

## **Debate Issues [9]**

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QUESTION: Governor, what is your position on abortion?

ANSWER: As I have stated numerous times in the campaign, I personally disapprove of abortions. I do not believe government should encourage abortions nor pay for the cost of abortions. The efforts of government should be directed towards minimizing abortions. However, I do not support Constitutional amendments to overturn the current Supreme Court ruling on abortions. I do recognize the right of those who wish to amend the Constitution to do so and would certainly not impede the exercise of their rights to amend the Constitution on a matter about which they obviously feel they have a very strong religious and moral concern. If within the confines of the Supreme Court ruling we can work out legislation to minimize abortion with better family planning, adoption procedures, and contraception for those who desire it, I would favor such a law. Abortion is the result of the failure of measures to prevent unwanted pregnancies. Abortion should never be considered just as one of a number of equally acceptable methods of contraception.

LIKELY FOLLOW-UP QUESTION: But Governor, after you met with the U. S. Catholic Conference and their representatives, didn't you indicate that you might support some amendment to the Constitution which would be a partial ban on abortions?

ANSWER: The bishops indicated to me that their staff was working on some alternatives to the present Constitutional amendments to which I have expressed objection. I indicated to them that I would

certainly look over any other suggestions that might be forthcoming from them. However, as you are aware, Bishop Bernadine after the meeting reiterated the fact that I had maintained my previous position in objecting to the current Constitutional amendments being proposed. That was my position before the meeting, during the meeting, and remains my position.

2ND POSSIBLE FOLLOW-UP QUESTION: But Governor during the 1973 legislative session you signed into law and supported a bill which gives a woman a virtually unlimited right during her first six months of pregnancy to an abortion. How does this square with your opposition to abortion?

ANSWER: It was the original Georgia law which was very restrictive on granting abortions. Abortions could only be granted if there was rape, possible damage to the fetus, or possible damage to mother's physical health. It was this law which the U.S. Supreme Court struck down in its abortion decision. Therefore the State of Georgia was left without any law on abortion and the legislature simply substituted a law in conformance with the letter and spirit of the U.S. Supreme Court decision. And as Governor I signed that law so that we would not be in violation of the U.S. Supreme Court and their interpretation of the United State Constitution.

3RD POSSIBLE FOLLOW-UP QUESTION: Governor, in light of your opposition to abortion, is it that in a foreward to a book by

Dr. Robert Hatcher you stated as follows:

ANSWER: As is clear from the wording of that sentence, I simply indicated that the author in his book was discussing a variety of family planning devices of which this was one. That foreward clearly did not act as an endorsement of abortion and Dr. Hatcher, the author of the book, has so indicated. My position is what I have previously stated.

2. QUESTION: There seem to be some inconsistencies with your statements about ethnic purity and your support of civil rights. How do you explain these inconsistencies?

ANSWER: As you are aware I apologized for a poor choice of words. The thought I was attempting to convey is one I think is very important. And that is that in many respects, led by the civil rights movement itself, there is a restoration of pride in our ethnic heritage. The ethnic diversity of our country and the composition of our neighborhoods is something that adds strength and character to our country. It is this diversity which distinguishes us from many other countries and the history and culture which each of our ethnic groups has brought to this country has greatly enriched this nation. That is something which should never be lost. This thought is entirely consistent with my support of civil rights. I did express this thought with a poor choice of words and for that poor choice of words I apologized.

3. QUESTION: You've taken the position that you would balance the budget of the federal government by the end of your first term if elected. Why then do you support the spending program in the Democratic platform which would bankrupt the budget?

ANSWER: (See Jerry Jasinowski) The position taken by our opponents on this is really a big lie. The Democratic Party platform sets out in clear and unmistakable terms certain goals toward which we should seek. It makes it clear however that these goals can be achieved only within the context of a reduction of unemployment and the availability of adequate revenues. There is nothing inconsistent about setting out in an orderly way to achieve these goals as revenues permit and seeking to balance the budget with the revenues that will be forthcoming from full employment which we hope to achieve by the end of a four-year term.

4. QUESTION: There have been seemingly equivocal statements for and against the Vietnam war which you have made at various times. What are your views on the Vietnam war and why have these statements appeared to be equivocal? For example, you have stated that you see a "unconscionable attitude of racial discrimination in international affairs. I don't believe, for instance, that we would have ever bombed or strafed villages in France or in Germany as we did in Vietnam; and this kind of attitude of concentrating our own emphasis in foreign policy on the white-skinned people is felt throughout the world." Moreover, you also stated in a newspaper column in 1971 that "there is no doubt in my mind that we went into

that conflict with the best of intentions. We believed that it was not right to allow Communist aggression to be rewarded and a small nation to be conquered. There is no doubt in my mind that this country still believes in honoring its commitments and in halting the spread of Communism. There is also no doubt that America is powerful enough to accomplish those things we set out to do. But a decision was made at high levels that the full resources of this nation would not be committed. History will be the judge of the wisdom of that decision. I am convinced and I believe that the vast majority of American people are convinced that since we are not going to win, it is time to come home.

ANSWER: Like many Americans, I initially felt that our involvement in Vietnam was necessary to halt the spread of Communism. However, as events unfolded and it became clear that we were supporting a corrupt regime, I came to a different conclusion and felt that our policy was ill-advised.

If elected President, I have learned a lesson from Vietnam that we should never become militarily involved in the internal affairs of another nation unless there is a direct and obvious threat to the security of the United States or its people; and that we cannot impose democracy on another country by force.

(Secret decisions; American people not informed fully on the Vietnam war by the government)

5. QUESTION: You have taken the position as an efficiency expert, why do you refuse to put price tags on the expensive Democratic proposals?

ANSWER: The Republican Administration has failed to meet many unaddressed needs in this country for jobs, for a form of our bloated and wasteful welfare system, for health insurance. We have all been paying as a country the terrible price that Republican mismanagement of the economy has brought. Due to the recession, the federal government has lost \_\_\_\_\_ billion of dollars over the last 8 years in revenues which could have gone to begin meeting these unmet needs. Moreover, mismanagement of the government in general has created an enormous amount of waste. For example, only within the last few weeks it has been disclosed up to 7½ billion dollars has been lost annually of the \$15 billion spent for Medicaid. This is money which could have gone to legitimate uses instead of to those who were defrauding federal government.

"We will add to this answer with figures supplied to us by the Congressional Budget Office as to what amounts are currently within the Concurrent Budget Resolution for the beginning of national health insurance, welfare reform, and jobs.

6. QUESTION: You have been proposing programs for full employment and decrying the unemployment rate and yet you have suggested there should be a \$5-\$7 billion defense cut which would lose several hundred thousand jobs. How do you reconcile those views? What cuts do you propose and how many jobs will be lost?

ANSWER:

A. My suggestion for a reduction in the Defense budget will not cause a loss of jobs.

B. It is long since time that we put up with the waste and mismanagement in the Defense Department. Let me give you some examples (herein cite examples).

C. I believe that we can have a better military at a reduced cost and as we get the cost under control, this money can go into the economy to meet the useful needs of people for health care and other matters.

FOLLOW-UP QUESTION: But Governor you have opposed the B-1 bomber and that is employing thousands of people.

ANSWER: I have indicated that at this time I do not feel production funds for the B-1 are merited although research and development funds should continue. It is important to recognize, however, that the cost that we will spend in the first year for production funds on the B-1 bomber this year at 1½ billion dollars, would buy <sup>10 destroyers</sup> ~~frigates~~, <sup>16</sup> ~~15~~ submarines, 80-100 tactical aircraft or 3,000 tanks.

7. QUESTION: Your stance and speech at the Democratic Convention was as a populist. Yet you met with big businessmen at the 21 Club and stated that you would do <sup>nothing</sup> precipitous on tax reform. Are you speaking out of both sides of your mouth on this question?

ANSWER: A President must be able to listen to and represent all viewpoints. He cannot attempt to pit one group against another. This has been done all too frequently in the last few years. I have indicated on tax reform that it is an urgent priority and it will be. However, because of the complexity of tax code and its importance to the economy, it would be incorrect for me to precipitously come out with proposals and I had indicated that this matter would receive the most thorough and studious review. Let no one doubt my commitment to tax reform <sup>when</sup> all of the facts and consequences are in hand.

8. MARIJUANA QUESTION

ANSWER: Unfortunately, a lot of American families have faced a similar problem. I was very concerned when I learned that my sons had experimented with smoking marijuana. Both my wife and I urged them to stop using the drug, as did their wives. In fact, they did stop smoking marijuana and for this I am grateful.

I am pleased that my sons had enough confidence in their parents to openly admit to us what they were doing so that we could discuss it with them openly and frankly. Those who sell and push drugs on others should be given the most severe and swift of punishments. (Research what he has said about drug pushers.)

However, for those who simply smoke marijuana and do not sell it, there should be civil penalties. But, I believe, I believe no criminal penalties, particularly in light of the conflicting medical opinions. While I do not condone the use of marijuana,

I think that the criminal justice system which is already/bogged terribly down and inefficient, should concentrate its resources on crimes of violence and crimes against property.

The Administration has not dealt effectively with this issue.  
(Get facts)

9. QUESTION ON 1970 CONTRIBUTORS LIST

ANSWER: There was no requirement under Georgia law at the time that any list of contributors be maintained. It is now some six years after that election and I doubt whether any list exists.

(Note that on March 17, 1976, on NBC's Tomorrow show you're recorded as saying "Nobody ever made a report of contributors and we didn't maintain those records.")

10. QUESTION: You have promised expensive social programs but now you say you would put none of them into effect until after the budget is balanced several years hence. Is this your position?

See answer to No. 3 and make sure that it is inclusive enough to cover this question. Stress that these programs have to be consistent with the goal of achieving a balanced budget, not that a balanced budget must first be achieved before any of these programs are instituted.

11. QUESTION: You have taken the stance as a strong positive leader, why do you now have reluctance to comment on specific legislation in Congress?

ANSWER: I have had no reluctance to comment on any public issue, many of which there are before Congress. However, it would be wrong for me not being a Member of Congress or being President to suggest a way in which a particular Congressman or Senator should vote on a particular bill which may have many amendments and facets that I have not had the opportunity of studying during the campaign. I can assure you that as President I will have a very clear, specific agenda and Congress will know precisely where I stand.

QUESTION No. 12: See Answer to No. 3 and No. 10.

13. QUESTION: Have you been evasive in indicating that there are a number of important issues which you yourself would not favor and which have been espoused by certain groups and which you would not actually veto as President, such as the repeal of the right to work provisions, possible Constitutional amendments on abortion, or common situs picketing?

ANSWER: I am not aware of any kind of conflict here. A Constitutional amendment on abortion would not become before the President but would go directly from Congress to State legislatures. On the right to work and common situs picketing, I have simply indicated that if Congress passes such a law, I would not veto it. I think this is a much wiser course than deciding to veto a bill, as President Ford did with the common situs picketing bill, after having told Members of Congress and the public that he would support it. I will say this much, once I have made up my mind I will stick to it.

14. QUESTION: Where do you stand on Proposition 14 in California regarding the right of farm workers to organize and bargain collectively?

ANSWER: I have stated that I am in favor of the right of farm workers to organize and bargain collectively and hope that this can be dealt with on a state by state basis initially.

15. QUESTION: Why have you criticized Mr. Ford's vetoes at the same time you have criticized his deficits when in fact they have kept the deficit from growing in the face of Congressional spending proposals?

ANSWER: First, many of the vetoes had nothing to do with spending items at all, such as the veto of the Freedom of Information Act amendments although this Administration pledged an open Administration, vetoes of the strip-mining bill to protect our environment, and wild-life protection.

Second, many of the programs vetoed would have led to major benefits which would have redounded to the benefit of the economy and the country such as aid to Vietnam war veterans, child nutrition, nurses training, and a bill to create 700,000 jobs and take people off of welfare and make them productive tax-paying citizens.

Indeed, the Republican Administration's own Office of Management and Budget, using the most liberal figures, has indicated that all of the vetoes taken together would only save \$6 billion or \_\_\_ percentage of the current deficit proposed by the Republican Administration.

But the real message of these vetoes is the failure of Executive leadership. What we need is a President who can lead Congress through a positive program rather than sitting back waiting for Congress to act and then saying no to what is done. A President with a positive fiscally responsible program could get Congress to pass legislation which would not have to be vetoed time and time again.

(Note well, please do not try to make a point of the fact that Congress was elected and Ford was not and that they have a better knowledge of the will of the American people than he does. The American people have no confidence in Congress and you should not have to be defending it.)

FOLLOW-UP QUESTION: It's interesting Governor that you have talked about a need to lead Congress because as Governor of Georgia you vetoed three times as many bills during your four-year term as President Ford has vetoed. Is this the kind of positive leadership which we can expect?

ANSWER: It required very positive leadership on my part to completely reorganize, with the legislature's help, the Georgia state government, something that had not been done for some 30 years.

The legislation I vetoed as Governor was special interest legislation rather than programs of major statewide import. The legislation which I vetoed was peripheral special interest, local bills which did not have statewide application which often come through state legislatures but not through Congress.

My major statewide programs such as government reorganization, a complete health care system for the State of Georgia, major reform in the funding for statewide education (give other examples) were all successfully passed.

2ND FOLLOW-UP QUESTION: Name specifically some of President Ford's vetoes with which you disagree.

ANSWER: I disagree with the following vetoes, among many others: His veto of veterans benefits to those Vietnam war veterans who were so badly in need of job and educational training. This veto also applied to all post-Korean veterans; a veto of child nutrition programs, nurses' training programs, and a bill to create 700,000 useful and productive jobs.

I also disagree with President Ford's veto of the bill to remove the one dollar tariff on imported oil which veto had the effect of raising the price of every gallon of gas sold in this country one dollar per barrel above the price charged by OPEC.

17. QUESTION: You state that you can work with Congress and lead it but isn't it true that by your own acknowledgment your worse personal fault is your stubbornness and rigidity?

ANSWER: I think the American people want somebody who will stand up for what they believe in. I think this is the best type of leadership to provide. I have always found as Governor of Georgia that in order to get my programs passed I needed to be conciliatory and to reach common agreement and I have always done this.

18. QUESTION: You often claim that you are a poor country boy. Yet your net worth is greater than that of President Ford? Do you think you're misleading the people on your image?

ANSWER: When I grew up I was a poor country boy and I was raised in a very simple way which is the way I still live. As to my net worth I never said, that I was a dumb country boy, just a poor country boy.

19. QUESTION: In your acceptance speech you talked about the need for major tax reform and yet last year you took advantage of a \$40,000 tax loophole. This seems to conflict with your basic promises.

ANSWER: The tax code does need to be reformed. This credit was taken, as it was supposed to have been taken under the law, because of the purchase of some new equipment for my business. Every business in the country takes this type of credit on new equipment and indeed the purpose of the provision is to encourage the purchase of new equipment. I have stated that I would favor reforming this provision so that it would be directly related to the number of jobs produced. For example, here, some 25 or 30 additional jobs were produced because of this equipment.

20.

21. QUESTION: In 1971 you said before the House Ways and Means Committee you were against bypassing the state and distribution of revenue sharing funds. But now in 1976 you have said just the opposite and that you want to bypass the states and go directly with the money to cities and communities. How do you reconcile this change?

ANSWER: When the program was in its initial stages in 1971, as Governor, I did feel that the states should see some portion of the money.

However, as the program developed and as I saw the manner in which it was being implemented by the Republican Administration, it appeared to me that the money should go directly to the cities and counties since the Republican Administration was using the revenue-sharing fund contrary to what they had said to offset reductions they were making grants made to localities.

I felt that by giving the money to localities this was a means of giving them more control over programs that affect them daily, and more importantly local communities did not have the capacity to generate extra income as states do. I took this position while I was Governor as well as during the time I have run for the Presidency.

22. QUESTION: You recently said to Walter Cronkite that you don't think that incarceration in prison is the answer to controlling crime and that the only solution that you see is to reduce unemployment. Isn't this contrary to other positions you have taken?

ANSWER: Our entire criminal justice system is in a shambles. During the last eight Republican years crime has gone up \_\_\_% despite pledges of law and order. Law and order have in fact not been a reality. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and the FBI as well as the Drug Enforcement Administration are in a state of disarray. Recidivism by those released in prison continues at

an alarming rate. Defendants who are repeatedly out on bail commit more crimes, aggravating trial delays and endless litigation are common. Citizens without influence often bear the brunt of prosecution. Violators of anti-trust laws and other big-shot white collar criminals are often ignored or go unpunished.

I have said that the best way to reduce crime in a substantive way is to reduce unemployment. The best deterrent to crime from within the criminal justice system is a certainty of swift, firm punishment which does not now exist. We need to streamline our court procedures, abbreviate our child procedures, make sure that there is a sure punishment for a brief period of time, add administrative offices to the courts and place an emphasis on the prevention of crime in areas where crime is rampant, and we should move toward some form of mandatory minimum sentence for certain types of crime.

23. QUESTION: In March 1975 you said that most promising source of new energy was the breeder reactor and increase research efforts where needed. Yet six months later in your energy position paper, you stated that the use of breeder reactors was not economically feasible until the price of natural uranium increases several times over and that you were concerned with mounting costs and environmental problems and therefore that "our excessive emphasis on this project should be severely reduced and converted to a long-term, possibly multi-national effort." Why did you make this reversal in your position?

ANSWER: While the breeder reactor does have a long-term possibility of some success, there are now cost problems, safety problems, and disposal problems. There has been a distortion in the funds provided for and in the research with too much going in this direction and not enough in the direction of solar and other energy. I have suggested a multi-national effort so that costs can be reduced and funds can be shifted to other more certain energy sources.

24.

25. QUESTION: You reassured businessmen at the 21 Club and other meetings that you favored a free enterprise system and that they had nothing to worry about from you. Yet you later made the statement that "I can almost guarantee you that my appointments to the regulatory agencies will meet with Ralph Nader's approval." And that you would place Nader as the nation's leading consumer advocate.

ANSWER: There is no conflict between honest businessmen and consumers. As a businessman, I always felt that the best business was to be good to my customers and to treat them properly.

One of the things that the government has failed to do is to provide a proper regulatory climate for protection for both the public and the businessman. Agencies such as the Federal Trade Commission have inordinately long backlog of matters with which they have not yet dealt. The Civil Aeronautics Board, rather than protecting the consumer has actually given the consumer higher airplane rates than good competition would otherwise do. /the Administration has made  
While

some efforts in this direction it has not provided the kind of leadership that is necessary to get the Congress moving. I will provide that leadership.

26. If as you say you are opposed to busing, why do you not support a constitutional amendment to prohibit it?

ANSWER: I have stated throughout the campaign that I feel that mandatory busing is counterproductive and has not worked in many areas. I have further stated that the best way in which busing can be avoided is for leadership of local communities, black and white, civic leaders and businessmen to get together and arrange for a desegregation program which can avoid the necessity for mandatory busing. For example, in Atlanta a plan was worked out with the black and white leadership under which any child who wants to can voluntarily be bused at the school system's expense but no one is bused against their wishes. In terms of a constitutional amendment, I do not believe this is a subject which should be reopened with a constitutional amendment since this would involve a long, drawn-out, emotionally charged fight over a number of years through the various state legislatures which would be counterproductive to the type of harmony which we need in the country.

I think that it is unfortunate that the Republican Administration has from time to time raised false hopes, such as suggesting that they would intervene in the Boston case in the U. S. Supreme Court and then failing to do so, which have undermined local efforts at peaceful desegregation.

Follow Up Question: (1) President Ford has suggested a restriction on court-ordered busing by limiting such plans to 5 years. Do you favor such a restriction on busing, if you say you are opposed to busing?

ANSWER: It seems to me that this is another example of raising false hopes for a piece of legislation which would have little if any effect. Moreover, my legal advisors have indicated to me that there is a substantial question about the constitutionality of such a program.

Follow Up Question: (2) While you were Governor you advocated a constitutional amendment against busing and urged the state legislature to pass a resolution backing such an amendment. You further stated that if such favorable action on the resolution was not forthcoming, you would support a one-day absence from school which could be legally sanctioned as an expression of our feelings. How does this attitude square with your current position?

ANSWER: That was a position I took four years ago. Since that time I have come to the conclusion that there is no chance that a constitutional amendment could be passed by the requisite three-quarters number of state legislatures and I have also concluded that the long drawn out effort to secure such an amendment would unnecessarily create disharmony and discord and would undermine the unity that we must have in this country.

27. During the Presidential Forum in February before the League of Women Voters in Boston, you indicated that you would favor the repeal of the homeowners deduction. Why did you later disavow this proposal or do you still maintain it?

ANSWER: Our tax system is a disgrace to the human race. As originally envisioned, our tax system was supposed to be a simple, truly progressive tax so that those who made the most income for the year, paid the highest percentage of their income tax in total taxes. Over the years loophole after loophole has been built into the system most of which favor the rich. The average worker cannot deduct the cost of his sandwich, but the businessman can frequently deduct the cost of his lunches and business expense. The average cannot deduct their bus fare when they have to travel to work, but a businessman can deduct the cost of his first-class airplane ticket. We need to make our tax system more equitable. With respect to the property tax deduction on homes, I have pledged during the campaign that I would not submit any tax reform proposal under which the homeowner would come out in any way worse than he or she now is with the current deduction. My goal is to develop an income tax system which would produce lower taxes for middle and low income families and for homeowners. I would never propose a system under which homeowners pay more than they now do.

