankrupt railroads of the northeastern and midwestern states, but with longer-range questions focusing on the role of railroads in the future of this country's transportation needs."

The Constructor Magazine Interview October 1976

"Government policies which provide a billion dollars a year for air travel but demand that railroads pay their own track and railbed expenses cannot continue. Our interest must be the public good; the interdependence of all systems must be recognized."

The Constructor Magazine Interview October 1976

"For several years attempts have been made to put Amtrak on a more stable financial footing and to discontinue services that have large operating losses without providing substantial benefits. This bill provides a procedure for bringing about a quick, significant restructuring of Amtrak's route system."

Statement on signing the Amtrak Improvement Act of 1978 October 5, 1978

"Deregulation presents the only viable option to either massive increases in federal subsidies to the railroad or increased government intervention in their operation."

Washington Star March 24, 1979

"What we proposed on Amtrak several months ago was to eliminate those Amtrak services where the cost per passenger mile exceeded those by automobile or other means. These were routes and scheduled trips where people had almost abandoned them."

Interview with the President by Editors and News Directors
July 27, 1979

"I want to demonstrate that trains represent the future and not the past in transportation in America.

"In recent years there have been too many bankruptcies, too many terminations of rail service, to a great degree brought about by excessive Government regulation. Amtrak must become more efficient, more comfortable and more economical."

New York Times August 8, 1979

TRANSPORTATION INDUSTRY

"I think that in the transportation industry some of the regulatory agencies are counterproductive to what's best for the consumers. And my primary interest, almost exclusive interest, would be what's best for the consumers of this country."

"Also in my appointments to regulatory boards, I would lean quite heavily toward appointments that would favor the consumer. And I would try to minimize, to whatever extent possible, the sweetheart arrangements that exist between regulatory agencies and industries being regulated."

Fortune Magazine Interview
May 1976

## AIRLINES

"This legislation will permit us to achieve two critical objectives. One is to help our fight against inflation. And the other one is to ensure American citizens of an opportunity for low-priced air transportation."

Remarks on signing the Airline Deregulation Act of 1978 October 24, 1978

"It will also mean less Government interference in regulation of an increasingly prosperous airline industry."

Remarks on signing the
Airline Deregulation Act of 1978
October 24, 1978

"Competition has already helped both consumers and the industry. It has brought lower fares, more passengers, and higher profits. In the future, of course, regulation of air safety will continue, as it has in the past, under another Government agency."

Remarks on signing the
Airline Deregulation Act of 1978
October 24, 1978

"With this act, airlines can reduce their fares up to 50 percent, opening up air travel to millions of Americans who would not otherwise be able to afford it."

Remarks on signing the Airline Deregulation Act of 1978 October 24, 1978

"For the first time in decades, we have deregulated a major industry. When I announced my own support of airline deregulation soon after taking office, this bill had few friends. I'm happy to say that today it appears to have few enemies."

Remarks on signing the Airline Deregulation Act of 1978 October 24, 1978

HIGHWAYS

"Most of the nation's basic highway and street system has been similarly permitted to deteriorate."

Platform Program
New York, New York
June 16, 1976

"While federal aid to highways did not cause the current crisis in our nation's railroad system, it has had a definite impact. We need a more balanced approach to funding to stress our future, not our past needs."

Position Paper
"The Federal System"
1976

"We must substantially increase the amount of money available from the Highway Trust Fund for public mass transportation, study the feasibility of creating a total transportation fund for all modes of transportation, and change the current restrictive limits on the use of mass transit funds by localities so that greater amounts can be used as operating subsidies."

Platform Program
New York, New York
June 16, 1976

"For 20 years, we have spent tens of billions of dollars on the Interstate Highway System while virtually ignoring public transportation. Our bus and subway systems have deteriorated, public use of them has declined, and deficits have mounted."

U.S. Conference of Mayors Milwaukee, Wisconsin June 29, 1976

"Our progress with the interstate and rural road systems, however, will reduce our future needs for new highways. We should shift attention to maintenance and modernization of the present system."

Position Paper
"The Federal System"
1976

"The Highway Trust Fund has served as an outstanding and successful mechanism for constructing an extensive and effective highway network in the United States. In doing so, the fund has also supported a major section of the U.S. economy, providing jobs, advancing technology, and changing the face of the American landscape. But we are now in an era in which the nation's transportation needs are changing."

Farm Journal Interview October 1976

"This year we will build on the efforts we made last year to strengthen the Nation's transportation system by decreasing consumer costs, pursuing increased energy efficiency, and improving safety."

State of the Union Address January 19, 1978

"In addition, we will make funding of transportation programs more uniform and give localities more control over highway and mass transit funds in large urban areas."

State of the Union Address January 19, 1978

"The Administration will propose legislation to strengthen our efforts for highway safety and to reduce restrictions on the states' use of Federal highway safety grant funds. That legislation will earmark funds for the Department of Transportation to support important highway safety projects, such as the 55 mile per hour speed limit program."

State of the Union Address January 19, 1978

"To achieve our objectives in this area, we propose a reorganization of a variety of highway and transit programs into a simpler and more manageable system of Federal assistance. Certain aspects of our new approach to these programs should be emphasized."

Message to the Congress proposing Tegislation on highway and transit programs January 26, 1978

"I propose to consolidate highway and transit planning funds and to distribute these funds as a single grant, under a formula to be determined by the Secretary of Transportation."

Message to the Congress proposing legislation on highway and transit programs
January 26, 1978

"Our first priority will be to complete the essential gaps in the Interstate System."

Message to the Congress proposing Tegislation on highway and transit programs January 26, 1978

"All incomplete Interstate segments must be under contract for construction and initial construction must have commenced by September 30, 1986."

Message to the Congress proposing legislation on highway and transit programs
January 26, 1978

"To meet the unique needs of small cities and rural communities, we propose a consolidated grant program for highways and transit for all areas with a population below 50,000, with the state as the recipient."

Message to the Congress proposing legislation on highway and transit programs
January 26, 1978

"The new program will provide assistance for both capital and operating expenses for public transportation in small urban and rural communities. Authorization for this program would come out of the Highway Trust Fund, but the Trust Fund would be reimbursed out of the General Fund for transit operating expenses."

Message to the Congress proposing Tegislation on highway and transit programs January 26, 1978

"In our Department of Transportation, we're trying to move toward special highway lanes for commuter passengers and for public transit vehicles, and this would amount to about \$250 million a year in extra help for these kinds of construction projects in this next decade."

Remarks at an Energy Conservation
Meeting
New Brunswick, New Jersey
October 25, 1979

## MASS TRANSPORTATION

"Mass transit, if properly supported, can serve as the means to encourage increased use of our cities as places of business, shopping and entertainment, and can correspondingly enable urban workers to reach jobs located in the suburbs, all with less pollution and energy use than the present system of transportation."

"Urban Policy for the Remainder of the Twentieth Century", New York, New York April 1, 1978

"We need to encourage mass transit as a means of energy conservation; strict fuel efficiency standards and ratings must be established for motor vehicles; rigid enforcement of energy saving speed limits is essential..."

Platform Program New York, New York June 16, 1976

"I think with the persuasion of the White House and possibly some tax incentives that industry would be encouraged to stay in the downtown area. Transportation allocation would help a great deal also."

New York, New York
June 22, 1976

"Although we must expedite final completion of the Interstate Highway System, we cannot allow mass transit to remain a national stepchild."

U.S. Conference of Mayors Milwaukee, Wisconsin June 29, 1976

"There is also a tremendous opportunity for relatively inexpensive transportation improvement by strong local action to provide offstreet parking, one-way streets, exclusive bus lines, limited unloading hours for downtown stores, more carpools and staggered working hours for public and private employees."

U.S. Conference of Mayors Milwaukee, Wisconsin June 29, 1976

"We are spending enormous amounts of money putting in subways when just offstreet parking and one-way streets might solve some of the problems."

"Meet the Press" Interview
New York, New York
July 11, 1976

"In the field of transportation, we have seen a derogation of the quality of our railroads, inadequate attention given to mass transit."