FOLLOW UP QUESTION: You have talked a lot about tax reform but you have never given us any specifics. What specifics are you talking about?

ANSWER: Tax code is now some \_\_\_\_\_ pages of one deduction credit loophole after another. It needs to be looked at in a thorough and systematic way and not be made an emotional issue during the political campaign. I intend to submit legislation if elected before the first year ends on my administration. It will be an urgent priority that during the beginning months of my administration a thorough and complete review be made in cooperation with the best experts in the area. We need to work toward a simplified system in which income is generally taxed only once and all income is treated the same.

I can give you some examples of tax deductions which I feel are unnecessary and unwise and which I believe are harmful to the average American:

(Fill in examples)

FOLLOW UP QUESTION #2: Your statement about all income being treated alike would mean, would it not, that the capital gains treatment of the sale of stock and other property, wouldn't this have an adverse affect on capital formation as well as on the average stockholder?

ANSWER: No, this would not have an adverse affect on corporate taxes. I have indicated very clearly in making my tax reform proposals I would never take one specific deduction and treat it alone, such as ending the capital gains treatment. This would

Follow Up Question #2 to Question #27 (cont'd)

have to be part of an entire package under which corporate taxes were substantially reduced so that capital formation would take place naturally and would not be impaired. Other action would be taken if necessary to insure that there was sufficient capital formation.

FOLLOW UP QUESTION #3: Doesn't your statement that all income should be treated alike and that double taxation should be ended mean that would either end the tax on corporate income or end the tax on dividends?

ANSWER: (Try not to mention in your earlier answers elimination of double taxation.) This inevitably means that either corporate income taxes must be eliminated which would be a disastrous position for any Democrat, particularly you, to take or that the tax corporate dividends to stockholders must be eliminated, which almost all tax reformers likewise think would be unwise. Therefore it is best not to answer this question at all. However, if you are asked and it is necessary to answer it, here is a suggested format: Again, as I have reiterated you cannot look at simply one provision out of thousands in the tax code -- they must be dealt with jointly. In the context of total tax reform I would consider elimination of the tax on corporate dividends to stockholders, with total tax reform insuring that revenues from this elimination are not lost. To insure that this provision did not end up with a new inequity.

28. On government reorganization you have claimed that you would reduce the some 1900 federal agencies to 200. Could you give us some idea of some of the agencies which you would abolish? Where did you get the figure of 1900 agencies?

ANSWER: Internal advisors have given me this number after their review of the incredible number of federal programs and federal entities. (You are much closer to being correct if we refer to entities, rather than agencies.) With our staff at its latest count is up to some 1854 agencies and still counting. By the end of the program I may be able to give you an update on that.

In terms of the agencies which I would eliminate or consolidate, let me give you some examples of the problem:

1. There are some \_\_\_\_\_ hundred education programs being administered by \_\_\_\_\_ federal entities;
2. There are \_\_\_\_\_ number of health programs being administered by \_\_\_\_\_ entities.
3. There are \_\_\_\_\_ labor and manpower programs being administered by \_\_\_\_\_ agencies.

This administration has made no effort to do anything to eliminate this incredible overlapping and maladministration. In all such instances I would attempt to make sure that only one or two agencies were administering like programs. Some of the existing federal entities and agencies which could completely be abolished are as follows: The Tea-Tasters Board and the Tea-Tasters Board of Appeals, The Monuments Commission (give exact names of other examples). In addition, I would propose a major overhaul such that we create a Department of \_\_\_\_\_, which would consolidate and incorporate

28. (continued)

the functions of \_\_\_\_ agencies that are doing similar functions. For example the Federal Energy Administration (FEA) was originally an agency that was only to exist to deal with the ARab oil embargo. That embargo has now been over for 2½ years and yet the agency continues in existence. Congress has extended its life to only October 1, 1977. Long before that time, Congress will have my energy reorganization plan to act on. Congress has waited all year for a plan to reorganize the energy area. Finally out of frustration they simply extended that the life of the FEA until October 1, 1977. This is a perfect example of the lack of leadership.

29. (This is on busing and we can look back at the answer on Question #26.)

30. (This is on marijuana and we have given an answer on that.)

FOLLOW UP QUESTION #1: President Nixon, several years ago, proposed a comprehensive reorganization but nothing happened with it. Isn't your idea simply old hat?

ANSWER: That proposal by Mr. Nixon was abandoned by Mr. Nixon as was his plan for welfare reform, after it was proposed. He made no real effort to get it passed.

31. Is your position to strengthen the American family conflicting with your endorsement of gay rights?

ANSWER: I have stated that I do not feel it is necessary to have harrassment of homosexuals but at the same time we must not hold this up as the standard that others should follow. I do not feel that simply preventing them in jobs which have no national security aspect has any relationship to a weakening of the family.

32. You have pledged to balance the budget in your first term and yet you have suggested that the federal government should pay a higher percentage of the cost of public education. Aren't these suggestions inconsistent with your pledge?

ANSWER: This is another of those programs which, as I have indicated, would have to be consistent with the goal of a balanced budget. However, if federal revenues permit and the economy improves at producing sufficient revenues this is one of those items that I would like the federal government to begin taking a greater role in. I believe that by assuming additional burdens from the funding provided by the local property tax payer that this would be providing effective tax relief to the taxpayer. The Republican proposal adopted in their platform which in effect indicates the need to end federal aid to education would produce greatly increased property taxes to the property tax owner at the local level.

? . You have called for separate Departments of Education and Consumer Affairs, yet you have indicated that you want to reduce the number of agencies. Aren't these proposals inconsistent with your suggestion?

ANSWER: No, the Consumer Affairs area is one in which the functions of many different agencies could be consolidated as would be the case with the Department of Education. Moreover, I think that in terms of consumers the functions would be played by this one agency or divided all around the government. For example,

(Give examples of consumer offices throughout the government.)

Moreover, we have education programs also sprinkled throughout the federal government. For example,

(Give examples of educational offices)

Therefore these departments would streamline and make the government more responsive.

34. You have indicated you would bring the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board under the authority of the President. How do you explain your claim that you respect the independence of the Federal Reserve Board?

ANSWER: There are numerous other members of the Board who would continue to be appointed in the same way. Moreover the Chairman, once appointed, would be independent of Presidential authority and could not be fired by the President. The reason I have made this proposal that too often monetary programs developed by the

Question #34 (continued)

Federal Reserve, such as tight money policies, have been contradictory to what has been needed. It is important that the President be able to name a Chairman of the Federal Reserve whose economic philosophy is compatible with his. However, once that person was named, the President would not have the same authority over him that he has over a cabinet officer and that Chairman could follow his own dictates if he felt the President was wrong.

35. (skip)

36. You have emphasized having blacks in government positions, but we have not heard you mention reverse discrimination against qualified whites who might otherwise be able to fill those jobs.

ANSWER: I am 100% against quotas. Indeed one of the differences between the 1972 and the 1976 Democratic Convention and Platforms was the existence of de facto quotas of 1972 and the absence of them in 1976. Quotas are wrong and amount to reverse discrimination. At the same time that it is important that qualified blacks be hired in government and other positions. This should be done in such a way as not to discriminate against others who are qualified.

Affirmative action simply means that affirmative steps are taken to seek out qualified minority groups, not to hire them in some arbitrary number. I would not favor any system in which any person, white or black, was discriminated against on the basis of his race.

Question #36 (continued)

One of the things that has created a tension in this area is the fact that there are now some 7,500,000 out of work and the jobs are scarce and that qualified blacks and whites graduating from high school and college cannot find any work. This is a much more significant area in which we should work.

37. (See Answer to Question #4)

38. You have talked about new policies and new faces and yet many of your advisors are left overs from the 1960s. How do you explain?

ANSWER: I have attempted to get the best blend of experience and youth possible. I intend to rely on new faces but I also intend to rely on the best of those who have given so much to their government. I do not feel that we should discriminate in our employment of federal employees for those who have had experience or are over 50. If that were the case, I would be unqualified for the position for which I am running.

39. You supported Spiro Agnew in the move to remove him from office. Why did you later criticize him?

ANSWER:

40. Isn't it true that in order to reduce unemployment to 4% over four years it will be necessary to do more government spending rather than less and that this will therefore work against your pledge to balance the budget by the end of your first term?

ANSWER: Where \_\_\_\_\_ related expenditures such as extra amounts on food stamps and some \$17 billion that we are now spending on unemployment compensation are directly due to the effects of the recession. These expenditures will be reduced as we have a good recovery. Also, when a person is out of work, he not only is a drain on the public in terms of welfare costs and unemployment compensation as well as food stamps and other related expenditures but he does not pay any taxes as do you and me. Therefore, by putting people back to work you could greatly increase federal tax expenditures. Most economists agree that for each 1% reduction in unemployment you generate some \$14 billion in revenues, Therefore, and an expenditure decline of \$3-5 billion for each 1%. the best way to achieve a balanced budget is to be prudent and cautious in terms of control to root out waste like we saw in Medicaid amounting to some \$7½ billion in simply one year under this administration and to put people back to work and take them off welfare and unemployment. Also note, that although the Medicaid costs amount to \$15 billion only about one-half of that is expended

Question #40 (continued) billion  
by the federal government. Therefore, if \$7/billion is spent by the  
federal government and up to 50% was wasted this would be a  
\$3.5 billion waste.

41. Governor, you say we have weak leadership now, but hasn't  
the real damage of the last 15 years been done by Presidents  
who were too strong? Do the American people need an activist  
President now? Do they want someone who will bring the office  
back to its proper position? We had one President who got us  
involved in Vietnam, another who tore the country apart because  
of the war and they were both Democrats, I might remind you,  
and one more who felt so powerful in office that he committed  
crimes of an unprecedented nature. Mr. Ford may not be a  
forceful leader but he also has not done so much damage, so  
why do we need to change?

ANSWER: I truly believe that the American people are deeply  
concerned and upset by what has happened to the Presidency, an  
office which traditionally every man, woman and child in this  
country has revered greatly. What they are looking for now is a  
strong President to move this country forward; a President with a  
vision of where this country should go; a President with a new  
perception; a President who comes to Washington with the  
perspectives of the people; a President who has lived among the  
people, who understands their problems and who can reorganize the  
government to make the government responsive to their problems.

Question #41 (continued)

That is the kind of strength the American people are seeking today. But a strong President is also one who is humbled by the office; one who works within the Constitutional limits and respects those limits of the office. A strong President is one who seeks out advise and conducts an open administration, who seeks out different points of view, whose office is open to all the people and all points of view in this country. That's the kind of strength which the American people seek and that's the kind of strength that I will provide as President.

42. There is a notoriously intolerant streak in the history of Southern Baptists. It was in the land of your birth that the clan was strong. You have been weak among the Catholics and Jews in the North. Do you think you would ever be a President of all the people, considering your background and the suspicions that Southerners arouse?

ANSWER: One of the reasons that I am here today is that I took my campaign to every corner of this country, East and West, North and South and that I was able to win victories in the urban Northeast and Midwest as well as in the South. I am also here because I was able to secure the votes of groups that other politicians have often tried to play against each other. I secured strong support from urban blacks as well as urban ethnic voters and white

Question #42 (continued)

suburbanites, businessmen and labor. I did this because I talked about those things which unite the country and not those which divide it.

There is a special meaning I believe in my race and that is that after 130 years a person from the South might have the opportunity to hold the highest office in the land. What a perfect time in our bicentennial year to have an occasion when we would put the end to regionalism and regional discrimination. We would finally bind up the wounds that have divided us since the Civil War.

The history of this country has been one of breaking down walls of discrimination whether it was against Italians, Poles, Czechs, Jews or against Catholics, Jews, blacks or chicanos.

This country has never let discrimination get in its way. It proved in 1960 that John Kennedy's religion, the one he was born with, would not preclude him forever from being President. I am proud that the state of which I was Governor gave John Kennedy the highest majority that he received anywhere in the United States. I am also proud that as far back as 1928, the state of Georgia voted in favor of Al Smith, a Catholic, for the Presidency. I believe that this country will not let a person's religion or the place of his birth stand in his way.

Question #42 (continued)

As the Declaration of Independence said 200 years ago, "We hold these rights to be selfevident that all men are created equal." Our history has been the continuous rediscovery of this basic and essential principle.

Question 43. You have supported a pardon for Vietnam draft evaders, on the argument that a pardon, as distinguished from amnesty, implies neither guilt nor innocence. Yet when President Ford pardoned Mr. Nixon, you said in a statement that Nixon's acceptance of the pardon was an admission of guilt on his part. How do you distinguish between Nixon's case and the case of draft evaders?

ANSWER: I have stated that if I am elected President, I will issue a blanket pardon for all individuals who violated the Selective Service laws during the Vietnam War, due to for reasons of conscience. Deserters will be handled on a case by case basis. I can never equate what the people who went to Sweden or to Canada and women did with what those thousands of American men/did who served in Vietnam, risked or lost their lives despite what their opinions of the war may or may not have been. Now, however, I feel that it is time to heal the nation's wounds and to tell those draft evaders who are still living abroad in exile to come home. By issuing a pardon, I feel the nation will not be condoning their actions.

Question #43 (continued)

Clearly, by the act of accepting a pardon, an individual acknowledges his legal guilt. That is true in the case of a draft evader or in Richard Nixon's case. The terms of the pardon issued by President Ford to Richard Nixon left Nixon free from the threat of prosecution for all crimes whether known or unknown committed during the term of Nixon Presidency. By that act, the American people were deprived of any opportunity of ever knowing the full truth of what were all the criminal activities engaged in, in their name. Not only would I not have granted Richard Nixon a pardon until after the full truth about criminal activities committed under his Presidency had been permitted to be disclosed through the operation of the judicial process, I would also not have attempted to block efforts by the Congress to investigate the Watergate offenses prior to the 1972 election nor would I have agreed with the dismissal of Special Prosecutor ARchibald Cox as did my Republican opponent. When former Vice President Agnew was permitted to plead guilty on terms that allowed him to escape jail, then Attorney General Elliot Richardson made sure that documents were released to the public detailing the full scope of the criminal activities in which Agnew had engaged, so that the American people would know the full truth. No such provision was made by President Ford, when he pardoned Mr. Nixon. No requirement was imposed by Mr. Ford that Mr. Nixon acknowledge his guilt or disclose the full truth about his own criminal activities. Here we could also mention that simultaneous with the pardon Ford turned over to Nixon the many millions of pages of

Question #43 (continued)

documents that constituted the full record of the Nixon Presidency, including many, many items that were vital to the prosecution of the work of the social prosecutor's office. This giveaway of this vital national treasure was only stopped by Congressional action.

An alternate answer on the pardon in general, particularly as a comment to any remarks that Ford makes would be as follows: I have stated that I would not make this a campaign issue and I do not intend to do so now. The American people will have to be the judge of whether Mr. Ford acted properly in pardoning Mr. Nixon for all known and unknown crimes and with no acknowledgment of guilt and with no disclosure.

## First Debate, September 26, 1960

HOWARD K. SMITH, moderator: Good evening. The television and radio stations of the United States and their affiliated stations are proud to provide facilities for a discussion of issues in the current political campaign by the two major candidates for the presidency. The candidates need no introduction. The Republican candidate, Vice President Richard M. Nixon, and the Democratic candidate, Senator John F. Kennedy. According to rules set by the candidates themselves, each man shall make an opening statement of approximately eight minutes' duration and a closing statement of approximately three minutes' duration. In between the candidates will answer, or comment upon answers to questions put by a panel of correspondents. In this, the first discussion in a series of four uh— joint appearances, the subject-matter has been agreed, will be restricted to internal or domestic American matters. And now for the first opening statement by Senator John F. Kennedy.

SENATOR KENNEDY: Mr. Smith, Mr. Nixon. In the election of 1860, Abraham Lincoln said the question was whether this nation could exist half-slave or half-free. In the election of 1960, and with the world around us, the question is whether the world will exist half-slave or half-free, whether it will move in the direction of freedom, in the direction of the road that we are taking, or whether it will move in the direction of slavery. I think it will depend in great measure upon what we do here in the United States, on the kind of society that we build, on the kind of strength that we maintain. We discuss tonight domestic issues, but I would not want that to be . . . any implication to be given that this does not involve directly our struggle with Mr. Khrushchev for survival. Mr. Khrushchev is in New York, and he maintains the Communist offensive throughout the world because of the productive power of the Soviet Union itself. The Chinese Communists have always had a large population. But they are important and dangerous now because they are mounting a major effort within their own country. The kind of country we have here, the kind of society we have, the kind of strength we build in the United States will be the defense

of freedom. If we do well here, if we meet our obligations, if we're moving ahead, then I think freedom will be secure around the world. If we fail, then freedom fails. Therefore, I think the question before the American people is: Are we doing as much as we can do? Are we as strong as we should be? Are we as strong as we must be if we're going to maintain our independence, and if we're going to maintain and hold out the hand of friendship to those who look to us for assistance, to those who look to us for survival? I should make it very clear that I do not think we're doing enough, that I am not satisfied as an American with the progress that we're making. This is a great country, but I think it could be a greater country; and this is a powerful country, but I think it could be a more powerful country. I'm not satisfied to have fifty per cent of our steel-mill capacity unused. I'm not satisfied when the United States had last year the lowest rate of economic growth of any major industrialized society in the world. Because economic growth means strength and vitality; it means we're able to sustain our defenses; it means we're able to meet our commitments abroad. I'm not satisfied when we have over nine billion dollars worth of food—some of it rotting—even though there is a hungry world, and even though four million Americans wait every month for a food package from the government, which averages five cents a day per individual. I saw cases in West Virginia, here in the United States, where children took home part of their school lunch in order to feed their families because I don't think we're meeting our obligations toward these Americans. I'm not satisfied when the Soviet Union is turning out twice as many scientists and engineers as we are. I'm not satisfied when many of our teachers are inadequately paid, or when our children go to school part-time shifts. I think we should have an educational system second to none. I'm not satisfied when I see men like Jimmy Hoffa—in charge of the largest union in the United States—still free. I'm not satisfied when we are failing to develop the natural resources of the United States to the fullest. Here in the United States, which developed the Tennessee Valley and which built the Grand Coulee and the other dams in the Northwest United States . . . at the present rate of hydropower production—and that is the hallmark of an industrialized society—the Soviet Union by 1975 will be—d— be producing more power than we are. These are all the things, I think, in this country that can make our society strong, or can mean that it stands still. I'm not satisfied until every American enjoys his full constitutional rights. If a Negro baby is born—and this is true also of Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in some of our cities—he has about one-half as much chance to get through high school as a white baby. He has one-third as much chance to get through college as a white . . . student. He has about a third as much chance to be a professional man, about half as much chance to own a house. He has about uh— four times as much chance that he'll be out of work in his life as the white baby. I think we can do better. I don't want

the talents of any American to go to waste. I know that there are those who say that we want to turn everything over to the government. I don't at all. I want the individuals to meet their responsibilities. And I want the states to meet their responsibilities. But I think there is also a national responsibility. The argument has been used against every piece of social legislation in the last twenty-five years. The people of the United States individually could not have developed the Tennessee Valley; collectively they could have. A cotton farmer in Georgia or a peanut farmer or a dairy farmer in Wisconsin and Minnesota, he cannot protect himself against the forces of supply and demand in the market place; but working together in effective governmental programs he can do so. Seventeen million Americans, who live over sixty-five on an average Social Security check of about seventy-eight dollars a month, they're not able to sustain themselves individually, but they can sustain themselves through the social security system. I don't believe in big government, but I believe in effective governmental action. And I think that's the only way that the United States is going to maintain its freedom. It's the only way that we're going to move ahead. I think we can do a better job. I think we're going to have to do a better job if we are going to meet the responsibilities which time and events have placed upon us. We cannot turn the job over to anyone else. If the United States fails, then the whole cause of freedom fails. And I think it depends in great measure on what we do here in this country. The reason Franklin Roosevelt was a good neighbor in Latin America was because he was a good neighbor in the United States. Because they felt that the American society was moving again. I want us to recapture that image. I want people in Latin America and Africa and Asia to start to look to America; to see how we're doing things; to wonder what the president of the United States is doing; and not to look at Khrushchev, or look at the Chinese Communists. That is the obligation upon our generation. In 1933, Franklin Roosevelt said in his inaugural that this generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny. I think our generation of Americans has the same rendezvous. The question now is: Can freedom be maintained under the most severe tack— attack it has ever known? I think it can be. And I think in the final analysis it depends upon what we do here. I think it's time America started moving again.

MR. SMITH: And now the opening statement by Vice President Richard M. Nixon.