"Meet the Press" Interview
New York, New York
July 11, 1976

"Millions of Americans with impaired sight or motor abilities, including many of the elderly, are unable to drive automobiles and must depend on friends for public transportation. In our automobile-oriented society this can mean a catastrophic curtailment of activities. The problem is particularly critical in small towns and rural areas in which little or no public transportation may exist. We need to address this problem - first by providing the types of transportation facilities and services that can be of greatest use to the elderly in accomplishing their daily tasks, and second by helping to subsidize the elderly to pay for these services."

"Many older Americans cannot drive automobiles because of physical problems or because they cannot afford them. This can mean a terrible loss of mobility in our big, mobile, auto-oriented society.

"One way we might help solve this problem would be to provide subsidies through the Urban Mass Transit Administration to cities that provide free transit service to older people during off-peak hours. We might also encourage reduced air fares for the elderly such as we now have for college students and military personnel."

Speech at a Senior Citizens Breakfast in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania October 28, 1976

"As a consequence, America has, with the notable exception of urban mass transit (where substantial new construction needs remain), an essentially mature total transportation system. Priority now needs to be given not to developing massive new national transportation systems, except in the case of public transportation, but rather to achieving more effective utilization of the existing rail, highway, and airport networks."

The Farm Journal Interview October 1976

## UNEMPLOYMENT

"Unemployment nationally is at 7.6 percent--at least twice the acceptable level."

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

"In 1975, every fourth black worker was unemployed and the majority of them were ineligible for unemployment compensation. Teenage black unemployment in some areas of America approaches the staggering figure of 40 percent."

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

"I would put the top priority on employment and holding down interest rates. I don't believe this would have too much of an adverse effect on inflationary spirals."

Interview with Jimmy Carter
Encore American & Worldwide News
April 5, 1976

"We must give highest priority to achieving a steady reduction of unemployment and achieving full employment ..."

An Economic Position Paper for Now and Tomorrow April 22, 1976

"My economic advisers and I agree that until you get the unemployment rate down below 5 percent, there's no real danger of escalating inflationary pressures. I would also favor additional money supply, carefully controlled, but I think a little more than we've had..."

Interview with Mr. Carter May 1976 Fortune Magazine

"My own belief is that we can get the adult unemployment rate down to 3 percent, or the overall rate down to 4.5 percent, without any adverse effect on inflation."

Business Week Interview May 3, 1976

"...on careful analysis, on econometric computer models and likewise, that we can have down to 3 percent adult unemployment at the end of 3 years or 4 years with a minimum amount of inflationary pressures, still keep the inflation rate down to 4 or 5 percent..."

Meet The Press Interview July 11, 1976

# UNEMPLOYMENT-22

"But the point is we'll never have a balanced budget-we'll never have an end to this inflationary spiral as long as we have 7 1/2 or 8 million people out of work who are looking for jobs."

Campaign Speech, Columbus, Ohio October 16, 1976

"But my primary concern is still jobs, and these one-time tax rebates are the only quick, effective way to get money into the economy and create those jobs."

Report to the American People February 2, 1977

"I think it makes more sense for the Government to help workers stay on the payroll than to force them onto unemployment benefits or welfare payments."

Report to the American People February 2, 1977

"I think that if you deliberately accept unemployment as a means to control inflation, that's wrong."

President's News Conference April 15, 1977

"...I'm inalterably opposed to fighting inflation by keeping unemployment high and factories idle."

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

"And I believe that we cannot satisfy our needs unless we are competent and efficient. We can cut both unemployment and inflation. And I believe that our policies will help us reach both goals."

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

"Over the next several years I believe we can increase our real output by 4 1/2 to 5 percent per year, and reduce unemployment by about one-half of a percentage point each year."

Economic Report of the President January 20, 1978

We will not solve inflation by increasing unemployment."

Speech to American Society of Newspaper Editors
May 1, 1978

"So I think that judging by our past experience in the last 12 months or less that we've not seen any indication that the higher interest rates charged are heading us toward a recession and high unemployment."

Presidential Documents August 18, 1978

## **UNEMPLOYMENT--3**

"And many economists have even predicted that we're going to have a recession or depression next year. We don't think we will."

Presidential Documents October 17, 1978

"We have tried to approach the control of inflation in a responsible way without creating a recession or unemployment."

Washington Post February 25, 1979

"We are in the midst of the longest economic boom in our history. We have reduced unemployment by 25% in our nation as a whole... We have put America back to work."

Washington Post April 8, 1979

"I am determined to sustain our economy's progress toward high employment and rising real income with both existing programs and with new very carefully targeted incentives to encourage private business to hire the hard-core unemployed."

> Vital Speeches of the Day Speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors May I, 1979

"I think our economy is very stable...I don't think we will have a recession and none of my economic advisors think we will have a recession."

Los Angeles Times May 6, 1979

"We simply cannot check inflation by keeping people out of work."

Newsweek July 26, 1979

"We cannot conquer inflation by sacrificing the jobs of working Americans."

New York TImes September 4, 1979

"But one of the things that we have to remember is that inflation at a high level and unemployment at a high level are directly related. And one of the reasons that we have the prospect of higher unemployment in the future is because we have not been able to control the inflation rate."

Question-and-Answer Session New York City September 25, 1979

## UNEMPLOYMENT--4

"In fighting inflation we do not sacrifice construction jobs. While interest rates have been climbing to record levels because of decisions by the Federal Reserve Board, we have taken special financial measures to sustain credit for construction, especially housing construction."

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

Washington Post October 12, 1979

"We're doing everything we can to avoid a recession and so far we've been successful."

Domestic Affairs Economic Policy October 28, 1979

"I think our projections show that the unemployment rate is likely to go up as high as 7 percent at the time of the end of this year. By that time, we believe, however, that the inflation rate and the interest rates will drop enough to have stimulated the economy to put people back to work."

Question and Answer Session with Reporters from Pennsylvania April 18, 1980

"A technical definition of a recession is when you have two succeeding quarters with a negative growth. We've not had two succeeding quarters with a negative growth."

Question and Answer Session Westinghouse Broadcasting Company, Inc. April 18, 1980

"I'm very conscious of the fact that we have high unemployment in our country."

Question and Answer Session Temple University Philadelphia May 9, 1980

"...we've alleviated the high unemployment rate that I did inherit when I came into office in January of 1977."

Face the Nation June 1, 1980

## URBAN AFFAIRS

"But our cities are facing a crisis which can no longer be avoided. Many of our major cities are rapidly losing population to smaller communities and to surrounding suburbs....Just as people have left many of our urban areas, so too have businesses and jobs...New forms of revenue have not been made available to localities to replace their shrinking tax base. Crime and fear of crime in our major urban areas keep people out of our cities and make our cities places of forboding rather than hope."

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

"Our country has no urban policy or defined goals, and so we have floundered from one ineffective and uncoordinated program to another."

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

"We need a coordinated urban policy from a federal government committed to develop a creative partnership with our cities for the survival of urban America in the balance of the 20th Century."

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

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

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

"These incentives to private industry should be geared directly toward the provision of jobs for the unemployed, and toward encouraging industry to locate new plants and offices in urban areas where unemployment is high."

Urban Policy for the Remainder of the Twentieth Century New York City April I, 1976 "...Therefore, I propose the following program of public employment...
Passage of an accelerated public works program which would help
create new jobs, 80 percent in the private sector for our young people."

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

"...It is time that we broke the welfare and poverty cycle of our poor people."

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

"For too long, the doors of the White House have been shut to the needs of the cities and to the mayors who represent them."

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

"Many of our major cities are caught in a crisis which cannot be fully resolved at the local level."

Jimmy Carter's Platform Program June 16, 1976

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

"We need a coordinated federal urban policy that recognizes that our urban problems stem from a variety of factors, each of which must be dealt with directly and forcefully--problems of urban decay, declining tax base, crime, unemployment, lack of urban parks and open spaces."

> Jimmy Carter's Platform Program June 16, 1976

"I pledge to you an urban policy based on a new coalition--recognizing that the President, governors, and mayors represent the same urban constituency.