MR. NIXON: Mr. Smith, Senator Kennedy. The things that Senator Kennedy has said many of us can agree with. There is no question but that we cannot discuss our internal affairs in the United States without recognizing that they have a tremendous bearing on our international position. There is no question but that this nation cannot stand still; because we are in a deadly competition, a competition not only with the men in the Kremlin, but the men in Peking. We're ahead in this competition, as Senator Ken-

nedy, I think, has implied. But when you're in a race, the only way to stay ahead is to move ahead. And I subscribe completely to the spirit that Senator Kennedy has expressed tonight, the spirit that the United States should move ahead. Where, then, do we disagree? I think we disagree on the implication of his remarks tonight and on the statements that he has made on many occasions during his campaign to the effect that the United States has been standing still. We heard tonight, for example, the statement made that our growth in national product last year was the lowest of any industrial nation in the world. Now last year, of course, was 1958. That happened to be a recession year. But when we look at the growth of G.N.P. this year, a year of recovery, we find that it's six and nine-tenths per cent and one of the highest in the world today. More about that later. Looking then to this problem of how the United States should move ahead and where the United States is moving, I think it is well that we take the advice of a very famous campaigner: Let's look at the record. Is the United States standing still? Is it true that this Administration, as Senator Kennedy has charged, has been an Administration of retreat, of defeat, of stagnation? Is it true that, as far as this country is concerned, in the field of electric power, in all of the fields that he has mentioned, we have not been moving ahead? Well, we have a comparison that we can make. We have the record of the Truman Administration of seven and a half years and the seven and a half years of the Eisenhower Administration. When we compare these two records in the areas that Senator Kennedy has— has discussed tonight, I think we find that America has been moving ahead. Let's take schools. We have built more schools in these last seven and a half years than we built in the previous seven and a half, for that matter in the previous twenty years. Let's take hydroelectric power. We have developed more hydroelectric power in these seven and a half years than was developed in any previous administration in history. Let us take hospitals. We find that more have been built in this Administration than in the previous Administration. The same is true of highways. Let's put it in terms that all of us can understand. We often hear gross national product discussed and in that respect may I say that when we compare the growth in this Administration with that of the previous Administration that then there was a total growth of eleven per cent over seven years; in this Administration there has been a total growth of nineteen per cent over seven years. That shows that there's been more growth in this Administration than in its predecessor. But let's not put it there; let's put it in terms of the average family. What has happened to you? We find that your wages have gone up five times as much in the Eisenhower Administration as they did in the Truman Administration. What about the prices you pay? We find that the prices you pay went up five times as much in the Truman Administration as they did in the Eisenhower Administration. What's the net result of this? This means that the average family income went up

fifteen per cent in the Eisenhower years as against two per cent in the Truman years. Now, this is not standing still. But, good as this record is, may I emphasize it isn't enough. A record is never something to stand on. It's something to build on. And in building on this record, I believe that we have the secret for progress, we know the way to progress. And I think, first of all, our own record proves that we know the way. Senator Kennedy has suggested that he believes he knows the way. I respect the sincerity which he makes that suggestion. But on the other hand, when we look at the various programs that he offers, they do not seem to be new. They seem to be simply retreads of the programs of the Truman Administration which preceded it. And I would suggest that during the course of the evening he might indicate those areas in which his programs are new, where they will mean more progress than we had then. What kind of programs are we for? We are for programs that will expand educational opportunities, that will give to all Americans their equal chance for education, for all of the things which are necessary and dear to the hearts of our people. We are for programs, in addition, which will see that our medical care for the aged are— is— are much— is much better handled than it is at the present time. Here again, may I indicate that Senator Kennedy and I are not in disagreement as to the aims. We both want to help the old people. We want to see that they do have adequate medical care. The question is the means. I think that the means that I advocate will reach that goal better than the means that he advocates. I could give better examples, but for— for whatever it is, whether it's in the field of housing, or health, or medical care, or schools, or the eh— development of electric power, we have programs which we believe will move America, move her forward and build on the wonderful record that we have made over these past seven and a half years. Now, when we look at these programs, might I suggest that in evaluating them we often have a tendency to say that the test of a program is how much you're spending. I will concede that in all the areas to which I have referred Senator Kennedy would have the spe— federal government spend more than I would have it spend. I costed out the cost of the Democratic platform. It runs a minimum of thirteen and two-tenths billions dollars a year more than we are presently spending to a maximum of eighteen billion dollars a year more than we're presently spending. Now the Republican platform will cost more too. It will cost a minimum of four billion dollars a year more, a maximum of four and nine-tenths billion dollar a year more than we're presently spending. Now, does this mean that his program is better than ours? Not at all. Because it isn't a question of how much the federal government spends; it isn't a question of which government does the most. It's a question of which administration does the right thing. And in our case, I do believe that our programs will stimulate the creative energies of a hundred and eighty million free Americans. I believe the programs that Senator Kennedy advo-

cates will have a tendency to stifle those creative energies. I believe, in other words, that his program would lead to the stagnation of the motive power that we need in this country to get progress. The final point that I would like to make is this: Senator Kennedy has suggested in his speeches that we lack compassion for the poor, for the old, and for others that are unfortunate. Let us understand throughout this campaign that his motives and mine are sincere. I know what it means to be poor. I know what it means to see people who are unemployed. I know Senator Kennedy feels as deeply about these problems as I do, but our disagreement is not about the goals for America but only about the means to reach those goals.

MR. SMITH: Thank you, Mr. Nixon. That completes the opening statements, and now the candidates will answer questions or comment upon one another's answers to questions, put by correspondents of the networks. The correspondents: [introducing themselves: "I'm Sander Vanocur, NBC News;" "I'm Charles Warren, Mutual News;" "I'm Stuart Novins, CBS News;" "Bob Fleming, ABC News."] The first question to Senator Kennedy from Mr. Fleming.

MR. FLEMING: Senator, the Vice President in his campaign has said that you were naive and at times immature. He has raised the question of leadership. On this issue, why do you think people should vote for you rather than the Vice President?

MR. KENNEDY: Well, the Vice President and I came to the Congress together . . . 1946; we both served in the Labor Committee. I've been there now for fourteen years, the same period of time that he has, so that our experience in uh— government is comparable. Secondly, I think the question is uh— what are the programs that we advocate, what is the party record that we lead? I come out of the Democratic party, which in this century has produced Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman, and which supported and sustained these programs which I've discussed tonight. Mr. Nixon comes out of the Republican party. He was nominated by it. And it is a fact that through most of these last twenty-five years the Republican leadership has opposed federal aid for education, medical care for the aged, development of the Tennessee Valley, development of our natural resources. I think Mr. Nixon is an effective leader of his party. I hope he would grant me the same. The question before us is: which point of view and which party do we want to lead the United States?

MR. SMITH: Mr. Nixon, would you like to comment on that statement?

MR. NIXON: I have no comment.

MR. SMITH: The next question: Mr. Novins.

MR. NOVINS: Mr. Vice President, your campaign stresses the value of your eight-year experience, and the question arises as to whether that experience was as an observer or as a participant or as an initiator of policy-making. Would you tell us please specifically what major proposals you

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have made in the last eight years that have been adopted by the Administration?

MR. NIXON: It would be rather difficult to cover them in eight and— in two and a half minutes. I would suggest that these proposals could be mentioned. First, after each of my foreign trips I have made recommendations that have been adopted. For example, after my first trip abroad— abroad, I strongly recommended that we increase our exchange programs particularly as they related to exchange of persons . . . of leaders in the labor field and in the information field. After my trip to South America, I made recommendations that a separate inter-American lending agency be set up which the South American nations would like much better than a lend—than to participate in the lending agencies which treated all the countries of the world the same. Uh— I have made other recommendations after each of the other trips; for example, after my trip abroad to Hungary I made some recommendations with regard to the Hungarian refugee situation which were adopted, not only by the President but some of them were enacted into law by the Congress. Within the Administration, as a chairman of the President's Committee on Price Stability and Economic Growth, I have had the opportunity to make recommendations which have been adopted within the Administration and which I think have been reasonably effective. I know Senator Kennedy suggested in his speech at Cleveland yesterday that that committee had not been particularly effective. I would only suggest that while we do not take the credit for it—I would not presume to—that since that committee has been formed the price line has been held very well within the United States.

MR. KENNEDY: Well, I would say in the latter that the—and that's what I found uh— somewhat unsatisfactory about the figures uh— Mr. Nixon, that you used in your previous speech, when you talked about the Truman Administration. You— Mr. Truman came to office in nineteen uh— forty-four and at the end of the war, and uh— difficulties that were facing the United States during that period of transition—1946 when price controls were lifted—so it's rather difficult to use an over-all figure taking those seven and a half years and comparing them to the last eight years. I prefer to take the over-all percentage record of the last twenty years of the Democrats and the eight years of the Republicans to show an over-all period of growth. In regard to uh— price stability uh— I'm not aware that that committee did produce recommendations that ever were certainly before the Congress from the point of view of legislation in regard to controlling prices. In regard to the exchange of students and labor unions, I am chairman of the subcommittee on Africa and I think that one of the most unfortunate phases of our policy towards that country was the very minute number of exchanges that we had. I think it's true of Latin America also. We did come forward with a program of students for the Congo of over three hundred which was more than the federal government had for

all of Africa the previous year, so that I don't think that uh— we have moved at least in those two areas with sufficient vigor.

MR. SMITH: The next question to Senator Kennedy from Mr. Warren.

MR. WARREN: Uh— Senator Kennedy, during your brief speech a few minutes ago you mentioned farm surpluses.

MR. KENNEDY: That's correct.

MR. WARREN: I'd like to ask this: It's a fact, I think, that presidential candidates traditionally make promises to farmers. Lots of people, I think, don't understand why the government pays farmers for not producing certain crops . . . or paying farmers if they overproduce for that matter. Now, let me ask, sir, why can't the farmer operate like the business man who operates a factory? If an auto company overproduces a certain model car Uncle Sam doesn't step in and buy up the surplus. Why this constant courting of the farmer?

MR. KENNEDY: Well, because I think that if the federal government moved out of the program and withdrew its supports uh— then I think you would have complete uh— economic chaos. The farmer plants in the spring and harvests in the fall. There are hundreds of thousands of them. They really don't— they're not able to control their market very well. They bring their crops in or their livestock in, many of them about the same time. They have only a few purchasers . . . that buy their milk or their hogs—a few large companies in many cases—and therefore the farmer is not in a position to bargain very effectively in the market place. I think the experience of the twenties has shown what a free market could do to agriculture. And if the agricultural economy collapses, then the economy of the rest of the United States sooner or later will collapse. The farmers are the number one market for the automobile industry of the United States. The automobile industry is the number one market for steel. So if the farmers' economy continues to decline as sharply as it has in recent years, then I think you would have a recession in the rest of the country. So I think the case for the government intervention is a good one. Secondly, my objection to present farm policy is that there are no effective controls to bring supply and demand into better balance. The dropping of the support price in order to limit production does not work, and we now have the highest uh— surpluses—nine billion dollars worth. We've had a uh— higher tax load from the Treasury for the farmer in the last few years with the lowest farm income in many years. I think that this farm policy has failed. In my judgment the only policy that will work will be for effective supply and demand to be in balance. And that can only be done through governmental action. I therefore suggest that in those basic commodities which are supported, that the federal government, after endorsement by the farmers in that commodity, attempt to bring supply and demand into balance—attempt effective production controls—so that we won't have that five or six per cent surplus which breaks the price fif-

*Farmer*

teen or twenty per cent. I think Mr. Benson's program has failed. And I must say, after reading the Vice President's speech before the farmers, as he read mine, I don't believe that it's very much different from Mr. Benson's. I don't think it provides effective governmental controls. I think the support prices are tied to the average market price of the last three years, which was Mr. Benson's theory. I therefore do not believe that this is a sharp enough breach with the past to give us any hope of success for the future.

MR. SMITH: Mr. Nixon, comment?

MR. NIXON: I of course disagree with Senator Kennedy insofar as his suggestions as to what should be done uh— with re— on the farm program. He has made the suggestion that what we need is to move in the direction of more government controls, a suggestion that would also mean raising prices uh— that the consumers pay for products and im— and imposing upon the farmers uh— controls on acreage even far more than they have today. I think this is the wrong direction. I don't think this has worked in the past; I do not think it will work in the future. The program that I have advocated is one which departs from the present program that we have in this respect. It recognizes that the government has a responsibility to get the farmer out of the trouble he presently is in because the government got him into it. And that's the fundamental reason why we can't let the farmer go by himself at the present time. The farmer produced these surpluses because the government asked him to through legislation during the war. Now that we have these surpluses, it's our responsibility to indemnify the farmer during that period that we get rid of the farmer uh— the surpluses. Until we get the surpluses off the farmer's back, however, we should have a program such as I announced, which will see that farm income holds up. But I would propose holding that income up not through a type of program that Senator Kennedy has suggested that would raise prices, but one that would indemnify the farmer, pay the farmer in kind uh— from the products which are in surplus.

MR. SMITH: The next question to Vice President Nixon from Mr. Vanocur.

MR. VANOCUR: Uh— Mr. Vice President, since the question of executive leadership is a very important campaign issue, I'd like to follow Mr. Novins' question. Now, Republican campaign slogans—you'll see them on signs around the country as you did last week—say it's experience that counts—that's over a picture of yourself; sir uh— implying that you've had more governmental executive decision-making uh— experience than uh— your opponent. Now, in his news conference on August twenty-fourth, President Eisenhower was asked to give one example of a major idea of yours that he adopted. His reply was, and I'm quoting: "If you give me a week I might think of one. I don't remember." Now that was a month ago, sir, and the President hasn't brought it up since, and I'm

*Executive Leadership*

wondering, sir, if you can clarify which version is correct—the one put out by Republican campaign leaders or the one put out by President Eisenhower?

MR. NIXON: Well, I would suggest, Mr. Vanocur, that uh— if you know the President, that was probably a facetious remark. Uh— I would also suggest that insofar as his statement is concerned, that I think it would be improper for the President of the United States to disclose uh— the instances in which members of his official family had made recommendations, as I have made them through the years to him, which he has accepted or rejected. The President has always maintained and very properly so that he is entitled to get what advice he wants from his cabinet and from his other advisers without disclosing that to anybody—including as a matter of fact the Congress. Now, I can only say this. Through the years I have sat in the National Security Council. I have been in the cabinet. I have met with the legislative leaders. I have met with the President when he made the great decisions with regard to Lebanon, Quemoy and Matsu, other matters. The President has asked for my advice. I have given it. Sometimes my advice has been taken. Sometimes it has not. I do not say that I have made the decisions. And I would say that no president should ever allow anybody else to make the major decisions. The president only makes the decisions. All that his advisers do is to give counsel when he asks for it. As far as what experience counts and whether that is experience that counts, that isn't for me to say. Uh— I can only say that my experience is there for the people to consider; Senator Kennedy's is there for the people to consider. As he pointed out, we came to the Congress in the same year. His experience has been different from mine. Mine has been in the executive branch. His has been in the legislative branch. I would say that the people now have the opportunity to evaluate his as against mine and I think both he and I are going to abide by whatever the people decide.

MR. SMITH: Senator Kennedy.

MR. KENNEDY: Well, I'll just say that the question is of experience . . . and the question also is uh— what our judgment is of the future, and what our goals are for the United States, and what ability we have to implement those goals. Abraham Lincoln came to the presidency in 1860 after a rather . . . little known uh— session in the House of Representatives and after being defeated for the Senate in fifty-eight and was a distinguished president. There's no certain road to the presidency. There are no guarantees that uh— if you take uh— one road or another that you will be a successful president. I have been in the Congress for fourteen years. I have voted in the last uh— eight years uh— and the Vice President was uh— presiding over the Senate and meeting his other responsibilities. I have met uh— decisions over eight hundred times on matters which affect not only the domestic security of the United States, but as a member of the

Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The question really is: which candidate and which party can meet the problems that the United States is going to face in the sixties?

MR. SMITH: The next question to Senator Kennedy from Mr. Novins.

MR. NOVINS: Senator Kennedy, in connection with these problems of the future that you speak of, and the program that you enunciated earlier in your direct talk, you call for expanding some of the welfare programs for schools, for teacher salaries, medical care, and so forth; but you also call for reducing the federal debt. And I'm wondering how you, if you're president in January, would go about paying the bill for all this. Does this mean that you—\*

MR. KENNEDY: I didn't indicate\* . . . I did not advocate reducing the federal debt because I don't believe that you're going to be able to reduce the federal debt very much in nineteen sixty-one, two, or three. I think you have heavy obligations which affect our security, which we're going to have to meet. And therefore I've never suggested we should uh— be able to retire the debt substantially, or even at all in nineteen sixty-one or two.

MR. NOVINS: Senator, I believe in— in one of your speeches—

MR. KENNEDY: No, never.

MR. NOVINS: —you suggested that reducing the interest rate would help toward—

MR. KENNEDY: No. No. Not reducing the interest—\*\*

MR. NOVINS: —a reduction of the Federal debt.\*\*

MR. KENNEDY: —reducing the interest rate. In my judgment, the hard money, tight money policy, fiscal policy of this Administration has contributed to the slow-down in our economy, which helped bring the recession of fifty-four; which made the recession of fifty-eight rather intense, and which has slowed, somewhat, our economic activity in 1960. What I have talked about, however, the kind of programs that I've talked about, in my judgment, are uh— fiscally sound. Medical care for the aged, I would put under social security. The Vice President and I disagree on this. The program—the Javits-Nixon or the Nixon-Javits program—would have cost, if fully used uh— six hundred million dollars by the government per year, and six hundred million dollars by the state. The program which I advocated, which failed by five votes in the United States Senate, would have put medical care for the aged in Social Security, and would have been paid for through the Social Security System and the Social Security tax. Secondly, I support federal aid to education and federal aid for teachers' salaries. I think that's a good investment. I think we're going to have to do it. And I think to heap the burden further on

\* The opening words of Mr. Kennedy's reply overlapped the last few words of this portion of Mr. Novins' question, partially obscuring both.

\*\* These two remarks overlapped and partially obscured each other.

the property tax, which is already strained in many of our communities, will provide, will make sh— insure, in my opinion, that many of our children will not be adequately educated, and many of our teachers not adequately compensated. There is no greater return to an economy or to a society than an educational system second to none. On the question of the development of natural resources, I would pay as you go in the sense that they would be balanced and the power revenues would bring back sufficient money to finance the projects, in the same way as the Tennessee Valley. I believe in the balanced budget. And the only conditions under which I would unbalance the budget would be if there was a grave national emergency or a serious recession. Otherwise, with a steady rate of economic growth—and Mr. Nixon and Mr. Rockefeller, in their meeting, said a five per cent economic growth would bring by 1962 ten billion dollars extra in tax revenues. Whatever is brought in, I think that we can finance essential programs within a balanced budget, if business remains orderly.

MR. SMITH: Mr. Nixon, your comment?

MR. NIXON: Yes. I think what Mr. Novins was referring to was not one of Senator Kennedy's speeches, but the Democratic platform, which did mention cutting the national debt. I think, too, that it should be pointed out that . . . of course it is not possible, particularly under the proposals that Senator Kennedy has advocated, either to cut the national debt or to reduce taxes. As a matter of fact it will be necessary to raise taxes. As Senator Kennedy points out that as far as his one proposal is concerned—the one for medical care for the aged—that that would be financed out of Social Security. That, however, is raising taxes for those who pay Social Security. He points out that he would make pay-as-you-go be the basis for our natural resources development. Where our natural resources development—which I also support, incidentally, however—whenever you uh— uh— in— in— uh— appropriates money for one of these projects, you have to pay now and appropriate the money and the eh— while they eventually do pay out, it doesn't mean that you—the government doesn't have to put out the money this year. And so I would say that in all of these proposals Senator Kennedy has made, they will result in one of two things: either he has to raise taxes or he has to unbalance the budget. If he unbalances the budget, that means you have inflation, and that will be, of course, a very cruel blow to the very people—the older people—that we've been talking about. As far as aid for school construction is concerned, I favor that, as Senator Kennedy did, in January of this year, when he said he favored that rather than aid to s— teacher salaries. I favor that because I believe that's the best way to aid our schools without running any risk whatever of the federal government telling our teachers what to teach.

MR. SMITH: The next question to Vice President Nixon from Mr. Warren.

MR. WARREN: Mr. Vice President you mentioned schools and it was just

yesterday I think you asked for a crash program to raise education standards, and this evening you talked about advances in education. Mr. Vice President, you said—it was back in 1957—that salaries paid to school teachers were nothing short of a national disgrace. Higher salaries for teachers, you added, were important and if the situation wasn't corrected it could lead to a national disaster. And yet, you refused to vote in the Senate in order to break a tie vote when that single vote, if it had been yes, would have granted salary increases to teachers. I wonder if you could explain that, sir.