I pledge to you that if I become President, you, the mayors of America, will have a friend, an ally, and a partner in the White House."

Urban Policy Statement
U.S. Conference of Mayors
June 29, 1976

"The mayors of America will have direct access to the White House to get prompt assistance on any problems that may arise."

Urban Policy Statement
U.S. Conference of Mayors
June 29, 1976

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

"We have never really had a comprehensive urban policy in this country, although we have been moving toward one, in fits and starts, for several decades."

Urban Policy Statement
U.S. Conference of Mayors
June 29, 1976

"Finally federalism is not going to mean anything until the federal government sets its own house in order. I intend as President to direct a complete reorganization of the Executive Branch of the federal government along rational functional lines, one that will enable Washington to work more effectively with you in responding to the urban crisis."

Urban Policy Statement
U.S. Conference of Mayors
June 29, 1976

"We also need Presidential leadership in helping cities meet their housing and transportation needs."

Urban Policy Statement
U.S. Conference of Mayors
June 29, 1976

"In order to have a comprehensive urban strategy, federal, state and local governments must provide incentives to direct the resources of private enterprise into our cities. Our national urban partnership would be incomplete without the creative involvement of private resources. The public sector cannot rebuild our cities alone. An optimum public-private partnership must be forged.

"In this era of scarce resources, the federal government can help magnify limited public sector funds by engaging substantial private sector investment in our cities."

Urban Policy Statement
U.S. Conference of Mayors
June 29, 1976

## **URBAN AFFAIRS--4**

"A nation that can send men to the moon can meet its urban needs. It is a matter of priorities, of leadership, and of determination.

"I think we stand at a turning point in history. If, a hundred years from now, this nation's experiment in democracy has failed, I suspect that historians will trace that failure to our own era, when a process of decay began in our inner cities and was allowed to spread unchecked throughout our society."

Urban Policy Statement
U.S. Conference of Mayors
June 29, 1976

"The states need a compassionate partner in Washington--a partner that will provide predictable, adequate assistance to enable states to meet their legitimate needs. But they also need an efficient partner in Washington--a partner that understands the virtures of forbearance, a partner that knows what the states can do as well as what they cannot."

Statement at the National Governor's Conference July 6, 1976

"We will have a government structure that encourages rather than stifles local flexibility. I believe it is time that the federal government recognized that states and localities retain a special knowledge of local problems, and that responsive and flexible state and local leadership is essential to representative government in this nation."

Governor's Conference
July 6, 1976

"If a balanced partnership is to prevail, it is necessary that governors and mayors be involved, not only in the review of categorical grants, but in the formulation of legislation and the promulgation of regulations as well."

Statement at the National Governor's Conference July 6, 1976

"And I think the federal government, working with the local governments particularly, could orient new manufacturing and factory jobs downtown more than they have in the past.

"I think it would be a good thing for the federal government, working with the local governments, to try to orient the jobs where the people live, rather than to move the people away from where they are now, out to where the jobs have been created inadvertently sometimes or inadvisedly."

Meet the Press, New York City July 11, 1976 "Neighborhoods and families are the living fiber that holds our society together. Until we place them at the very top of our national policy, our hopes for the nation, and our goals for our private lives, will not be attained.

"But for too many years, urban policy has been an enemy of the neighborhoods--and of the families, too."

Urban Policy Statement Brooklyn College September 6, 1976

"We have to restore both the suburbs and the cities in this country, instead of attacking them both. We must have a partnership--between a government which knows its limits, a private sector which is encouraged to do the right things, and the people, in their families, and neighborhoods, and voluntary organizations."

Urban Policy Statement Brooklyn College September 6, 1976

"Contrary to any previous reports, the urban policy has come through strong and unscathed. And I come this afternoon to address not recipients of the urban policy, but those of you who participated so deeply and sincerely and effectively in the evolution of it."

Remarks Announcing Urban Policy March 27, 1978

"The urban policy I am announcing today will build a New Partnership involving all levels of government, the private sector, and neighborhood and voluntary organizations in a major effort to make America's cities better places in which to live and work. It is a comprehensive policy aimed both at making cities more healthy and improving the lives of the people who live in them."