MR. NIXON: I'm awfully glad you got that question because as you know I got into it at the last of my other question and wasn't able to complete the argument. Uh—I think that the reason that I voted against having the federal government uh— pay teachers' salaries was probably the very reason that concerned Senator Kennedy when in January of this year, in his kick-off press conference, he said that he favored aid for school construction, but at that time did not feel that there should be aid for teachers' salaries—at least that's the way I read his remarks. Now, why should there be any question about the federal government aiding s— teachers' salaries? Why did Senator Kennedy take that position then? Why do I take it now? We both took it then, and I take it now, for this reason: we want higher teachers' salaries. We need higher teachers' salaries. But we also want our education to be free of federal control. When the federal government gets the power to pay teachers, inevitably in my opinion, it will acquire the power to set standards and to tell the teachers what to teach. I think this would be bad for the country; I think it would be bad for the teaching profession. There is another point that should be made. I favor higher salaries for teachers. But, as Senator Kennedy said in January of this year in this same press conference, the way that you get higher salaries for teachers is to support school construction, which means that all of the local school districts in the various states then have money which is freed to raise the standards for teachers' salaries. I should also point out this: once you put the responsibility on the federal government for paying a portion of teachers' salaries, your local communities and your states are not going to meet the responsibility as much as they should. I believe, in other words, that we have seen the local communities and the state assuming more of that responsibility. Teachers' salaries very fortunately have gone up fifty per cent in the last eight years as against only a thirty-four per cent rise for other salaries. This is not enough; it should be more. But I do not believe that the way to get more salaries for teachers is to have the federal government get in with a massive program. My objection here is not the cost in dollars. My objection here is the potential cost in controls and eventual . . . freedom for the American people by giving the federal government power over education, and that is the greatest power a government can have.

MR. SMITH: Senator Kennedy's comment?

MR. KENNEDY: When uh— the Vice President quotes me in January, sixty, I do not believe the federal government should pay directly teachers' salaries, but that was not the issue before the Senate in February. The issue before the Senate was that the money would be given to the state. The state then could determine whether the money would be spent for school construction or teacher salaries. On that question the Vice President and I disagreed. I voted in favor of that proposal and supported it strongly, because I think that that provided assistance to our teachers for their salaries without any chance of federal control and it is on that vote that th— Mr. Nixon and I disagreed, and his tie vote uh— defeated . . . his breaking the tie defeated the proposal. I don't want the federal government paying teachers' salaries directly. But if the money will go to the states and the states can then determine whether it shall go for school construction or for teachers' salaries, in my opinion you protect the local authority over the school board and the school committee. And therefore I think that was a sound proposal and that is why I supported it and I regret that it did not pass. Secondly, there have been statements made that uh— the Democratic platform would cost a good deal of money and that I am in favor of unbalancing the budget. That is wholly wrong, wholly in error, and it is a fact that in the last eight years the Democratic Congress has reduced the appropri— the requests for the appropriations by over ten billion dollars. That is not my view and I think it ought to be stated very clearly on the record. My view is that you can do these programs—and they should be carefully drawn— within a balanced budget if our economy is moving ahead.

MR. SMITH: The next question to Senator Kennedy from Mr. Vanocur.

MR. VANOCUR: Senator, you've been promising the voters that if you are elected president you'll try and push through Congress bills on medical aid to the aged, a comprehensive minimum hourly wage bill, federal aid to education. Now, in the August post-convention session of the Congress, when you at least held up the possibility you could one day be president and when you had overwhelming majorities, especially in the Senate, you could not get action on these bills. Now how do you feel that you'll be able to get them in January—

MR. KENNEDY: Well as you take the bills—\*

MR. VANOCUR: —if you weren't able to get them in August?\*

MR. KENNEDY: If I may take the bills, we did pass in the Senate a bill uh— to provide a dollar twenty-five cent minimum wage. It failed because the House did not pass it and the House failed by eleven votes. And I might say that two-thirds of the Republicans in the House voted against a dollar twenty-five cent minimum wage and a majority of the Democrats sustained it—nearly two-thirds of them voted for the dollar twenty-five.

\* The opening words of Mr. Kennedy's reply overlapped the last few words of Mr. Vanocur's question, partially obscuring both.

We were threatened by a veto if we passed a dollar and a quarter—it's extremely difficult with the great power that the president does to pass any bill when the president is opposed to it. All the president needs to sustain his veto of any bill is one-third plus one in either the House or the Senate. Secondly, we passed a federal aid to education bill in the Senate. It failed to come to the floor of the House of Representatives. It was killed in the Rules Committee. And it is a fact in the August session that the four members of the Rules Committee who were Republicans joining with two Democrats voted against sending the aid to education bill to the floor of the House. Four Democrats voted for it. Every Republican on the Rules Committee voted against sending that bill to be considered by the members of the House of Representatives. Thirdly, on medical care for the aged, this is the same fight that's been going on for twenty-five years in Social Security. We wanted to tie it to Social Security. We offered an amendment to do so. Forty-four Democrats voted for it, one Republican voted for it. And we were informed at the time it came to a vote that if it was adopted the President of the United States would veto it. In my judgment, a vigorous Democratic president supported by a Democratic majority in the House and Senate can win the support for these programs. But if you send a Republican president and a Democratic majority and the threat of a veto hangs over the Congress, in my judgment you will continue what happened in the August session, which is a clash of parties and inaction.

MR. SMITH: Mr. Nixon, comment?

MR. NIXON: Well obviously my views are a little different. First of all, I don't see how it's possible for a one-third of a body, such as the Republicans have in the House and the Senate to stop two-thirds, if the two-thirds are adequately led. I would say, too, that when Senator Kennedy refers to the action of the House Rules Committee, there are eight Democrats on that committee and four Republicans. It would seem to me again that it is very difficult to blame the four Republicans for the eight Democrats' not getting a something through that particular committee. I would say further that to blame the President in his veto power for the inability of the Senator and his colleagues to get action in this special session uh—misses the mark. When the president exercises his veto power, he has to have the people up— behind him, not just a third of the Congress. Because let's consider it. If the majority of the members of the Congress felt that these particular proposals were good issues—the majority of those who were Democrats—why didn't they pass them and send to the President and get a veto and have an issue? The reason why these particular bills in these various fields that have been mentioned were not passed was not because the President was against them; it was because the people were against them. It was because they were too extreme. And I am convinced that the alternate proposals that I have, that the Republicans have in the field of health, in the field of education, in the field of welfare, because

they are not extreme, because they will accomplish the end uh— without too great cost in dollars or in freedom, that they could get through the next Congress.

MR. SMITH: The next question to Vice President Nixon fa— from Mr. Fleming.

MR. FLEMING: Mr. Vice President, do I take it then you believe that you can work better with Democratic majorities in the House and Senate than Senator Kennedy could work with Democratic majorities in the House and Senate?

MR. NIXON: I would say this: that we, of course, expect to pick up some seats in both in the House and the Senate. Uh— We would hope to control the House, to get a majority in the House uh— in this election. We cannot, of course, control the Senate. I would say that a president will be able to lead—a president will be able to get his program through—to the effect that he has the support of the country, the support of the people. Sometimes we—we get the opinion that in getting programs through the House or the Senate it's purely a question of legislative finagling and all that sort of thing. It isn't really that. Whenever a majority of the people are for a program, the House and the Senate responds to it. And whether this House and Senate, in the next session is Democratic or Republican, if the country will have voted for the candidate for the presidency and for the proposals that he has made, I believe that you will find that the president, if it were a Republican, as it would be in my case, would be able to get his program through that Congress. Now, I also say that as far as Senator Kennedy's proposals are concerned, that, again, the question is not simply one of uh— a presidential veto stopping programs. You must always remember that a president can't stop anything unless he has the people behind him. And the reason President Eisenhower's vetoes have been sustained—the reason the Congress does not send up bills to him which they think will be vetoed—is because the people and the Congress, the majority of them, know the country is behind the President.

MR. SMITH: Senator Kennedy.

MR. KENNEDY: Well, now let's look at these bills that the Vice President suggests were too extreme. One was a bill for a dollar twenty-five cents an hour for anyone who works in a store or company that has a million dollars a year business. I don't think that's extreme at all; and yet nearly two-thirds to three-fourths of the Republicans in the House of Representatives voted against that proposal. Secondly was the federal aid to education bill. It— it was a very uh— because of the defeat of teacher salaries, it was not a bill that uh— met in my opinion the need. The fact of the matter is it was a bill that was less than you recommended, Mr. Nixon, this morning in your proposal. It was not an extreme bill and yet we could not get one Republican to join, at least I think four of the eight Democrats voted to send it to the floor of the House—not one Republican—and they

joined with those Democrats who were opposed to it. I don't say the Democrats are united in their support of the program. But I do say a majority are. And I say a majority of the Republicans are opposed to it. The third is medical care for the aged which is tied to Social Security, which is financed out of Social Security funds. It does not put a deficit on the Treasury. The proposal advanced by you and by Mr. Javits would have cost six hundred millions of dollars—Mr. Rockefeller rejected it in New York, said he didn't agree with the financing at all, said it ought to be on Social Security. So these are three programs which are quite moderate. I think it shows the difference between the two parties. One party is ready to move in these programs. The other party gives them lip service.

MR. SMITH: Mr. Warren's question for Senator Kennedy.

MR. WARREN: Senator Kennedy, on another subject, Communism is so often described as an ideology or a belief that exists somewhere other than in the United States. Let me ask you, sir: just how serious a threat to our national security are these Communist subversive activities in the United States today?

MR. KENNEDY: Well, I think they're serious. I think it's a matter that we should continue to uh— give uh— great care and attention to. We should support uh— the laws which the United States has passed in order to protect us from uh— those who would destroy us from within. We should sustain uh— the Department of Justice in its efforts and the F.B.I., and we should be continually alert. I think if the United States is maintaining a strong society here in the United States, I think that we can meet any internal threat. The major threat is external and will continue.

MR. SMITH: Mr. Nixon, comment?

MR. NIXON: I agree with Senator Kennedy's appraisal generally in this respect. The question of Communism within the United States has been one that has worried us in the past. It is one that will continue to be a problem for years to come. We have to remember that the cold war that Mr. Khrushchev is waging and his colleagues are waging, is waged all over the world and it's waged right here in the United States. That's why we have to continue to be alert. It is also essential in being alert that we be fair; fair because by being fair we uphold the very freedoms that the Communists would destroy. We uphold the standards of conduct which they would never follow. And, in this connection, I think that uh—we . . . must look to the future having in mind the fact that we fight Communism at home not only by our laws to deal with Communists uh— the few who do become Communists and the few who do become tra— fellow travelers, but we also fight Communism /ən/ . . . at home by moving against those various injustices which exist in our society which the Communists feed upon. And in that connection I again would say that while Senator Kennedy says we are for the status quo, I . . . do . . . believe that he uh— would agree that I am just as sincere in believing that my proposals for

federal aid to education, my proposals for health care are just as sincerely held as his. The question again is not one of goals—we're for those goals—it's one of means.

MR. SMITH: Mr. Vanocur's question for Vice President Nixon.

MR. VANOCUR: Mr. Vice President uh— in one of your earlier statements you said we've moved ahead, we've built more schools, we've built more hospitals. Now, sir, isn't it true that the building of more schools is a . . . local matter for financing? Uh— Were you claiming that the Eisenhower Administration was responsible for the building of these schools, or is it the local school districts that provide for it?

MR. NIXON: Not at all. As a matter of fact your question brings out a point that I very glad to make. Too often in appraising whether we are moving ahead or not we think only of what the federal government is doing. Now that isn't the test of whether America moves. The test of whether America moves is whether the federal government, plus the state government, plus the local government, plus the biggest segment of all— individual enterprise—moves. We have for example a gross national product of approximately five hundred billion dollars. Roughly a hundred billion to a hundred and a quarter billion of that is the result of government activity. Four hundred billion, approximately, is a result of what individuals do. Now, the reason the Eisenhower Administration has moved, the reason that we've had the funds, for example, locally to build the schools, and the hospitals, and the highways, to make the progress that we have, is because this Administration has encouraged individual enterprise; and it has resulted in the greatest expansion of the private sector of the economy that has ever been witnessed in an eight-year period. And that is growth. That is the growth that we are looking for; it is the growth that this Administration has supported and that its policies have stimulated.

MR. SMITH: Senator Kennedy.

MR. KENNEDY: Well, I must say that the reason that the schools have been constructed is because the local school districts were willing to increase the property taxes to a tremendously high figure—in my opinion, almost to the point of diminishing returns in order to sustain these schools. Secondly, I think we have a rich uh— country. And I think we have a powerful country. I think what we have to do, however, is have the president and the leadership set before our country exactly what we must do in the next decade, if we're going to maintain our security in education, in economic growth, in development of natural resources. The Soviet Union is making great gains. It isn't enough to compare what might have been done eight years ago, or ten years ago, or fifteen years ago, or twenty years ago. I want to compare what we're doing with what our adversaries are doing, so that by the year 1970 the United States is ahead in education, in health, in building, in homes, in economic strength. I think that's the big assignment, the big task, the big function of the federal government.

MR. SMITH: Can I have the summation time please? We've completed our questions and our comments, and in just a moment, we'll have the summation time.

VOICE: This will allow three minutes and twenty seconds for the summation by each candidate.

MR. SMITH: Three minutes and twenty seconds for each candidate. Vice President Nixon, will you make the first summation?

MR. NIXON: Thank you, Mr. Smith. Senator Kennedy. First of all, I think it is well to put in perspective where we really do stand with regard to the Soviet Union in this whole matter of growth. The Soviet Union has been moving faster than we have. But the reason for that is obvious. They start from a much lower base. Although they have been moving faster in growth than we have, we find, for example, today that their total gross national product is only forty-four per cent of our total gross national product. That's the same percentage that it was twenty years ago. And as far as the absolute gap is concerned, we find that the United States is even further ahead than it was twenty years ago. Is this any reason for complacency? Not at all. Because these are determined men. They are fanatical men. And we have to get the very most of uh— out uh— out of our economy. I agree with Senator Kennedy completely on that score. Where we disagree is in the means that we would use to get the most out of our economy. I respectfully submit that Senator Kennedy too often would rely too much on the federal government, on what it would do to solve our problems, to stimulate growth. I believe that when we examine the Democratic platform, when we examine the proposals that he has discussed tonight, when we compare them with the proposals that I have made, that these proposals that he makes would not result in greater growth for this country than would be the case if we followed the programs that I have advocated. There are many of the points that he has made that I would like to comment upon. The one in the field of health is worth mentioning. Our health program—the one that Senator Javits and other Republican Senators, as well as I supported—is one that provides for all people over sixty-five who want health insurance, the opportunity to have it if they want it. It provides a choice of having either government insurance or private insurance. But it compels nobody to have insurance who does not want it. His program under Social Security, would require everybody who had Social Security to take government health insurance whether he wanted it or not. And it would not cover several million people who are not covered by Social Security at all. Here is one place where I think that our program does a better job than his. The other point that I would make is this: this downgrading of how much things cost I think many of our people will understand better when they look at what happened when—during the Truman Administration when the government was spending more than it took in—we found savings over a lifetime eaten up by infla-

tion. We found the people who could least afford it—people on retired incomes uh—people on fixed incomes—we found them unable to meet their bills at the end of the month. It is essential that a man who's president of this country certainly stand for every program that will mean for growth. And I stand for programs that will mean growth and progress. But it is also essential that he not allow a dollar spent that could be better spent by the people themselves.

MR. SMITH: Senator Kennedy, your conclusion.

MR. KENNEDY: The point was made by Mr. Nixon that the Soviet production is only forty-four per cent of ours. I must say that forty-four per cent and that Soviet country is causing us a good deal of trouble tonight. I want to make sure that it stays in that relationship. I don't want to see the day when it's sixty per cent of ours, and seventy and seventy-five and eighty and ninety per cent of ours, with all the force and power that it could bring to bear in order to cause our destruction. Secondly, the Vice President mentioned medical care for the aged. Our program was an amendment to the Kerr bill. The Kerr bill provided assistance to all those who were not on Social Security. I think it's a very clear contrast. In 1935, when the Social Security Act was written, ninety-four out of ninety-five Republicans voted against it. Mr. Landon ran in 1936 to repeal it. In August of 1960, when we tried to get it again, but this time for medical care, we received the support of one Republican in the Senate on this occasion. Thirdly, I think the question before the American people is: as they look at this country and as they look the world around them, the goals are the same for all Americans. The means are at question. The means are at issue. If you feel that everything that is being done now is satisfactory, that the relative power and prestige and strength of the United States is increasing in relation to that of the Communists; that we've b— gaining more security, that we are achieving everything as a nation that we should achieve, that we are achieving a better life for our citizens and greater strength, then I agree. I think you should vote for Mr. Nixon. But if you feel that we have to move again in the sixties, that the function of the president is to set before the people the unfinished business of our society as Franklin Roosevelt did in the thirties, the agenda for our people— what we must do as a society to meet our needs in this country and protect our security and help the cause of freedom. As I said at the beginning, the question before us all, that faces all Republicans and all Democrats, is: can freedom in the next generation . . . conquer, or are the Communists going to be successful? That's the great issue. And if we meet our responsibilities I think freedom will conquer. If we fail, if we fail to move ahead, if we fail to develop sufficient military and economic and social strength here in this country, then I think that uh— the tide could begin to run against us. And I don't want historians, ten years from now, to say, these were the years when the tide ran out for the United States. I want them to say

these were the years when the tide came in; these were the years when the United States started to move again. That's the question before the American people, and only you can decide what you want, what you want this country to be, what you want to do with the future. I think we're ready to move. And it is to that great task, if we're successful, that we will address ourselves.

MR. SMITH: Thank you very much, gentlemen. This hour has gone by all too quickly. Thank you very much for permitting us to present the next president of the United States on this unique program. I've been asked by the candidates to thank the American networks and the affiliated stations for providing time and facilities for this joint appearance. Other debates in this series will be announced later and will be on different subjects. This is Howard K. Smith. Good night from Chicago.

## Strategic Mobility

### AMST - Opening Statement

Senator Leahy of Vermont made an investigation into the Strategic Mobility area. This investigation was motivated by the committee's deep concern over the ability of the U.S. Government and our NATO allies to provide a credible conventional deterrent to preclude war with the Warsaw-Pact countries. In reviewing the section related to the AMST several serious questions become very apparent.

#### Question

1. What is the basic requirement? The Army is only just now getting underway to study and hopefully define what the real need and operational use of an AMST will be. They are scheduled to complete the study in mid 1977.

(AF ans: Sec. of the Army Calloway, in a letter to Congressman McFall, stated the full Army support of the AMST. They have been kept fully aware of our program and the capabilities of our prototypes.)

Response: Being aware is one thing, establishing definitive requirements is another. Do you have a specified Army requirement at this time?

(AF ans: No, sir)

#### Question

2. My next concern is your reported consideration to provide a strategic capability, even carry heavy tanks, although I understand there is no requirement for this capability.

(AF ans: There is no requirement to carry the M-60 Tank in the AMST. In view of the shortfall of strategic airlift we want to investigate the contribution that minor changes to the configuration might make to that shortfall.)

Response: Information contained in the airlift hearings and in the trade journals indicate things like new engines, new and larger wings, and stretched fuselages. These hardly seem minor. The present cost projections indicate an AMST will cost in excess of 20.0 Mil. dollars per unit program cost. These new options, if exercised, would run the cost even higher. Furthermore, if the intent is to make a strategic airlifter out of this aircraft, then the whole purpose for which the Congress approved the AMST prototype program is wrong. If the intent is strategic, I would seriously question the need to replace the C-141 fleet and the C-130 fleet at this time, or with this aircraft. It would appear that a whole new program would be required. It is very difficult for this committee to evaluate these options without a firm requirement.

Question

3. Dr. Currie has testified that programmed improvements to the existing tactical force make the present force a competitor in modernization of the tactical fleet.

(AF ans: We have looked at these options as proposed by Lockheed and while they appear attractive on the surface, they have several serious deficiencies.)

1. The box size is restrictive. We need the wider higher AMST box size to carry the larger Army equipment like the 8" self propelled gun.
2. The airspeed is 100 knots faster and so makes the AMST more productive.
3. The greater payload of the AMST also adds to the productivity on about a 2 to 1 basis)

Response: It appears to me that speed over the short distances in NATO is of little consequence and as far as box size and payload are concerned, how can this committee make any sensible evaluation of this type of trade-off when the Army has not even defined what it is they want to move and how they want to move it? It's difficult for me to understand how, with the extensive road network in Europe, it is possible to marshall, load, fly, and unload a brigade or a division in less time than it takes to drive the equipment 100 to 200 miles or less.

Question

4. The design-to-cost goal has gone up from \$5.0 million at the 300th unit and now we are looking at a \$21.6 million per unit program cost based upon the present AMST configuration. If some of the options that we understand you are looking at are exercised, the cost goes even higher.

Would the Air Force really consider placing such an expensive machine in the forward area? I remember situations in Vietnam when the C-130's were withheld and Air Drop was used to prevent losses and they only cost a few million dollars each at that time.

(AF ans: ? - Probably air superiority - - It is ground based anti-aircraft and surface to surface missiles at the airhead that create the problem.)

Question

5. All of the foregoing leads me to my major concern. At this particular time can the basic requirement to modernize our Tactical Airlift Force really be resolved without a definite requirement from the Army? How can this committee determine at this time whether new aircraft, or improvement to our existing force or even no modernization at all may be the correct course of action. Before the Air Force can move into a position of proposing a full scale development program, it seems to me that a much more justifiable Program Requirement must be established and full consideration by this committee must be given to all alternatives available for meeting this requirement. Whatever the final requirement turns out to be.

A LOOK AT THE FORD RECORD

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## OUTLINE OF THE FORD RECORD

THEME 1: Gerald Ford has always been a strong and consistent supporter of Richard Nixon; it should not be surprising that in many respects the Ford Administration has become an uninterrupted continuation of the Nixon Administration.

A. Congressman Ford strongly, consistently, and often blindly supported President Nixon.

1. Support level:

- a. Ford supported Nixon's public position on legislation in over 80% of roll call votes during 1969-1973 period; he opposed Nixon only 11%; supported 100% on veto overrides.
- b. In 3 of the 5 sessions of Congress that Ford served under Nixon, he was one of the top 4 supporters of Nixon in the entire House of Representatives. In 1973, only one other Congressman supported Nixon on more roll calls than did Ford.
- c. Such high support transcended the obligation of a Republican Congressional leader. By comparison, Ford's counterpart in the Senate, Minority Leader, Hugh Scott, supported Nixon on only 71% of roll call votes during the same period; and he was never among Nixon's top five Senate supporters.

2. Support of Specific Nixon Actions and Policies:

- a. At specific White House request, initiated move to impeach Justice Douglas with evidence which was supplied by John Mitchell, and which had never been proven true.
- b. At specific White House request, and admittedly without checking the accuracy of the allegations, led effort to kill House Banking Committee investigation of Watergate before 1972 election.
- c. Defended Nixon's integrity and honesty on the floor of the House of Representatives, fully knowing that Nixon had lied about the secret bombings of Cambodia in 1970.
- d. Publicly supported Nixon's nomination of Clement Haynsworth and G. Harold Carswell to the Supreme Court (it was the disappointment at their defeat that led Ford to begin his impeachment inquiry of Justice Douglas).
- e. Introduced and fought for Nixon's bill to gut the extension of the Voting Rights Act.

- f. Supported Nixon's handling of "May Day" war protest in D. C. (subsequently held unconstitutional).
  - g. Supported Nixon's plan to bail out Lockheed with a \$250 million Federal loan guarantee.
  - h. Supported Nixon's plan to develop a multi-billion dollar ABM system.
  - i. Supported and fought for the "no-knock" and "preventive detention" provisions of Nixon's crime legislation.
  - j. Fully supported Nixon's wage and price control program (though such support meant abandoning a 20-year record of opposition by Ford to wage and price controls). Fully supported Nixon's new China policy (though such support meant abandoning a 20-year record of opposition by Ford to eased relations with China). Of such abrupt changes, J. F. ter Horst, Ford's First Press Secretary, wrote: "Ford found himself scrambling to keep up with the surprise moves by the White House. But each time he managed to put aside past objections to such decisions and come to Nixon's defense."
  - k. Supported Nixon's invasion of Cambodia.
  - l. Supported all of Nixon's bombing operations in North Vietnam and Nixon's mining of Haiphong Harbor, as well as the rest of Nixon's Vietnam policy. J. F. ter Horst: "Time and again, Ford pulled together the necessary Republican and conservative Southern votes to dilute and defeat the numerous end-the-war measures that dogged Nixon throughout 1972."
  - m. Supported Nixon's opposition to the War Powers Act (designed to limit a President's ability to engage in war without Congressional approval); led unsuccessful fight to uphold Nixon's veto.
  - n. Supported without reservation or qualification Nixon's handling of Watergate.
3. Opposition to Nixon policies:
- a. Although Ford voted against Nixon's position from time to time on relatively minor legislation, he virtually never deviated from the Nixon position on any legislation or other matter that Nixon was really concerned about.
  - b. In 4½ years, probably the most significant Ford departure from Nixon's position was his opposition to the Nixon proposal to permit use of highway trust fund money for mass transit projects in urban areas; and that opposition can be readily attributed to Ford's Michigan car-producing constituency.

B. Although he was Vice-President for only nine months, Ford continued to indicate in that short period his blind, unyielding support for Richard Nixon. He did that by persistently defending Nixon's Watergate actions and attacking Nixon's Watergate critics. That loyalty to Nixon easily transcended the loyalty that any Vice-President owes to a President, or any Republican leader to a Republican President. With the possible exception of Senator Dole, no other Republican so blindly supported Nixon's every move during this period.

1. Examples of Ford's Vice-Presidential performance:

- a. Fully supported Nixon's firing of Special Prosecutor Cox; said that Nixon had "no other choice, after Mr. Cox -- who was after all a subordinate--refused to accept the compromise solution to the tapes issue." 10/20/73 (prior to confirmation)
- b. Agreed with Nixon's definition of an impeachable offense as one involving "treason, bribery, and other high crimes and misdemeanors." While leading move to impeach Justice Douglas, Ford said impeachable offense was anything a majority of the House of Representatives decided. 12/9/73
- c. Accused AFL-CIO, ADA and "other Powerful pressure organizations" of waging "an all-out attack against the President"; referred to the President's opponents as "super welfare staters"; labeled Watergate "a grotesque sideshow". Ford later admitted that his speech had been drafted by the Nixon White House. 1/15/74
- d. Stated that Nixon has evidence to exonerate himself, but that he (Ford) does not need to look at the evidence because he trusts Nixon's word about the evidence. 1/25/74
- e. Stated that Nixon has supplied more tapes to the Special Prosecutor than had been sought; the same day the Special Prosecutor said Ford was wrong. 2/3/74
- f. Praised Nixon's "good Faith and Trust" in agreeing to pay \$476,000 in back taxes that the Joint Congressional Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation determined Nixon owed. (Nixon has apparently still failed to pay the \$171,000 in back taxes that he is not legally required to pay). 4/4/74
- g. Admitted to being only "a little disappointed" by the transcripts released by Nixon. 5/3/74
- h. Stated that Nixon's being named an unindicted co-conspirator did not change his Faith in Nixon's innocence. 6/7/74

- i. Attacked "nameless leakers" who were undercutting "the greatest President for peace in our history." 6/15/74
  - j. Stated that "any President under his constitutional authority as Commander-in-Chief can order certain rather drastic actions, including a break-in." 6/28/74
  - k. Reviewed the transcripts as follows: "The thing that is small, but I think it is significant, is that in none of the tapes or transcripts that I've seen did you see people who were there say 'Mr. President.' I happen to think in deference to the office even people as close as that group ought to refer to the President as 'Mr. President.' I do. I know others do. And that, which is small, bothered me as much as anything." 7/24/74
  - l. Stated that he could say "from the bottom of my heart that the President of the United States is right." 7/24/74
  - m. Branded the House Judiciary Committee impeachment proceedings "a travesty" for not having produced more specific charges against Nixon. 7/20/74
  - n. Stated that he still believed "the President is innocent of any impeachable offense" (8/3/74); and that he did not want "any impression created that I've changed my mind about the President's innocence." (8/4/74)  
(These statements were made after Haig had informed Ford about the contents of the final, "smoking-gun" Watergate tape).
- C. Upon becoming President, Ford continued his 25-year loyalty and protection of Nixon.
1. Pardon of Nixon
    - a. The pardon was unprecedented in American legal history. It was in effect negotiated with its recipient; it was negotiated in total secrecy and without the knowledge or consent of the Justice Department (Special Prosecutor's Office). It was offered prior to any judicial proceedings; and its recipient never admitted guilt for any Watergate actions.
    - b. Ford's explanation: Pardon would remove the Watergate issue from national concern and would spare Nixon from further suffering. (Ford had been informed by Jaworski, though he did not so reveal in his explanation, that it was "absolutely certain" Nixon would be indicted.) That explanation, offered when the pardon was granted and when Ford testified before the House Judiciary Committee, left the following questions unanswered:
      - (1) Why the normal Justice Department pardon procedure -- through which every other pardon application must go -- had to be subverted?

- (2) Why the other Watergate defendants had not also suffered enough to warrant pardons?
- (3) Why had Nixon not been required to admit he violated any law or was involved in a cover-up, rather than be allowed to say only that there had been "mistakes" in his handling of Watergate?

c. Prior Commitment

- (1) Ford was adamant that prior to assuming the Presidency, he made no commitment to Nixon or his staff to grant a pardon. There is no firm contrary evidence, though it is clear (and Ford admits) that the question of a pardon was discussed while he was still Vice-President.
- (2) The fact that there technically was no prior commitment is really irrelevant: given Ford's long-standing friendship, support and admiration for Nixon, and the fact he owed his job to Nixon, no firm commitment was necessary for Ford to know what was expected of him.

2. Watergate Tapes and Papers

- (a) Ford, for the American government, entered into an agreement with Nixon (at the time of the pardon) that would have given Nixon permanent control over all of the Watergate tapes and papers; like the pardon, the agreement was arrived at in secret and without the consent of the Special Prosecutor's Office.
- (b) Terms: immediate control to Nixon; government access only for the Watergate trials and appeals; right by Nixon to destroy after 5 years; automatic destruction after Nixon's death. This agreement was quickly nullified by Congressional action.

SPECIAL NOTE: In the pardon and tapes negotiations, the United States government was represented by Benton Becker, a private lawyer who had prepared the information for Ford in the Douglas impeachment inquiry; Becker was Ford's choice as negotiator.

3. Transition Funds

- (a) Ford requested an appropriation of \$850,000 for presidential transition expenses, \$60,000 for Nixon's pension, and \$96,000 for staff for the nine months after the resignation.
- (b) Congress cut the \$850,000 amount to \$200,000. (The requested appropriation was exactly the amount recommended to Ford by Nixon's former staff.)

- D. Throughout his presidency, Ford has demonstrated that his presidency is merely a re-named extension of Nixon's by, among other things: (1) using and promoting Nixon's appointees, and by (2) operating the government in the Nixon manner:

1. Nixon Appointees

- (a) Transition: instead of following the advice of his transition team of informal advisors (Scranton, Laird, Buchen, Whitehead, etc.), Ford failed to replace quickly the key Nixon appointees and to, thereby, establish his own administration. His failure to do so set the entire tone for the Ford Administration -- a continuation of the Nixon Administration.
- (b ) The following key Nixon appointees were kept on for the first five months of the Administration (through the end of 1974):
1. James Schlesinger - Secretary of Defense
  2. Caspar Weinberger - Secretary of HEW
  3. James Lynn - Secretary of HUD
  4. Rogers Morton - Secretary of Interior
  5. Claude Brinegar - Secretary of Transportation
  6. Fred Dent - Secretary of Commerce
  7. Roy Ash - OMB Director
  8. Ken Cole - Domestic Council Director
  9. William B. Saxbe - Attorney General
  10. Peter J. Brennan - Secretary of Labor
- (c) The following key Nixon appointees were not only kept through 1974 but are still on the job in 1976:
1. Henry Kissinger - Secretary of State
  2. William Simon - Secretary of Treasury
  3. Earl Butz - Secretary of Agriculture
  4. Alan Greenspan - Chairman, CEA
  5. Arthur Burns, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board
- (d) The following key Nixon appointees were appointed by Ford to other major Federal positions:
1. Alexander Haig, Chief of Staff to NATO Commander
  2. George Bush, Ambassador to China to CIA Director
  3. Peter Flanigan, White House business community liaison to Ambassador of Spain (withdrawn)
  4. Carla Hills, Assistant Attorney General to Secretary of HUD
  5. Elliot Richardson, Attorney General to Ambassador to England and Secretary of Commerce
  6. James Lynn, Secretary of HUD to OMB Director
  7. Fred Dent, Secretary of Commerce to Special Representative for Trade Negotiations
  8. Don Rumsfeld, Ambassador to NATO to White House assistant and Secretary of Defense

9. Thomas Kleppe, Administrator, SBA to Secretary of Interior
10. William Saxbe, Attorney General to Ambassador to India
11. Rogers Morton, Secretary of Interior to Secretary of Commerce
12. Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant for National Security Affairs to Assistant for NSA
13. Max Friedersdorf, Deputy Assistant for Legislative Affairs to Assistant for Legislative Affairs
14. William J. Baroody, Jr., Deputy to Counsellor to President to Assistant to President
15. Kent Frizzell, Solicitor General of Interior Dept. to Undersecretary of Interior
16. Frank Zarb, Associate Director, OMB to Administrator, FE
17. Richard Roudebush, Deputy Administrator of VA to Administrator of VA
18. David Gergen, White House speechwriter to Director White House Office of Communications
19. Laurence Silberman, Deputy Attorney General to Ambassador to Portugal
20. Robert Seamans, Secretary of Army to ERDA Administrator
21. Nathaniel Davis, Assistant Secretary of State to Ambassador to Switzerland
22. Frank Carlucci, Under secretary of HEW to Ambassador to Portugal
23. John McLucas, Secretary of Air Force to FAA Administrator
24. Thomas Enders, Assistant Secretary of State to Ambassador to Canada

(e) The following Nixon appointees to major regulatory agencies have been reappointed by Ford:

1. Richard O'Melia (CAB)
2. Robert Gresham (ICC)
3. Raymond Bell (Foreign Claims Settlement Commission)
4. Abbot Washburn (FCC)
5. Garth Marston (Federal Home Loan Bank Board)
6. Ethel Bert Walsh (EEOC)
7. George Ives (National Mediation Board)
8. Kay McMurray (National Mediation Board)

2. Operating the government in the Nixon manner - Nixon operated the government in a manner that proved to be the most corrupt, deceitful, secretive, inefficient and expensive in the nation's history. The continuation by Ford of so many of the Nixon practices is further evidence that in many respects the Ford Administration is merely an extension of the Nixon Administration:

A Frequent and Unwarranted Use of the Veto

1. Nixon-Ford

(a) The Nixon-Ford Administration has vetoed 98 public

bills; 30 of those vetoes were pocket vetoes, which Congress had no legal opportunity to override. Of the 68 vetoes which legally could be overridden, Congress overrode 15. By comparison, in his eight years, Eisenhower had only two vetoes overridden. (Kennedy and Johnson had none)

(b) All 89 of those vetoes were on bills concerned with such fields as health, job expansion, education, minimum wages, housing, environmental and consumer protection, veterans' benefits and small business. None were concerned with military spending, subsidies for floundering corporations, loopholes for special interests, or tax breaks for the wealthy.

2. Major Nixon Vetoes - Nixon vetoed 43 public bills, 5 of those were overridden.

(a) Economy, jobs

- bill to authorize \$9.5 billion for federal manpower training and public service employment programs ('70)
- bill to authorize \$5.7 billion in accelerated public works projects in Appalachian region ('71)
- bill to raise minimum wage to \$2.20 per hour ('73)

(b) Human Needs

- bill to extend Older Americans Act and to strengthen Administration on Aging ('72)
- bill to authorize \$800 million in FY '73 and \$975 million in FY '74 to assist states in providing vocational rehabilitation to the handicapped ('72)
- bill to authorize \$450 million for program of expanded health care for veterans ('72)
- bill to authorize \$185 million to assist state and local jurisdictions establish Emergency Medical System ('73)
- bill to authorize \$2.6 billion for vocational authority ('73)

(c) Environment

- bill to authorize \$24.7 billion for federal water pollution control; \$18 billion for construction of local waste treatment plants ('72) (overridden)
- bill to establish a national environmental data bank to store local, state, federal information ('72)

--bill to authorize federal funds for mineral research and training institute in each state ('72)

--bill to require president to spend \$300 million for rural and water sewer grants ('73)

(d) Foreign Affairs

--bill to cut off funds to USIA if it failed to meet a demand for information by Senate Foreign Relations Committee ('73)

--resolution to control president's ability to commit country to war without Congressional consent (War Powers Resolution ('73) (Overriden)

3. Major Ford Vetoes - Ford has vetoed 55 bills in a 2 year tenure; 10 of those vetoes were overridden; no president since Andrew Johnson has had such a high percentage of his vetoes overridden.

(a) Economy, jobs

--bill to provide \$5.3 billion for emergency jobs (1 million full time; 840,000 summer, ('75) (reason for veto: more than he wanted to spend)

--bill to provide funds for additional day care center teachers ('76)

--bill to provide \$6.36 billion for public works jobs - to create 600,000 - 800,000 new jobs ('76) (claimed cost would be intolerably high)

--bill to allow picketing and strikes against all employees at a single construction site ('76) (claimed parties to it disagreed on bill)

--bill to strengthen protection of migrant farm workers ('74)

(b) Human Needs

--bill to increase educational benefits for post-Korean and Vietnam War veterans by 22.7 percent; increase vocational aid for the disabled by 18.2 percent; extend entitlement period for veterans seeking under graduate degrees from 36-45 months ('74) (overriden)

--bill to authorize grants for family planning, mental health centers, migrant health centers, control of epilepsy, Huntington's disease, hemophilia, rape prevention ('75)

--bill to increase the number of children eligible for school lunch subsidies ('75) (overriden)

- bill to provide \$7.9 billion for various educational programs ('75) overriden)
- bill to extend health revenue sharing programs, family planning programs, community health centers, National Health Service Corps programs and assistance to nurse training ('75) overriden)
- bill to provide \$25 million for training of nurses ('75)
- bill to provide \$1.2 billion in housing assistance for help in meeting rent and mortgage payments; provide federal loans for mortgage payments ('75)

(c) Energy and Environment

- bill establishing federal standards for strip mining ('74) ('75)
- bill to make certain that right-of-ways in National Wildlife Refuge System are most protective of environment ('74)
- bill to require 20 percent of gross tonnage of all oil imports in bulk on ocean vessels for import in U.S. be transported on U.S. flag commercial vessels ('74)
- bill to extend price controls (Emergency Petroleum Act '73) for petroleum and other oil products ('75) claimed domestic oil prices would be kept too low)
- bill to suspend for 90 days, president's authority to increase tariffs on petroleum ('75) (claimed increased import fees were necessary)
- bill to continue controlled prices at existing rate for old oil and to roll back price of new oil from the existing uncontrolled prices ('75)

(d) Foreign Affairs

- bill to include Secretary of Treasury as statutory member of NSC in order to include the chief economic spokesmen in international economic policy formulation ('75)
- bill to reimburse state and local governments for protective services provided to foreign missions and visiting officials ('75)

(e) Agriculture

- bill to increase "target prices" and price support loans for cotton and grain and price supports for milk products ('75)

--bill to provide for quarterly adjustments in the support price of milk at 85 percent of parity ('75)

--bill to require the support price of manufactured milk be established at not less than 85 percent of parity price ('75)

--bill to increase formula for determining tobacco price support levels ('75)

(f) Public Employees

--bill to provide Federal employees with some of the rights of private sector employees ('76)

(B) Frequent and Unwarranted Impoundment of Appropriated Funds

1. Nixon

(a) Nixon was the first president to regularly impound lawfully appropriated funds in order to kill programs he did not like; until Nixon, impoundment has been used primarily as a financial management device, a tool to defer spending until more appropriate times.

(b) Nixon saw impoundment as an item veto device, and he impounded funds at record rates.

(1) Nixon impounded an average of \$20 billion a year for FY '73 and FY '74.

(2) During his 5½ years, Nixon impounded triple the amount of funds impounded in the 3 previous administrations.

(c) Because of the Nixon impoundments, many of which were held illegal by Federal Courts, the Budget and Impoundment Act of '74 was enacted to provide some Congressional oversight of impoundment. At the time of the enactment, \$20.4 billion was being impounded.

2. Ford

(a) Ford has continued without any change the Nixon practice of trying to kill programs through impoundment.

In FY '75 and FY'76, he has tried to impound over \$40 billion (through 278 funding deferred recommendations and 136 funding rescission recommendations).

(b) Ford has not been very successful in impounding this more than \$40 billion because of the restraints imposed by the Impoundment Act '74. (Under the Act,

Congress gets 45 days to disapprove a president's attempt to defer or rescind the spending of appropriate funds.) But he has taken every step possible to circumvent the spirit of the Act: timing his rescission proposals to get funds withheld longer than the intended 45 days (such as by sending rescission proposals to Congress during recesses), and proposing rescissions after Congress has already indicated its intent for certain funds by rejecting his deferral proposals.

(c) In addition to his efforts to impound at Nixon-like rates, Ford has continued Nixon's practice of concentrating impoundments in the area of social and domestic programs (example: one quarter of proposed rescissions have been in health areas.) Ford has impounded virtually nothing in the defense budget.

(C) Unwarranted Use of Executive Privilege

1. Nixon

- (a) Throughout the Nixon Administration, and not just during Watergate, Nixon grossly expanded the concept of executive privilege to protect his administration from Congressional scrutiny; 90 percent of all claims of executive privilege between 1963 and 1973 were made by the Nixon administration. Had Nixon not so expanded the scope of executive privilege, Congress and the public might have earlier been able to uncover some of the abuses that led to the resignation.
- (b) Watergate showed clearly the danger of the expanded Nixon concept of executive privilege; aides with knowledge of illegal activity were able to hide from Congressional investigations, and Watergate tapes were withheld for so long from Congressional and grand jury scrutiny.
- (c) Only with the Supreme Court's decision forcing Nixon to release his final Watergate tapes was the expanded concept of executive privilege deflated and Nixon forced to resign.