Message to Congress March 27, 1978

"Three-fourths of the people in this country live in urban areas. And I think it's accurate to say, without casting blame on anyone, that in the past, before last year, the problems of the downtown central city and other urban areas were becoming much more crucial and critical, and people were disturbed and were losing confidence in the future."

National Urban Policy Remarks August 16, 1978 "I hope that this Government action and I expect this Government action will take root in the private sector and that that might be an additional commitment on the part of business and industry, professional leaders, to take the same kind of action to strengthen the backbone of our major cities and to build up jobs and further investments there."

National Urban Policy Remarks August 16, 1978

"The partnership I am proposing today will focus the full energies of my administration on a comprehensive, long term effort. It will encourage states to redirect their own resources to support their urban areas more effectively. It will encourage local governments to streamline and coordinate their own activities. It will offer incentives to the private sector to make new investments in economically depressed communities and it will involve citizens and neighborhood and voluntary organizations in meeting their economic and social needs of their communities."

New York Times March 28, 1979

"...we learned an important lesson: that the Federal Government alone has neither the resources nor the knowledge to solve all urban problems... We learned that states and localities cannot solve the problems by themselves. These experiences taught us that a successful urban policy must build a partnership that involves the leadership of the Federal Government and the participation of all levels of the government, the private sector neighborhood and voluntary organizations and individual citizens."

New York Times March 28, 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 November 12, 1979

In regard to General Revenue Sharing, "I will propose a reauthorization of this important program to our state and local governments, in order to continue providing them with the funds that they depend upon to meet essential social and operating needs. This program is an essential element of the partnership I have forged with state and local governments and is critical to the continued economic health of our states, cities and counties."

In regard to Countercyclical Revenue Sharing, "I will again work with the Congress to provide the aid needed to help our most financially pressed local areas. The Senate has already acted and I urge prompt House passage early in the Session."

## URBAN AFFAIRS--7

"There will be less federal aid for cities." (The cuts) "will go beyond simply eliminating waste. There will be cuts in good, worthwhile programs, which I have supported and some which we have developed together to help your cities."

Baltimore Sun March 18, 1980

## WELFARE

"...It is time that we broke the welfare and poverty cycle of our poor people..."

Urban Policy for the Remainder of the Twentieth Century, NYC April 1, 1976

"...I propose a single, fair, uniform, national program of welfare benefits funded in substantial part by the federal government with strong work and job incentives for the poor who are employable and with income supplementation for the working poor..."

"...The welfare burden should be removed from a city such as New York City with all welfare costs being paid by the federal and state governments."

Urban Policy for the Remainder of the Twentieth Century, NYC April 1, 1976

"...I do think the federal government and the state governments ought to take over the full responsibility of welfare...And as the increased costs of welfare come in the future, I think the federal government ought to take an increasing responsibility for those financial costs."

Fortune Magazine Interview May 1976

Q.: Would you change the welfare system?

Carter: "Yes; I would. I would not completely federalize it. To do so, it's estimated it would cost about \$20 billion, which would add to the federal budget without improving the quality of the system at all."

Business Week Interview May 3, 1976

"Another need in easing urban problems, as I have stressed throughout my campaign, is a complete overhaul of our welfare system.

Our present system is a failure deplored alike by those who pay for it, those who administer it, and those who supposedly benefit from it.

"About 10 percent of those on welfare are able to work full-time, and they should be offered job training and jobs. Any such person who refuses training or employment should not receive further welfare benefits."

Urban Policy Speech
U.S. Conference of Mayors
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
June 29, 1976

"A major item on your agenda is welfare reform. Throughout my campaign, I have stressed the urgent need for a complete overhaul of our nation's welfare system.

"Our present system is a failure deplored alike by those who pay for it, those who administer it, and those who supposedly benefit from it.

"We all know of the need to remove from our welfare rolls those individuals who are ineligible for, or are not in need of, assistance."

Statement to the National Governor's Conference July 6, 1976

"We should have a simpler national welfare program, with one fairly uniform standard of payment, adjusted to the extent feasible for cost-of-living differences by areas and with strong work incentives built in. In no case should the level of benefits make not working more attractive than working. And we should have welfare rules that strengthen families rather than divide families."