2. Ford

- (a) It might have been hoped that Ford would learn the lesson of Watergate and would end any expansive use of executive privilege to shield information that should be public; but Ford has continued the Nixon-like expansive use of executive privilege, and indeed has even recently even gone beyond Nixon.

(b) Examples:

(1) For 5 months in 1975, Ford refused to allow the Commerce Department to disclose to Congress copies of reports made by American business firms on the impact of the Arab boycott against companies dealing with Israel or controlled by Jewish interests. No reason beyond the arbitrary power of the Commerce Department to keep the reports secret - in essence, executive privilege - was ever given. Only after Commerce Secretary Morton was cited for contempt by a House Subcommittee did Ford relent and provide copies of the reports.

(2) In the fall of 1975, Ford ordered Kissinger to ignore subpoenas issued by the House Intelligence Committee for certain NSC and State Dept. documents concerning covert operations and Soviet compliance with SALT. The express basis for Ford's order was executive privilege. Only after Kissinger was cited for contempt by the Committee did Ford relent and allow Kissinger to supply enough information to satisfy the needs of the Committee.

(3) In June of '76, Ford attempted to develop the novel concept of "3rd party executive privilege." He did that by having his Justice Dept. invoke executive privilege on behalf of American Telephone and Telegraph, from which a House Subcommittee has sought records indicating the names of persons wiretapped by the Justice Department. The House Subcommittee's subpoena is intended to obtain the evidence needed to determine if domestic wiretaps have been placed without court orders. The Justice Department opposes the dissemination of that evidence, and for that reason Ford has used "executive privilege" to block AT&T's honoring of the subpoena. The matter is now being litigated.

(D) Powerful, Centralized and Bloated White House Staff

--The Nixon-Ford White House staff has been larger and more powerful than any in the nation's history; never before has a White House staff been so able to ignore the Cabinet and the Congress and to keep the President so isolated from reality.

1. Nixon

Power: Nixon allowed the White House staff to assume all of the power of the Executive Branch and to thereby remove the Cabinet Departments and Independent Agencies from an effective role.

--Established a Domestic Council within the White House to make all domestic policy decisions, virtually ignoring such Departments as HEW, HUD, and DOT.

- Established within the Executive Office other bodies designed to bypass the Cabinet and independent agencies: Council on Environmental Quality, Council on International Economic Policy, Office of Consumer Affairs, Office of Telecommunications Policy, and Special Office for Drug Abuse Prevention.
- Established Office of Management and Budget to replace Budget Bureau; purpose was to involve the White House directly with policies of Cabinet depts and independent agencies.
- Used the National Security Council to totally remove the State Department from policy-making. (continued until Kissinger became Secretary of State.)

Centralization: In addition to moving all the power to the White House, Nixon centralized the power even there. He established a "Berlin Wall" of Ehrlichman and Haldeman through whom all domestic and administrative decisions had to go, and he allowed Kissinger to assume complete control of foreign policy. The Watergate experience revealed how this centralized system completely isolated Nixon from his cabinet and from Congress.

Size: During Nixon's tenure, he allowed the White House staff to, in his words, "grow like Topsy." When Nixon assumed office, the budget for the White House staff was \$3.5 million; when he left, it was about \$16 million, and the size of the staff (not counting "detailees" and consultants) was 540. More important, though, was the enormous growth of the Executive Office of the President, which includes, in addition to the White House staff, such Presidential bodies as the Domestic Council (which Nixon created), the Office of Management and Budget (which Nixon created), the National Security Council, the Council of Economic Advisors, the Office of Telecommunications Policy (which Nixon created), as well as a number of other councils and offices. In Nixon's last year, the budget for the Executive Office was \$75 million; and it had (not counting detailees and consultants), over 2,200 employees.

## 2. Ford

Although Ford initially pledged to lessen and decentralize the power of the White House staff and to significantly cut its size, he has not; he has instead continued to run the White House almost exactly like Nixon.

Power: Ford has left Nixon's top-heavy White House structure virtually intact: he has dismantled the Drug Abuse Office, but he has added a Council on Wage and Price Stability (which had been proposed by Nixon before his resignation.) Most importantly, Ford has allowed the Domestic Council and OMB to maintain their Nixon-like stranglehold on so much of his administration's policies.

Centralization: The chief-of-staff system that gave so much power to Haldeman and Haig and so isolated Nixon has been continued by Ford in all but name. Initially, he used Don Rumsfeld in a role exactly like a Nixon chief-of-staff (though the title was different.) When Rumsfeld left, Dick Cheney replaced him and continued to exercise the enormous powers of a chief-of-staff.

Size: Ford claims to have reduced the size of the Imperial Presidency because he has reduced from 540 to 485 the number of official positions on the White House staff. The truth is that Ford has allowed the Presidency to remain at its bloated size:

- (a) The 485 figure does not include all officials who are "detailed" to the White House from other Executive Departments; it also does not include White House \$150-a-day consultants, for whom Ford has requested \$4 million for FY '77, or \$1 million requested for "unanticipated needs." The 485 figure also does not reveal the enormity of its cost: \$16.5 million for FY '77 (Nixon's first year: \$3.5 million). Nor does it reveal that 14 White House aides are authorized to make \$44,000 a year and 69 are authorized to make \$40,000 a year. (Ford originally sought 95 slots for \$40,000 employees.)
- (b) The 485 figure also does not include the more than 1,600 employees who work for the Executive Office of the President; Ford has requested for FY '77 an Executive Office budget of \$72 million. The Executive Office size is the real measure of the White House; and there has been no noticeable decrease in staff or budget in the Ford years.

(E) Wanton Squandering of Taxpayers' Money

1. Nixon

—The squandering of taxpayers' money in the Nixon Administration was so unconscionable as to virtually defy belief. A few of the countless examples:

- (a) Over \$17 million was spent for "security" and other maintenance at Nixon's San Clemente and Key Biscayne properties. Items purchased included a flag pole, an icemaker, a shuffleboard court, a gazebo, landscaping, replica of White House fence, and a wind-screen for the swimming pool.
- (b) Over \$150,000 was spent for repairs and improvements at Agnew's residence.
- (c) A limited-production Defense Department helicopter, worth over \$3 million, was given on the spur of the moment by Nixon to President Sadat of Egypt.
- (d) Cost overruns on the C5-A transport plane were totally ignored; the person who disclosed those overruns, Ernest Fitzgerald, was fired by the Defense Department; \$299 million had to be appropriated to meet the cost overruns (per plane cost rose from \$28 million to \$60 million).
- (e) Over \$6 billion was spent developing and constructing the two ABM sites; those sites have now been dismantled as obsolete and unnecessary.
- (f) Through mismanagement, illegal practices, and other abuses, the Department of Housing and Urban Development lost over \$2 billion of the taxpayers' money. (Examples: Hundreds of millions were lost because HUD allowed foreclosed houses to crumble and was unable to re-sell them; \$15 million was lost through payments to ineligible borrowers of HUD funds; \$10 million was lost because of inadequate recertification procedures for mortgagees).

## 2. Ford

The squandering of billions of dollars of taxpayers money that was rampant -- in fact became synonymous with the Nixon Administration--has not changed one iota. The Ford Administration has continued to waste billions of dollars, often in ways that even the Nixon Administration would not have dared.

Any notion put forward by Gerald Ford that he has streamlined the government, eliminated the fat and saved the taxpayers' money can be rebutted by any of the following examples:

### 1. Presidency and Vice-Presidency

- a. Ford has increased funding for White House "consultants" by \$1.6 million since becoming President.
- b. In FY '76, Ford requested a 100 percent increase, from \$500,000 to \$1 million for the White House discretionary contingency fund (amount reduced by Congress)
- c. In FY '76, Ford proposed a bill to exempt White House travel funds and funds for official receptions, entertainment and representation from audit by the General Accounting Office.
- d. Ford spent \$537,000 to repair and decorate the new residence of the Vice-President, an amount 3,500 % above his projected \$15,000. And after this expenditure, Rockefeller has declined to live in the residence.

### 2. Defense Department

#### a. Cost Overruns

- (1) Revealed in March '75 that 47 construction projects by Army Corps of Engineers originally set to cost \$2.4 billion would cost \$7.4 billion (300 percent increase)
- (2) Revealed in March '76 that amphibious assault program (LHA) scheduled for 9 ships at \$1.38 billion would cost \$1.2 billion for just 5 ships -- almost as much as all 9 originally.
- (3) Revealed in February '75 that Nautilus, the nation's first atomic submarine, would cost \$48 million to overhaul -- 300 percent increase above original contract.

b. Budget Padding

- (1) Ford's OMB added \$3.1 billion to its defense appropriations request for FY '76 merely as a bargaining "cushion."
- (2) Ford requested in FY '76 more than \$4 million for military servants to high ranking officers.
- (3) Defense Department is spending \$14 million a year to maintain 300 military golf courses in 19 foreign countries and U.S.
- (4) Army recently spent \$200 million to purchase 14,000 amphibious trucks which proved non-amphibious.

3. State Department

Spends nearly \$1 million annually to administer federal gift-giving.

4. Federal Energy Administration

While preaching energy conservation, FEA Administrator Zarb flew in an Air Force jet 13 times during the first ten months of 1975, burning 19,000 gallons of fuel and costing the taxpayers \$25,000; in more than half of his trips, Zarb burned enough fuel in an hour to supply the average American driver with enough gasoline to drive for an entire year.

5. Environmental Protection Agency

Administrator Russell Train refuses to set an example by giving up his chauffer-driven limousine and car-pooling.

6. Health, Education, and Welfare

Between \$2 billion and \$7 billion was disclosed by a Senate Subcommittee as being lost annually in the administration of the Medicaid program through fraud, substandard patient care and benefits provided for ineligible persons. Ford Administration response: the disclosure was "grandstanding."

F. Appointments Without Concern for the Public Interest

1. Nixon-Ford policies

- a. For the entire 5½ years of the Nixon Administration, major federal appointments were frequently made without regard for qualifications or without concern for conflicts-of-interest.
- b. In just 2 years, the Ford Administration has provided clear proof of its intention to continue the Nixon policy of ignoring merit and conflicts-of-interest and recognizing Republican loyalty and Big Business.

2. Appointments of Unsuccessful Republican Office-seekers or Former Republican Office-Holders, Without Regard To Their Qualifications

Examples:

a. Nixon

1. Thomas Kleppe, defeated for U.S. Senate in North Dakota, to Administrator, Federal Railroad Administration and Administrator, Small Business Administration.
2. Howard Callaway, defeated for election to Governor of Georgia, to Secretary of Army.
3. Norbert Tieman, defeated for re-election to Governor of Nebraska, to Administrator, Federal Highway Administration.
4. James Smith, former member of House of Representatives, to Administrator, Farmers Home Administrator.
5. Donald L. Jackson, former member of House of Representatives, to Interstate Commerce Commission.
6. William H. Harrison, former member of House of Representatives, to Securities and Exchange Commission.
7. William L. Springer, former member of House of Representatives, to Federal Power Commission.

b. Ford

1. Thomas Meskill, former Governor of Connecticut, to judge, U.S. Court of Appeals.
2. Stanley Hathaway, former Governor of Wyoming, to Secretary of Interior.
3. Jack Eckerd, defeated for U.S. Senate in Florida, to Administrator, GSA
4. Peter Dominick, defeated for U.S. Senate in Colorado, to Ambassador to Switzerland.
5. Richard Roudebush, defeated for U.S. Senate in Indiana, to Veterans Administration Administrator.
6. Thomas Kleppe, defeated for U.S. Senate in North Dakota, to Secretary of Interior.

7. Wilmer David Mizell, defeated for re-election to House of Representatives to Assistant Secretary of Commerce.
8. Tom Curtis, defeated for election to U.S. Senate in Missouri, to chairman, Federal Elections Commission.

3. Appointments of Individuals Having Serious Conflicts-of-Interest

Examples:

a. Nixon

1. Willie Mae Rogers, director of Good Housekeeping Institute, as consumer consultant at White House, part-time (resigned after 4 days).
2. John Hurd, oil producers association executive, as Ambassador to Venezuela (withdrawn).
3. Judge Clement Haynsworth to U.S. Supreme Court (rejected by Senate).
4. Dr. J. Richard Lucas, chairman of Virginia Polytechnic Institute's Department of Mining Engineering (which has close ties to the coal industry) to Director, Bureau of Mines (withdrawn).
5. Edward B. Miller, Chicago corporate management lawyer, as chairman of the National Labor Relations Board.
6. Earl L. Butz, director of four corporate food-processing chains, as Secretary of Agriculture.
7. William J. Casey, former corporate director and prominent securities investor, often sued for his investment activities, as chairman of SEC.
8. Robert Morris, lawyer for Standard Oil of California, to FPC (rejected by Senate).

b. Ford

1. Andrew Gibson, recipient of \$88,000 a year, ten year severance contract from oil company, as Administrator, FEA (withdrawn).
2. Melvin Conant, recipient of \$90,000 lump sum severance payment from Exxon, as Assistant Administrator, FEA.
3. Joseph Coors, director of family-owned television company, unwilling to resign such directorship, as Director, Corporation for Public Broadcasting (rejected by Commerce Committee).

4. Thomas Longshore, executive of private utility company often in conflict with TVA, to TVA Board (rejected by Commerce Committee).
5. Edith Green, former U.S. Representative who had voted against the creation of the Legal Services Corporation, to Board of Directors of the Legal Services Corporation (withdrawn).
6. Benjamin Blackburn, former U.S. Representative who had consistently voted against civil rights bills, to Chairman, Home Loan Bank Board (which administers the National Fair Housing Act) (rejected by Senate Banking Committee).

G. Protection of the Corporate Special Interests

1. Nixon-Ford

(a) Even before the Watergate revelations, it was clear that Nixon operated the government in a way designed to protect the corporate special interest; Watergate only provided further evidence.

(b) Ford has not lost a stride in picking up where Nixon left off: his policies have continued to protect the interests of Big Business. When the Ford record is combined with that of Nixon, it is evident that not since the Hoover Administration have the corporate special interests been so coddled.

2. Nixon-Ford Policies Representative of the Substantial Influence of the Corporate Special Interests

A. Nixon

1. Personally ordered the dropping of a major anti-trust suit against ITT (at the time of ITT's \$400,000 pledge to the Republican National Convention).

2. Directed a bailout of Lockheed through a \$250 million federal loan guarantee
3. Personally ordered the raising of dairy price supports at the time the milk cooperatives pledged substantial contribution to CREEP
4. Ignored Antitrust Division's recommendation to stop the largest merger in drug industry history: Warner-Lambert purchase of Parke Davis (Warner - Lambert Chairman Elmer Bobst was substantial Nixon contributor and godfather to Julie Nixon)
5. Attempted to have federal government bail out Penn Central prior to its bankruptcy (The nation's largest banks were Penn Central's most important creditors)
6. Attempted to provide federal subsidies for the aerospace industry's construction of an SST
7. Strongly opposed Congressional efforts to reduce the oil industry's 27½ percent depletion allowance
8. Allowed the large, agribusiness grain dealers to learn of the proposed sale of wheat to the Soviet Union prior to the wheat farmers or the public
9. Personally ordered the changing of CAB's recommendations on trans-Pacific air routes in a manner beneficial to Eastern Airlines. (The Rockefeller family is largest stockholder of Eastern)
10. Ordered the dropping of an antitrust suit against El Paso Natural Gas. (Between 1961 and 1967, Nixon's former law firm had received nearly \$800,000 in fees from El Paso)
11. Allowed Price Commission to exempt a very limited number of groups insurance companies, one of which was owned by Clement Stone, from all controls on increased rates. (Stone had been Nixon's largest single contributor in the 1968 election, giving at least \$500,000.)
12. Forced Commerce Department to delay permanently the imposition of flammability standards on the carpet industry (the carpet industry had been a substantial contributor to Nixon's '68 campaign; after the Commerce Dept.'s delay, \$100,000 was contributed for the '72 campaign.)
13. Vetoed the 1973 Minimum Wage Act, in part because it did not contain the amendment sought by McDonald's to exempt teenagers from Act's coverage. (McDonald's chairman, Ray Kroc, had been a substantial campaign contributor to Nixon)

B. Ford

1. Urged Congressional passage of immediate decontrol of oil and gas prices (as advocated by the oil and gas industry.)
2. Opposed passage of comprehensive government-operated national health insurance program (which is also opposed by the insurance industry)
3. Reversed earlier position and opposed passage of parens patriae antitrust legislation (after speaking to campaign fundraisers and learning of their opposition)
4. Opposed any bill to establish a Consumers Protection Agency (which is strongly opposed by the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers)
5. Twice vetoed a strip mining bill which would have imposed federal strip mining standards. (The coal industry strongly opposed the bill.)
6. Vetoed the Common Sites Picketing Bill (which was opposed by the construction industry)
7. Urged Congressional passage of several measures designed to lower corporate tax rates
8. Vetoed the Farm Labor Contractors Registration Act, which would have strengthened the protection of migrant farm workers. (This bill was opposed by agribusiness interests.)
9. Opposed bill requiring mandatory efficiency standards for new automobiles; opposed bill taxing energy inefficient automobiles. (The automobile industry strongly opposed both bills.)
10. Opposed provisions in the Energy Act of '75 that would reduce the availability to the major oil producers of the oil depletion allowance. (The major oil companies opposed any reduction in the depletion allowance.)
11. Supported the substantial weakening of the Clean Air Act through amendments to remove federal responsibility for clean air standards in certain areas, to authorize extension of deadlines to meet clean air standards, in certain areas, and to waive clean air standards for certain new industrial plants. (The auto industry, the Chamber of Commerce, the Business Roundtable and other major big business organizations have also supported the weakening of the Clean Air Act.)
12. Strongly lobbied for changes in the recently amended Federal Election Law to facilitate corporate political contributions through Political Action Committees (PAC's)

13. Opposed any effective toxic substances control bill (such as '76 Senate-passed bill to allow EPA to review new chemical products.) The chemical industry and National Association of Manufacturers also oppose such a bill.)
14. Vetoed '75 and '76 public works employment bills and '75 emergency employment bill because, among other things, the borrowed funds required to pay the millions employed by the bills would be taken from the capital pool otherwise available to corporations for modernization and expansion.
15. Strongly supported Nuclear Fuel Assurance bill, which would provide \$8 billion to establish a consortium of private companies to explore uranium enrichment processes. (the leading company in the consortium would be Bechtel Co., whose directors include former Nixon-Ford officials George Shultz and Casper Weinberger)
16. Completely failed to enforce financial conflict-of-interest regulations (according to GAO studies) in the Commerce Department, Federal Power Commission, the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Federal Maritime Commission, the Department of Interior, and Department of Transportation—all of which regulate business activity.

THEME 2: Despite the claims of Gerald Ford, the record is clear that his actions have not fully restored credibility, public trust or openness to the White House.

A. Since assuming office, Ford has frequently claimed that he has restored credibility, public trust and openness to the White House. Admittedly, those were major tasks after the Nixon years. But the sad fact is that Ford's rhetoric has fallen far short of his actions: he has repeatedly and abruptly changed positions in mid-stream (typically without mention of his earlier positions); used government resources and changing government policy for clearly political ends; and attempted to keep from the public information about the government that rightfully should be public.

B. Failure to Restore Credibility: Frequent, unexplained changes of positions:

I. Domestic Policy

a. Pardon of Nixon

1. At his confirmation hearings, Ford stated that he did not think the public would stand for a pardon of Nixon; at a subsequent press conference, he said that any decision on a pardon would have to await completion of the judicial process.
2. Ford granted an unconditional pardon to Nixon only a month after assuming office; Ford said that his previous statements had been given too freely and fast and had been given merely to hypothetical questions.

b. Tax Reduction

1. Ford stated in October, '74 that inflation was the nation's most important economic problem and that one of the cures would be a 5% tax surcharge ("Whip Inflation Now").
2. Three months later, in his 1975 State of the Union Address, Ford asked Congress to pass quickly a one-year tax cut of \$16 billion.

c. Tax Cut Extension - 1975

1. In October '75, Ford stated that he would support a tax cut extension only if: (1) the amount of the cut was \$28 billion in spending and (2) there was a corresponding spending cut of \$28 billion; he said any other type of cut would be vetoed.  
and
2. Ford agreed to/signed a tax cut extension of only \$8 billion for the first 6 months of '76, with no corresponding reductions in spending.

d. Common Situs Picketing

1. Throughout 1975, the Ford Administration strongly supported and helped to draft a common situs picketing bill. Ford assured Labor Secretary Dunlop and major labor leaders that he would sign the bill.
2. Ford subsequently vetoed the bill, stating that it had failed to gain the support of all parties to the common situs problem. Dunlop resigned as a result of the veto.

e. Con Rail

1. Ford voted against legislation to establish a public rail corporation to take over the bankrupt eastern railroads (1973).
2. Ford supported and signed legislation designed to accomplish the same objectives as the '73 bill (April '76).

f. Welfare Reform

1. Ford co-sponsored and voted for Nixon Administration's plan (Family Assistance Plan) to provide a guaranteed minimum family income ('70 - '71)
2. Throughout his administration, Ford has opposed any legislation to provide a guaranteed family income.

g. National Health Insurance

1. In 1971, Ford co-sponsored Nixon's comprehensive National Health Insurance plan.
2. In his '75 and '76 State of the Union Addresses, Ford stated that he would not support any type of comprehensive national health insurance plan.

h. Food Stamps

1. Ford voted and worked against the establishment of the Food Stamp program (1964).
2. In 1976, Ford proposed amendments to the Food Stamp program in operation (though to limit its coverage).

i. Medicare

1. Ford voted against the establishment of Medicare (1965).
2. Ford proposed in February of 1976 to extend Medicare to include "catastrophic" coverage.

j. Consumer Protection Agency

1. Ford voted in 1969 for the establishment of a consumer protection agency and against limiting such an agency to a purely advisory role in Federal policy making.
2. Since assuming the Presidency, Ford has consistently opposed the establishment of a consumer protection agency.

k. No-Knock

1. In 1970, Ford strongly supported and voted for legislation to give Federal Drug agents and D.C. police the authority to enter homes without knocking or identifying themselves to the occupants.
2. In October '74, Ford signed legislation to repeal this type of "no-knock" authority.

l. Watergate Reform Act

1. Ford opposed throughout 1975 and half of 1976 the establishment of any type of an independent permanent special prosecutor, as was provided for in the Watergate Reform Act.
2. In July of '76 several days before the Senate was about to pass the Watergate Reform Act, Ford announced his support for a permanent special prosecutor.

m. Wilderness Increase

1. Ford has said throughout 1976 that he would oppose any new programs requiring the expenditure of Federal funds and that he would attempt to reduce the size of the Federal bureaucracy.