Statement to the National Governor's Conference
July 6, 1976

"We need an efficient and compassionate welfare system in this country. What we now have is neither of these."

Health and Welfare Statement Summer 1976

"Welfare cheaters flourish in the morass. In some cases, it is financially profitable for a recipient not to work. In others, the system encourages fathers to leave the home so the wife and children will receive increased benefits. Some combined welfare payments exceed the income of the average working family, while other needy families have difficulty obtaining a bare subsistence.

"We have been promised welfare reform for over a generation. The basic components of a fair and a workable program are well known. We do not yet have such a program because of a lack of political courage."

Health and Welfare Statement Summer 1976 "The basic welfare package which would provide, hopefully, a simple one payment to a person or family, would be guaranteed by the federal government on a fairly uniform basis throughout the country. A percentage of that package that would be paid for by the states would probably be based on the ability of the state to pay. I think there might be some difficulty among the states that pay practically no part of the cost; but still, if you put into the formula, which I think is only fair, the ability of the state to participate, the shock would be minimal."

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

"We now have a multiplicity of welfare programs that are very confusing, and also create havens for those who commit fraud or who cheat, and provide great inequities in overall payments."

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

"Like other categorical programs for the poor, the Food Stamp Program has become a morass of waste, fraud, and mismanagement. GAO reports have found that college students with average incomes as high as \$500 per month have been receiving stamps, and that waste and fraud may be costing the government \$23 million per month or more. A study in California found that as much as half or more of food stamp expenditures go for administrative overhead.

Obviously, we need to reform and tighten the system to insure that food stamps are only available to those who truly need them. This reform, however, should not consist of broad, blind cutbacks eliminating many of the elderly and poor from the rolls. More importantly, we need to consider food stamps as part of our overall program for welfare reform."

Nation's Health October 1976

"I would favor joint federal and state financing, with the combined state and local level frozen and then gradually absorbed by the federal government. We ought to phase out very rapidly any local financing for the welfare system."

> Reader's Digest October 1976

"I think the country is ready for a better, more comprehensive approach under the generic name of welfare. Welfare, to me, is not charity. Welfare, to me, is an interest in individual human beings, to let them stand on their own feet to the extent they are able to meet their own needs, to be proud, to have self-respect, and to feel that the services that we deliver to them are not handed down from a position of authority or superiority to an inferior, but handed as though we were the servants dealing with people who have let it be possible for us to serve."

Remarks at HEW February 16, 1977

"On May I, Joe Califano, a tough, knowledgeable administrator, who now is trying to bring order out of chaos in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, will come forward, after working with Mike Dukakis and many other Governors and local officials, and propose to the Congress a comprehensive revision of the entire welfare system. This has needed to be done for many years. It hasn't been done."

Remarks in Clinton, Massachusetts March 16, 1977

"Under the general leadership of Secretary of HEW Callfano, we've worked with other private and Government agencies during the last 3 months to assess the present welfare system and to propose improvements to it.

"It's much worse than we had anticipated. And although we've conducted hundreds of meetings around the country, and prepared documents and studies that are quite voluminous—and Joe has a briefcase full of them that he will exhibit in a few minutes—we've found that the complexity of the system demands a detailed analysis through computer models and working with Governors and with congressional leaders as well.

"I'd like to go over in a few minutes some of the problems with the present system, but I would like to point out that the most important unanimous conclusion is that the present welfare program should be scrapped entirely and a totally new system should be implemented."

Remarks at News Briefing May 2, 1977

"One of the basic principles that I described is to have a uniform payment by the Federal Government for welfare recipients around the country, varying in amount only enough to accommodate changes in the cost of living from one community to another."

> Remarks at News Briefing May 2, 1977

"As I pledged during my campaign for the Presidency, I am today asking Congress to totally scrap our existing welfare system and to replace it with a Program for Better Jobs and Income, which will provide job opportunities for those able to work and a simplified, uniform cash assistance program for those who are unable to work due to disability, age, or family circumstances.

"In May--I think May 1--after almost 4 months of intensive study, I said that the welfare system was worse than I had expected, and I stand by that conclusion."

"And finally, the complexity of current programs and regulations tends to waste, fraud, redtape, and errors. HEW has recently discovered even Government employees unlawfully receiving benefits and numbers of people receiving benefits in several different communities."

News Conference, Plains, Georgia August 6, 1977

"Every time you simplify a system and remove the complexities you eliminate one chance of fraud.

"Secretary Califano told me this morning that the estimated degree of fraud in the food stamp program, for instance—those who are not eligible to draw food stamps who do, those who get overpayments—amounts to about 17 percent.

"So, in addition to the benefits that will be derived when this entire program goes into effect, we have an excellent chance to realize savings from the elimination of fraud of about \$1.3 billion within the next 2 or 3 years just by simplifying, making more effective administration, a closer cooperation between the local, State, and Federal governments, and the computerization of the existing program, in preparation for the full implementation of this one.

"So, how much the fraud savings would be after this full program goes into effect, I can't say."

News Conference, Plains, Georgia August 6, 1977

"As I pledged during my campaign for the Presidency I am asking the Congress to abolish our existing welfare system, and replace it with a job-oriented program for those able to work and a simplified, uniform, equitable cash assistance program for those in need who are unable to work by virtue of disability, age or family circumstance. The Program for Better Jobs and Income I am proposing will transform the manner in which the Federal government deals with the income needs of the poor, and begin to break the welfare cycle."

"The program I propose will provide:

-- Job opportunities for those who need work...

--A Work Benefit for those who work but whose incomes are inadequate to support their families...

--Income Support for those able to work part-time or who are unable to work due to age, physical disability or the need to care for children six years of age or younger...

"This new program will accomplish the following:

- -- Dramatically reduce reliance on welfare payments...
- -- Ensure that work will always be more profitable than welfare...
- -- Combine effective work requirements and strong work incentives...
- --Provide increased benefits and more sensitive treatment to those most in need...
- -- Reduce complexity...
- --Provide strong incentives to keep families together...

- -- Reduce fraud and error...
- --Give significant financial relief to hard-pressed state and local governments."

Message to Congress August 6, 1977

"Our nation's welfare system remains a disgrace to both the recipient and the taxpayers. It encourages family instability and encourages waste. It is a crazy-quilt of differing provisions from state-to-state."

State of the Union Address January 21, 1980

"Within the framework of our present welfare system, my reform proposals offer achievable means to increase self-sufficiency through work rather than welfare, more adequate assistance to people unable to work, the removal of inequities in coverage under current programs, and fiscal relief needed by States and localities.

"Our current welfare system is long overdue for serious reform; the system is wasteful and not fully effective. The legislation I have proposed will help eliminate inequities by establishing a national minimum benefit, and by directly relating benefit levéls to the poverty threshold."

State of the Union Address January 21, 1980

In 1976, Jimmy Carter asked the question: "Why not the best?" In 1980, it's still a good question.

But he's not asking it anymore. Mr. Carter, instead, is asserting that what he's done during three and one-half years in the White House is the best he can do. It's clear -- Mr. Carter's best just isn't good enough by far.

The Carter Record is intended to catalogue Mr. Carter's performance in 19 key policy areas. It is intended to help answer the question of Mr. Carter's record, "What is the worst?" in each key issue area.

The 19 issue sections each contain three sub-sections:

- a summary page recounting the worst aspects of Carter performance;
- an analysis of from 5 to 15 pages in length, discussing Carter performance;
   and
- · an appendix setting out the quotations employed in the analysis for ready reference.

The last section, "On" Carter, is a collection of comments by various leaders and political figures, among others, on Jimmy Carter's performance.

A supplementary Carter quote file is now in preparation and will be sent to recipients of <u>The Carter Record</u> as soon as it is printed. This supplement, designed for inclusion in this book, will take the form of a fourth sub-section for each issue section and will consist of a more comprehensive set of Carter quotes on the issues.

The Carter Record is intended to be a research resource. Supplementary information can be obtained from the Republican National Committee's Public Affairs Department on request.