2. On August 29, 1976, Ford proposed to spend \$1.5 billion over a ten year period to expand the nation's parklands and to increase the number of new park personnel.

n. Antitrust Bill (Parens Patriae)

1. Throughout '75, the Ford Administration testified for and helped to develop an antitrust bill that would allow a State Attorney General to sue on behalf of consumers in his state for antitrust violations (parens patriae).
2. Ford informed Congress in March '76 that he did not support the parens patriae concept and that he would veto a bill containing the concept.

o. Financial Assistance to New York City

1. Ford repeatedly stated from May '75 through mid-November '75 that he opposed and would veto any bill designed to prevent a default by New York City.
2. Ford subsequently asked Congress to approve Federal loans to NYC; he confirmed that he has always intended to seek such assistance but first wanted to force New York State and New York City to increase taxes and lay off employees.

II. Foreign Policy

a. Rhodesia

1. In 1971, Ford voted to permit U.S. to import chrome from Rhodesia despite U.N. Sanctions. (Byrd amendment).
2. In April '76, Ford indicated that his administration would seek the repeal of the Byrd amendment.

b. Panama Canal

1. While campaigning in the Texas primary, Ford said the U.S. would never give up its defense or operational rights to the Panama Canal.
2. Ford subsequently admitted, upon returning to Washington, that he had previously instructed Ambassador Bunker to negotiate a treaty that would surrender, over a fixed period of time, both operational and defense rights.

c. Meeting with Alexander Solzhenitsyn

1. When Solzhenitsyn visited the U.S. in mid-1975, the Ford White House said Ford did not have time to meet with Solzhenitsyn.
2. When the refusal to meet Solzhenitsyn caused an uproar, from both liberals and conservatives, Ford announced that he did have time to meet Solzhenitsyn, and he extended an invitation for a White House meeting.

d. Cuban Policy

1. Early in his Administration, Ford had U.S. vote to lift OAS sanctions against Cuba and ordered the lifting of U.S. trading sanctions against Cuba.
2. In the Florida primary, when Reagan began attacking Ford's softness on Cuba, Ford reversed course and declared Castro an "international outlaw," he also said the Pentagon was reviewing contingency plans for military action against Cuba.

e. Detente without the word

1. From the time Ford became President, he often praised, and pledged a continuation of, the Nixon-Kissinger detente policy.
2. When Reagan began continuously criticizing the policy early in 1976, Ford stopped his frequent praise of the policy and announced, in March that while the policy would continue he would no longer use the word "detente."

f. Replacement of Moynihan as Ambassador to UN

1. Ford repeatedly stated publicly that he fully supported Moynihan's actions as U.N. Ambassador and did not want him to leave that position.
2. At the same time, Ford was privately claiming to journalists that Moynihan's strident defense of Israel was harmful to American diplomacy and did not have Administration support. Because those private statements were published, Moynihan felt he had no alternative but to resign.

### III. Politics

#### a. Presidential Candidacy

1. At his confirmation hearings, Ford repeated his earlier statements that he could foresee no circumstances under which he would run for President or Vice-President in 1976.
2. Ford announced his candidacy for President in July of '75; he made no mention of his previous statements.

#### b. Attacking Ronald Reagan

1. In an interview on December 31, 1975, Ford responded to a question about the differences between his candidacy and Reagan's by saying: "I have never, as a candidate, attacked an opponent. I don't intend to . . . I think (Reagan) will have to develop his policies. I am going to talk about my policies."
2. Almost from the time he began campaigning in New Hampshire, Ford attacked Reagan and his policies: his record as Governor, his \$90 billion plan, his proposal for social security reform, his proposal for TVA reform, his Panama Canal policy, his Rhodesian policy, his inability to win the general election, etc.

#### c. Nixon Policy Without the Name

1. As Congressman and Vice-President, Ford praised and defended Richard Nixon and his policies. As President, Ford has largely continued all of the major Nixon policies.
2. While campaigning early this year, Ford admitted that he was intentionally no longer mentioning the name of Richard Nixon.

#### d. Dropping of Nelson Rockefeller as Running Mate

1. Until Reagan entered the race for the Republican nomination, Ford had nothing but praise for Rockefeller; and he indicated in August, 1975 that he would not want to break up the Ford-Rockefeller team in 1976.
2. However, as Reagan's strength became apparent and Rockefeller's liberal reputation became a liability, Ford allowed Callaway and Rumsfeld to make public and private statements about Rockefeller's harm to Ford. When Rockefeller took the hint and withdrew, Ford did not say a word trying to change Rockefeller's mind.

e. Justice Douglas

1. In 1970, Ford began the movement in the House of Representatives to impeach Justice Douglas.
2. In 1975, when Justice Douglas announced his resignation, Ford praised Douglas for his distinguished and unequalled service on the Supreme Court.

C. Failure to Restore Public Trust: using government resources and changing government policy for clearly political purposes, practices which were both very evident in Ford's pursuit of the Republican nomination:

1. Appointments were made immediately prior to certain primaries or as a result of promises made during those primaries. (While directing the Ford Campaign, Callaway publicly admitted that the Ford Campaign Committee recommended individuals for federal appointments based on their political helpfulness to Ford).

(SPECIAL NOTE; While no appointments were actually made, on two separate occasions Ford offered Cabinet positions to Reagan, who reportedly believed the offers were clearly designed to keep him from seeking the nomination.)

A. Examples:

1. New Hampshire

-Warren Rudman, N.H. Attorney General to be ICC Chairman (Ford Supporter in N.H. primary; appointment announced before N.H. primary) (withdrawn because Senate Commerce Committee refused to hold hearings due to Rudman's obvious lack of qualifications.)

2. Florida

-Jerry Thomas, a former director of Florida Conservative Union who supported Ford in the Florida primary (the promise of such an appointment was known publicly prior to Florida primary).

3. North Carolina

-Barbara Simpson, North Carolina Public Utilities Commissioner, to Federal Power Commissioner (appointment announced before primary)

-James Scarce, to be Director of Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service

-James Holshouser, Governor of North Carolina and head of Ford's committee, to "be considered for high office in next Administration" (Ford statement)

4. Texas

-Kay Bailey, Republican state legislator, to National Transportation Safety Board (Ford supporter in Texas primary; appointment announced before primary)

-Ross Sterling, law partner of John Connally, to U.S. District Judge (Ford announced appointment before Texas primary; said the fact that Sterling was Connally's law partner was "pure happenstance.")

5. Illinois

-C. Austin Montgomery, Illinois credit union lobbyist, to be Administrator of the National Credit Union (Ford fired the incumbent administrator, Herman Nickerson, to make room for Montgomery.)

-Calvin Collier, son of former Illinois Republican Congressman, to be Chairman of FTC (Ford supporter; Ford announced the appointment to Illinois audiences while campaigning in that primary.)

6. Indiana

-Earl Butz, Secretary of Agriculture from Indiana, to Chairman of new Cabinet level Agricultural Policy Committee (to develop nation's food policy.) (Ford announced appointment while campaigning in Indiana primary.)

2. Government grants or other promises were made prior to certain primaries: (Of Ford's propensity to distribute favors prior to primaries, Reagan said the band should play upon Ford's arrival "Santa Claus is Coming to Town" rather than "Hail to the Chief.")

A. Examples:

1. New Hampshire

-Promised to keep open the Portsmouth Navy Yard

2. Florida

-Promised \$15 million mass transit grant for

Miami, \$33 million defense contract for Orlando company, veterans hospital for St. Petersburg.

- Announced that U.S. Travel Service had "instrumental" role in getting International Chamber of Commerce to schedule its '78 convention in Orlando.
- Promised to seek funds for completion of Interstate 75 across southwestern Florida.
- Promised "excellent consideration" for Florida as site for Federal solar energy research center.

3. North Carolina

-Promised to prevent building of dam on the New River.

3. Favors involving government resources were granted to gain uncommitted delegates:

- A. Richard Rosenbaum, New York Republican chairman, sought for months to obtain additional federal aid for New York and other uncommitted Northeastern states. Before the administration, he said Ford had agreed to give additional aid to mass transit in Buffalo and to keep open part of the Griffis Air Force Base in Utica-Rome.
- B. Edwin Schwenk, Suffolk County Republican leader, switched to Ford after Ford personally agreed to review the fiscal problems of the southwest Suffolk Sewer District.
- C. Entertainment and invitations were frequently provided by Ford and his campaign committee to uncommitted delegates. (A charge to this effect has been sent by an FEC attorney to Attorney General Levi.)

1. Examples:

- a. Invitations to White House state dinner for Queen Elizabeth
- b. Invitations to view Operation Sail from USS Forrestal
- D. Ford stated that no government favors should be granted to uncommitted delegates. That statement was made the day after Ford's delegate hunter first claimed sufficient delegates to ensure Ford's nomination.

4. Reversals of Policy to Meet Reagan Challenge: Ford shamelessly reversed long-held positions to counter attacks from Reagan; in a very real sense, important government policy was being made on the stump:
  - a. Panama Canal -Ford stated in the Texas primary, to counter the effectiveness of Reagans's charges, that he would never allow U.S. to give up defense or operational rights to Panama Canal; he subsequently had to admit that for over a year he had instructed Ambassador Bunker to negotiate a treaty that would eventually end U.S. control of Panama Canal.
  - b. Common Situs Picketing -Throughout most of 1975, Ford had assured Labor Secretary Dunlop and labor leaders that he would sign the common situs picketing bill; when Reagan began attacking the bill and saying he would veto it, Ford reversed his position and vetoed it in December, 1975. Dunlop resigned as a result.
  - c. Detente without the word -Since Ford became President, he often praised, and pledged a continuation of, the Nixon-Kissinger detente policy. When Reagan began continuously criticizing the policy early this year, Ford stopped his frequent praise of the policy and announced, in March, that while the policy would continue he would no longer use the word "detente."
  - d. Cuban Policy - Early in his Administration, Ford had U.S. vote to lift OAS sanctions against Cuba and ordered the lifting of U.S. trading sanctions against Cuba. In the Florida primary, when Reagan began attacking Ford's soft defense posture, Ford reversed course and declared Castro an "international outlaw"; he also said the Pentagon was reviewing contingency plans for military action against Cuba.
  - e. Dropping of Nelson Rockefeller as Running Mate - Until Reagan entered the race, Ford had nothing but praise for Rockefeller; and he indicated in August, 1975 that he would not want to break up the Ford-Rockefeller team in '76. However, as Reagan's strength became apparent and Rockefeller's liberal reputation became a liability, Ford allowed Callaway and Rumsfeld to make public and private statements about Rockefeller's political harm to Ford. When Rockefeller took the hint and withdrew, Ford did not use a word trying to change Rockefeller's mind.

5. Delay in Appointing Commissioners to Reconstituted FEC

- A. When the bill amending the Federal Election Law, and reconstituting the FEC, was passed by Congress on May 4, 1976, Ford delayed its implementation - and thereby the return of matching funds to Presidential candidates - beyond any reasonable period. He waited one week to sign the new law and another week to appoint the new commissioners (though all but the chairmen were reappointees and a chairman was not legally required to enable the Commission to provide matching funds.)
- B. The obvious purpose of such a delay was to prevent Reagan, who at that point was far more cash-starved than Ford, from competing effectively in the important May primaries, and to some extent the June primaries (most of the money for which had to be committed in early and mid-May.)

6. Use of Government Resources to Help Ford's Campaign (and to escape from having Ford's campaign committee exceed permissible spending limits)

--Ford has repeatedly shown an insensitivity to the spirit and letter of the Federal campaign finance laws by using government resources to enhance his campaign; this insensitivity transcends any normal difficulty of separating an officeholder's resources and functions from those of a candidate, and it is particularly incongruous in light of Ford's claims of having restored public trust in the White House.

Examples:

- a. Placing of Rogers Morton on White House payroll, solely to serve a liaison with Ford's campaign committee.
- b. Allowing Richard Cheney, White House Chief of Staff, to assume clearly political tasks, such as trying to convince uncommitted delegates to support Ford or working on campaign strategy for Ford. This has been done while Cheney has been on the White House payroll and while his expenses have been paid by the government.
- c. Use of White House staff to prepare background papers for Ford's campaign committee; use of Executive Departments to provide information for campaign proposals.
- d. Use of the resources of the traditionally non-political State Department.
  - 1. Trips by Kissinger throughout the country defending Ford's foreign policy and attacking

Reagan's foreign policy; Kissinger has refused to admit the trips are political and they have thus been paid for by State Department; Reagan's general counsel to FEC: "If an incumbent is to be able to use individuals like Dr. Kissinger, paid for by the public, for campaign purposes, while these individual expenses are not charged against the incumbent's campaign limits, then the limitations in the law are a mere mockery."

2. Use of State Department staff to prepare rebuttal to Reagan's statement criticizing Ford's foreign policy.
- e. Use of cabinet officials without allocation of costs to Ford's campaign committee:
1. Simon
    - a. Trip to Raleigh - January 20, 1976; Chamber of Commerce speech; Ford campaign speech; cost to taxpayers: \$2,310; to Ford: \$17.49.
    - b. Trips through Mississippi and Florida in February; two interviews praising Ford, two campaign dinners; two other campaign functions; cost to taxpayers: \$5,352.36; to Ford; \$243.43.
    - c. Trips through Alabama and Texas in February; addresses at two Ford functions; cost to taxpayers: \$7,023; cost to Ford: \$201.16.
  2. Richardson
    - a. May 11 appearance in LA for oil industry meeting and two Ford meetings; cost to taxpayers: \$1,162.25; cost to Ford; \$57.
    - b. May 13 appearance in Detroit to rebut Reagan charges at Economic Club: no cost to Ford because Richardson happened to be in Detroit between planes.
- f. Daily Distribution of President Ford's Official News Summary, prepared by more than 20 White House employees, to Ford's campaign committee.
- g. Recent increase in the size of staff of White House Office of Communications, whose task is among other things, to distribute information

about Ford Administration achievements.

- h. Recent printing at government expense of 100 page book praising the accomplishments of Ford's two years in office. (This book was produced by the recently enlarged White House Office of Communications).
- i. Distribution of brochures printed at government expense in mailings of Ford's campaign committee; example: "The President's House," which describes, in part, Ford's record and family.

D. Failure to Restore Openness -limiting the flow of information to the public.

1. Veto of Freedom of Information Act Amendments

- a. Ford vetoed the 1974 FOI Amendments, which were designed to plug the loopholes in the FOI Act and to thereby increase public access to government information. Ford stated that the Amendments would make public U.S. military, diplomatic and intelligence secrets.
- b. The veto was overridden and the Amendments became effective in 1975. Since then Ford has not indicated any military, diplomatic or intelligence secrets which have been made public as a result of the Amendments.

2. Unwarranted Use of Executive Privilege

- a. For five months in 1975, Ford refused to allow Commerce Department to disclose to Congress copies of reports made by American business firms on the impact of the Arab boycott against companies dealing with Israel or controlled by Jewish interests. No reason beyond the arbitrary power of the Commerce Department to keep the reports secret -- in essence, executive privilege -- was ever given. Only after Commerce Secretary Morton was cited for contempt by a House Subcommittee did Ford relent and provide copies of the reports.
- b. In fall of 1975, Ford ordered Kissinger to ignore subpoenas issued by the House Intelligence Committee for certain NSC and State Department documents concerning covert operations and Soviet compliance with SALT. The express basis for Ford's order was executive privilege. Only after Kissinger was cited for contempt by the Committee did Ford relent and allow Kissinger to supply enough information to satisfy the needs of the Committee.
- c. In June, 1976, Ford invoked "executive privilege" on behalf of A T & T so that A T & T would not have to honor a House Subcommittee subpoena seeking records

of wiretap requests. That is the first time "executive privilege" has ever been used to shield non-governmental officials or bodies from Congressional disclosure of information. The matter is now being litigated.

3. Failure to Support Financial Disclosure for Executive Branch

- a. Ford has failed to sign an Executive Order requiring major Executive Branch officials to make a public financial disclosure.
- b. Although Ford has introduced a financial disclosure section as part of his Watergate Reform bill, he did so only days before the Senate was about to pass a Watergate Reform bill including such a section. Now that the legislation is before the House, Ford's lobbyists are trying to prevent a vote on the entire bill.

4. Negotiation of Pardon and Watergate Tapes Agreement in Complete Secret

- a. Ford pardoned Nixon and agreed to surrender the Watergate tapes to Nixon after secret negotiations between Nixon's and Ford's staffs.
- b. Ford failed in both negotiations to consult with the Special Prosecutor's Office, Congressional leaders, or to let the public know in advance that he was considering such actions.

5. Suppression of information developed by Congressional Intelligence Committees

- a. Ford sought in 1975 to prevent the Senate Intelligence Committee (Church) from making public its report detailing CIA involvement in assassination attempts against five foreign leaders. The Senate voted to release the report despite Ford's objections, and the American people were informed for the first time of the assassination attempts of its government.
- b. Ford sought in early 1976 to prevent the House Intelligence Committee (Pike) from making public its final report. The House voted not to make the report public; when leaked and published, the report revealed the extent to which the Ford Administration refused to cooperate with the Committee. That refusal to cooperate, rather than intelligence secrets, was apparently what Ford wanted to keep from the public.

6. Weakening of Sunshine Legislation

- a. During the last two years, Ford has done nothing to push sunshine legislation that would open to the public the meetings of all federal regulatory agencies. Despite his professed desire for "openness", Ford has not made such legislation a priority. (Ford's July message to Congress listing his 70 legislative priorities did not include sunshine legislation.) He has not urged its enactment; and he has allowed Administration appointees to lobby for a weaker bill.
- b. When the sunshine legislation was considered in August '76 by a Senate-House conference, the Ford Administration sought to exempt financial regulatory bodies, such as the Federal Reserve Board and the Securities Exchange Commission, from its full coverage. Ford lobbyists threatened a veto unless the Federal Reserve Board was permitted to close its meetings and only keep minutes of what occurred.

7. Failure to Disclose Nixon China Report

When Nixon submitted the report on his recent trip to China, Ford refused to acknowledge its receipt. Not until the report was returned to Nixon was Ford's press secretary informed and allowed to inform the public that the report had been received.

8. Sacking of Officials Deviating from Ford's Positions

- a. John Sawhill. In the fall of '74, John Sawhill, FEA Administrator, publicly suggested that one way of conserving energy would be an additional gasoline tax. Ford opposed such a tax, and he promptly fired Sawhill for publicly stating a different position. Sawhill: "I was very naive, I believed Nessen that day when he said it was an open administration."
- b. James Schlesinger. In the Sunday Morning Massacre of November, 1975, Ford fired his Secretary of Defense, James Schlesinger. At the time of the firing, Ford said only that he wanted his "own team" and that "there were no basic differences." Subsequently, he admitted that Schlesinger did not agree with Ford's views on detente and the defense budget.
- c. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Moynihan was technically not fired by Ford from his Ambassadorship at the UN. However, Moynihan was effectively forced to resign when Ford and Kissinger continued to tell reporters privately that Moynihan's vocal support for Israel at the UN was harmful to American interests. Although neither Ford nor Kissinger would publicly repudiate Moynihan's statements on Israel and the Third World, they indicated privately that such statements differed from the emphasis of Administration policies, and Moynihan would therefore have to leave.

THEME 3: Gerald Ford's record as a Congressman, as Vice President, and as President indicates that he is capable of neither the strong nor the moral and compassionate leadership the country needs.

I. Congressional Record: 25 years of non-leadership; 25 years of callous voting.

A. Non-Leadership

-- Ford's Congressional career can be divided into 3 distinct periods:

- a. 1949-1964, member of Congress without Minority Leadership role;
- b. 1964-1969 - Minority Leader with Democratic President; and,
- c. 1969-1974, Minority Leader with Republican President

-- In each of these 3 periods, Ford showed that he was a Congressional go-along-to-get-along follower, totally incapable of strong, decisive leadership; (this is reflected in, among other things, the fact that during a 25 year period he was never considered by his party as a possible Presidential candidate; without Richard Nixon's help, Ford would never have risen to his present job.)

1. 1949-1964

- a. During his early years in Congress, Ford did little more than follow the Republican leadership (For instance, during his first decades in Congress, he followed the Republican leadership position on roll-call votes an average of nearly 80%); he spent most of his time working to become a member of the Republican "inner club" (joining, for instance, the Chowder and Marching Club, a Congressional social-political organization founded by Congressman Richard Nixon); he staked out virtually no legislative areas of specialty; and he failed to achieve any significant legislative accomplishments -- it's not possible, for instance, to name a major piece of legislation on which he played a leading role or which he can call his own.
- b. In 1963, Ford was elected to a minor Republican party position (conference chairman), but that was not because of any leadership exhibited during his decade and a half. Rather, some of Ford's colleagues decided to replace the incumbent (Charles Hoeven) because of his age (67). Ford was fifth on his friends' list of five possible successors; the other four declined to run, so it was Ford. Charles Goodell, one of the friends, said: "It wasn't as though everyone was wildly enthusiastic about Jerry,";

former press secretary and  
terHorst, Ford's biographer, "The rebellion, Ford  
knew, was a symbol and not a personal triumph.  
Ford, in fact, had not even been an architect of the  
coup, but only a rally point for it."

2. 1964-1969

- a. In 1965, Ford was elected Republican leader by the same process by which he had been selected conference chairman -- not by leading but by following the ambitions of his friends (such as Melvin Laird, Robert Griffin, and Don Rumsfeld)
- b. When selected as the party's leader, Ford characteristically did not promise new or strong leadership; he pledged himself only to be a "team player." In writing about Ford's "club" qualities, the Washington Post said at the time of the selection: "Ford is lean, well-tailored, respectably conservative, never too far ahead of the country club crowd. He would have done as well at General Motors as he has on Capitol Hill."
- c. In his role as leader during Johnson's Presidency, Ford fulfilled his promise of non-leadership: Professor Peabody of Johns Hopkins, who has undertaken the most thorough study of Ford's performance during the Johnson Presidency, concluded (after interviewing 75 Republican House members): "...members deplored what they conceived to be a basic lack of political instinct and a hesitancy on Ford's part to utilize the full powers of his office." As one Republican leader quoted by Peabody said: "(W)hen it comes to implementing a plan which requires a delicate sense of timing, a concern for the intricacies of details, an interweaving of the component parts, Ford is at a loss."
- d. Johnson's characterizations of Ford's ability as Republican leader during this period are too well known to need repeating.

3. 1969-1974

During Nixon's Presidency, Ford -- as Minority Leader -- obviously had some party obligation to follow the lead of Nixon. Ford went beyond that obligation, however; he often blindly followed Nixon's lead, and he tried to get his fellow Republicans to follow the same route (Ford roll-call support of Nixon's positions exceeded 80%; Ford's support on veto override votes was 100%)

- a. That other House Republican leaders and the Senate Republican leader, Hugh Scott, often chose not to blindly follow Nixon's command indicates not only the limits to which party loyalty can be stretched but also the extent to which Ford was a follower

rather than an independent thinker or a leader. (Comparison: in the House, Ford was one of Nixon's top 4 rollcall vote supporters in 3 of the 5 Nixon years; in 1973, he was 2nd; in the Senate, Scott was never in the top 5 supporters.)

b. Summaries of Ford's performance:

- (1) Reeves, Ford, Not a Lincoln -- "More careful House Republicans were sometimes outraged watching Ford mouthing little speeches delivered moments before by White House messengers from the offices of Nixon aides Charles Colson and Kenneth Clawson. 'He didn't even bother to read the damn things,' said a colleague. 'If the White House wanted something said, Jerry just jumped up and said it.'"
- (2) terHorst, Ford's former press secretary, Gerald Ford: "It was often difficult, if not impossible, to find measures on which the House Minority Leader dared to buck the White House."

c. Examples of support:

- (1) At White House request, initiated impeachment of Justice Douglas with unsubstantiated (and false) evidence supplied by John Mitchell.
- (2) At White House request, and admittedly without checking the accuracy of the allegations, led effort to kill House Banking Committee investigation of Watergate before 1972 election.
- (3) Defended Nixon's honesty on House floor, knowing that Nixon had lied about the secret bombings of Cambodia in 1970.
- (4) Publicly supported Nixon's nominations of Clement Haynsworth and G. Harrold Carswell to the Supreme Court.
- (5) Introduced and fought for Nixon's bill to substantially weaken the extension of the Voting Rights Act of '65.
- (6) Supported Nixon's handling of "May Day" war protest in D.C. (subsequently held unconstitutional)
- (7) Supported Nixon's plan to bail out Lockheed with \$250 million federal loan guarantee.
- (8) Supported Nixon's plan to develop an ABM system.

- (9) Supported the "no-knock" and "preventive detention" provisions of Nixon's crime legislation.
- (10) Supported Nixon's invasion of Cambodia
- (11) Supported Nixon's wage and price control program (though such support abandoned 20 years of opposition by Ford to wage and price controls); supported Nixon's new China policy (though such support abandoned 20 years of opposition by Ford to easing relations with China; of such abrupt changes, J. terHorst, wrote: "Ford...found himself scrambling to keep up with the surprise moves by the White House. But each time he managed to put aside objections to such decisions and come to Nixon's defense.")
- (12) Supported Nixon's opposition to the War Powers Act; voted to uphold Nixon's veto
- (13) Supported all of Nixon's bombing operations in North Vietnam and Nixon's mining of Haiphong Harbor, as well as the rest of Nixon's Vietnam policy; terHorst: "Time and again, Ford pulled together the necessary Republican and conservative Southern votes to dilute and defeat the numerous end-the-war measures that dogged Nixon throughout 1972."
- (14) Supported without reservation or qualification Nixon's handling of Watergate.

B. Callous Voting Record

A 25 year record of moral and social insensitivity.

(1) Civil Rights

- (a) '69 - offered Nixon's substitute for the bill extending the Voting Rights Act of '65;

the substitute would have eliminated the requirement that states clear voting law changes with the Attorney General; substitute adopted by House, rejected by Senate; when House voted on Senate version (which became law), Ford voted to recommit.

- (b) '66-during consideration of '66 Civil Rights Act, which included a provision which became the nation's first open housing, Ford urged and voted for recommitment; stated that open housing might not be constitutional.
- (c) '65-sponsored Republican substitute to Johnson Administration's Voting Rights Act of '65; voted against Administration's bill; voted to recommit the final conference report.
- (d) All of above recommitment votes were followed by affirmative votes on final passage; to civil rights leaders, the recommitment votes indicate Ford's true concern for civil rights.

(2) Minimum Wage Legislation

- (a) Voted 7 times over 25 year period opposing measures proposing increases in the minimum wage.
- (b) Most recent vote--supported Nixon's substitute in '73 for minimum wage legislation, which included exemption for youths (the McDonald's amendment); when substitute was defeated, Ford voted against final passage and the conference report of the Fair Labor Standards Act Amendments; voted to support Nixon's veto.

(3) Crime and Law Enforcement

- (a) Preventive Detention--supported preventive detention provision in '70 D.C. crime code, introduced in 1971 bill to amend Bail Reform Act of 1966 to provide for preventive detention.
- (b) No-Knock--supported no-knock provision in '70 D.C. crime code.

(4) Health Care Financing

- (a) Urged and voted for recommitment of Medicare bill in '65; voted against final passage
- (b) Supported Nixon's limited national health Insurance program; opposed any more expansive health insurance program.

(5) Mine Safety and Black Lung

- (a) Voted to recommit conference report on Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of '69.
- (b) Voted against passage of the conference report on Black Lung Benefits of '72.

(6) Poverty -- OEO Legislation

- (a) '71 - Voted against establishment of a comprehensive child development program to provide educational, nutritional and health services free of charge for disadvantaged children; voted against, and led the fight to defeat, the conference report on the '71 Economic Opportunity Amendments, which would extend OEO for 2 additional years and authorize \$5 billion for programs administered by OEO.
- (b) '69 - Voted against OEO authorization bill to extend OEO for 2 years.
- (c) '68 - Voted against \$25 million supplemental appropriation for Head Start'
- (d) '66 - Voted against OEO Amendments and in favor of Republican substitute to distribute OEO programs to other Federal agencies.
- (e) '65 - Voted against OEO appropriations of \$1.9 billion
- (f) '64 - Voted against the establishment of OEO

(7) Food Programs

- (a) '73 - Voted for amendments to prohibit Food stamps to strikers and recipients of SSI assistance

- (b) '70 - Supported amendment to prohibit food stamps to strikers
- (c) '64 - Voted against the establishment of the Food stamp program

(8) Housing

- (a) Consistently voted against all housing legislation designed to assist low and moderate income families between 1949, when he voted for an amendment to delete a section funding low rent public housing, and 1967, when he voted in favor of deleting program funds for model cities.
- (b) '70 - Voted against conference reports on housing bill which contained new town proposals.
- (c) '68 - Voted for Housing and Urban Development bill, even though it contained provisions for interim services, tenant services and new-town programs (which he strongly opposed); said he would oppose any funding for those programs.
- (d) '67 - Voted against \$20 million for rat eradication program.

(9) Right to Work

Voted against repeal of Section 14(b) of Taft-Hartley - '65.

(10) Internal Security

- (a) '73 - opposed resolution to abolish House Committee on Internal Security
- (b) '69 - supported the withholding of federal financial aid to disruptive students.
- (c) '71 - voted to continue Subversive Activities Control Board maintenance of secret blacklist
- (d) '67 - demanding report by President on the extent of Communist influence in anti-war demonstration at Pentagon
- (e) '67 - criticized President's failure to send federal troops to stop Detroit riots; gave as reason for delay the Congressional rejection of President's rat eradication program.

- (f) voted for Internal Security Act of '50, Communist Control Act of '54, and Espionage and Sabotage Act of '54.
- (11) Highway Trust Fund - voted in '73 against use of \$700 million of Trust Funds for mass transit projects in urban areas.
- (12) National Defense Policy
  - (a) Weapons - '71 - voted against deletion of funding for development of B-1 Bombers.  
  
'69 - supported actively the development of ABM (the wisdom of which he compared to the development of H-bombs by Truman) opposed its limitation to just two sites
  - (b) War Powers -- '73 - voted against the War Powers Act to control Presidential commitment of American Forces; supported Nixon's veto
- (13) Foreign Policy
  - (a) Indochina
    - was consistent supporter of U.S. policy in Indochina since Truman Administration
    - supported Nixon's efforts to end Vietnam War on gradual basis; supported all of Nixon's bombing operations in North Vietnam and Nixon's mining of Haiphong
    - opposed during '70 - '73 all legislation aimed at setting cut-off date for U.S. military operations in Vietnam
    - '65 - urged President and Congress to cut back on domestic expenditures in order to meet the growing expense of Vietnam War
  - (b) Rhodesia - '71 - voted to violate UN sanction and to import chrome from Rhodesia
- (14) Environment
  - (a) '72 - voted against requiring "best available" water pollution control required by 1981.
  - (b) '71 - voted against deletion of funds for Amchitka nuclear test.

(c) '70 - voted to increase logging in  
National Forests

## II. Vice Presidential Record

- A. As Vice President, Ford spent nine months endlessly criss-crossing the country defending Nixon's Watergate conduct and attending Republican fundraisers. (During this period, Ford traveled over 100,000 miles through the country, visited 35 states, and made more than 400 public appearances; he appeared at nearly 100 Republican fundraising events.
- B. That nine month period could have been used by Ford to prepare for the Presidency or to encourage Nixon to tell the truth on Watergate; either activity would, to some extent, have demonstrated Ford's leadership qualities in a moral crisis. But Ford undertook neither activity; instead, he refused to organize a transition effort (though a belated one was begun without his knowledge) and he refused to lead public opinion in any direction other than blind support of Richard Nixon.
- C. Examples of his blind support of Nixon:
  1. Fully supported Nixon's firing of Cox; "no other choice after Mr. Cox refused to accept the compromise solution"
  2. Agreed with Nixon's very limited definition of an "impeachable offense" (though that definition differed from the expansive one Ford wanted to use against Justice Douglas.)
  3. Accused AFL-CIO and other groups of waging an all-out attack against Nixon (later admitting that Nixon's staff had written that accusation for Ford to deliver)
  4. Stated that Nixon had evidence to exonerate himself but that he (Ford) had enough trust in Nixon to make unnecessary a personal look at the evidence.
  5. Stated that Nixon's being named an "unindicted co-conspirator" had not shaken his faith in Nixon's innocence.
  6. Publicly re-affirmed his belief in Nixon's innocence after having been informed of the "smoking gun" tape by Haig.

## III. Presidential Record

- A. In two years as President, Ford has failed completely to provide the nation with strong leadership, with a sense that he is in charge and knows where he is leading the nation. He has provided no reason to believe that if given four more years in the White House, he would provide strong leadership.

B. In his two years in office, Ford has also failed to exhibit any concern for the unemployed, the poor, the elderly, the handicapped, the malnourished, the sick, school children, veterans, blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, women, and other groups in our society without memberships at Ford's Burning Tree Country Club; in short, he has evidenced no desire to provide moral and compassionate leadership. There is no reason to believe he would change during the next four years.

C. Lack of Strong Leadership

1. Inability to lead Congress

a. Dependence on Veto

- (1) Ford has been so unable to lead Congress -- to convince Congress of the merits of his proposals -- that he has had to resort to vetoes: 55 vetoes in 2 years. Ten of those vetoes were overridden, a higher percentage than any President since Andrew Johnson (Eisenhower was overridden only twice in 8 years).
- (2) Even Nixon, who has operated with a Democratic Congress, did not have to resort to governing simply by veto: in nearly three times as long a tenure, he vetoed only 34 public bills.

b. Record Low Support by Congress

- (1) In 1975, on major Congressional votes where Ford took a position, Ford's position was supported by Congress in only 61% of the votes -- the lowest mark by a second year President since Congressional Quarterly began measuring Presidential support in Congress (In the House, where Ford spent 25 years, his support was only 50.5%)
- (2) In 1974, Ford's support in Congress was only 58.2%. When that figure is combined with the '75 figure of 61%, Ford records the lowest average support level in Congress for any President since Congressional Quarterly began measuring: Ford - 59.6%; Nixon - 67.3%; Johnson - 82.8%; Kennedy - 84.5%; Eisenhower - 72.2%.
- (3) When bills are considered as to which Ford has not only indicated support but has specifically requested (in his legislative messages to Congress), the lack of Ford support in Congress becomes even more glaring
  - (a) In '74, Ford won Congressional approval of only 36% of his specific legislative proposals

(b) In '75, Ford's approval percentage dropped even further -- to only 27%.

(4) To a considerable extent, Ford's low Congressional support and approval percentages are due to the destruction of his credibility with Congress; that has been caused by the numerous times he has sought approval of ill-considered, poorly-developed proposals intended to cure major national problems. Among the more significant of such proposals:

(a) 1974

- (1) imposing a 5% income tax surcharge as part of his WIN (Whip Inflation Now) program
- (2) delaying pay raises for federal workers (also part of WIN)
- (3) allowing the Freedom of Information Act to remain in original form (without the amendments necessary to plug its numerous loopholes) (Ford vetoed the amendments)
- (4) immediately deregulating the price of oil and natural gas.

(b) 1975

- (1) authorizing \$722 million in military aid and \$250 million in economic aid to South Vietnam in the last weeks of the Thieu regime
- (2) authorizing supplemental appropriations of \$222 million in military and economic aid for Cambodia just before its fall
- (3) seeking authority to provide additional funds for military aid to two of the three factions in Angola
- (4) attempting to solve the nation's energy problems by creating a \$100 billion Energy Independence Authority (whose purpose would theoretically be to encourage commercial development of alternative energy sources)

- (5) proposing \$28 billion spending cut (subsequently endorsed by Ford when he signed tax cut extension bill)
- (6) proposing initially to solve New York City's financial problems by doing nothing more than changing the bankruptcy laws.

(c) 1976

- (1) attempting to bypass the need for a Consumer Protection Agency by placing "consumer representatives" in each of the Cabinet Departments and Executive agencies. Example: Joan Braden at State Department
- (2) proposing to turn over any expansion of uranium enrichment activities to a private industry consortium
- (3) opposing any Watergate Reform Bill which would establish an independent special prosecutor mechanism (this position was changed when it became apparent in July that the Senate would pass such a bill in a few days)
- (4) opposed any effective Toxic Substance Control Act, such as the one passed by the Senate
- (5) proposing no sanction <sup>delayed</sup> beyond/disclosure to corporations making foreign bribes
- (6) proposing that Medicare patients pay substantially more for short-term coverage in order to get the limited benefits of a "catastrophic" health insurance program.

2. Depending totally on Henry Kissinger to determine and implement the nation's foreign policy

- a. Ford has completely turned over half his domain -- foreign policy -- to Henry Kissinger; it is Kissinger who really makes our foreign policy, with Ford merely assenting to it. Never in the nation's history has a Secretary of State so completely determined, to the exclusion of the President, what the foreign policy will be and how it will be implemented; and never before has a foreign policy

been so widely regarded as the Secretary of State's rather than the President's.

b. Ford's total dependence on Kissinger is another key indicator of weak Ford leadership; examples of the complete dependence:

- (1) Immediately before assuming the Presidency, Ford publicly stated that Kissinger would remain as Secretary of State (he made no similar statement about other Cabinet officers); since then Ford has repeatedly stated that Kissinger could remain as Secretary of State for as long as he wants, including any second Ford Administration (he has not said anything like that about any of the other Cabinet officers.
- (2) During the first few months, Ford refused to even consider foreign policy problems; "Take that up with Dr. Kissinger" was Ford's standard line when foreign policy came up in the Oval Office.
- (3) Ford initially refused to meet with Alexander Solzhenitsyn solely on Kissinger's advise that such a meeting would offend the Soviet Union
- (4) Although he has dropped the word "detente," Ford has avowedly continued to pursue this essentially Kissinger policy.
- (5) As part of the Sunday morning massacre, Ford fired the only Cabinet officer (Schlesinger) who publicly disagreed with Kissinger about the value of detente. Ford also allowed Kissinger to pick his successor as National Security Adviser, Brent Scowcroft, who had been Kissinger's long-time deputy; allowing Kissinger to make such a choice ensured that Kissinger's advice on foreign policy would continue to be the only advice Ford would get.
- (6) Ford followed without deviation Kissinger's opposition to the Jackson amendment designed to keep "most favored nation" status from the Soviet Union unless Jewish emigration policies were eased.
- (7) Ford has allowed Kissinger complete freedom in deciding what types and amounts of arms will be sold to Arab nations

- (8) Ford has allowed Kissinger complete freedom to negotiate a Middle East settlement and a SALT II agreement; there is for instance, no evidence that Ford has provided any negotiating instructions to Kissinger that differ from Kissinger's previously stated views and statements.
  - (9) Ford vetoed a bill to add the Secretary of Treasury to the National Security Council solely because of Kissinger's opposition to the bill (Kissinger did not want Simon on the Council)
  - (10) Ford has blindly followed Kissinger's recommendations on emergency foreign aid requests  
Examples: \$722 million in military aid; \$250 million in economic aid to South Vietnam just before its fall; \$250 million in economic aid to Cambodia just before its fall; and continued funding to support 2 factions in the Angolan civil war.
- c. Perhaps the best indication of the extent to which Ford has surrendered his leadership role in foreign policy is that it seems impossible to name a Ford foreign policy position, let alone achievement, which is not universally recognized to actually be Kissinger's. Even that was not true of Nixon.
3. Failing to take any meaningful action on major national problems
- a. Unemployment -- failed to do anything to bring down record unemployment rates, by either proposing some type of comprehensive program for that purpose or by offering alternative solutions to the numerous emergency employment bills vetoed by him.
  - b. Interest Rates -- failed to take any steps designed to lower record-high interest rates or to make mortgage money available to the average working family
  - c. Housing -- failed to make any attempt to correct the HUD scandals of recent years or to undertake any program to move the housing industry out of its Depression-rate performance; proposed no programs to make housing once again affordable for the average working family
  - d. Health Care -- failed to take any measures to arrest the skyrocketing costs of health care or to ease the burden of those costs (such as through a comprehensive national health insurance program)

- e. Energy -- failed to develop any comprehensive program to conserve the nation's energy supplies, other than through such unacceptable, unaffordable means as an Energy Independence Authority and immediate decontrol of oil and gas prices
- f. Environment -- consistently failed to support environmental needs when confronted with the desires of Big Business, such as by supporting a weakened Clean Air Act or a toothless Toxic Substances Control Act
- g. Nuclear Weapons -- failed to develop any plan to slow the proliferation of nuclear weapons to Third World nations
- h. Government Organization -- failed to develop any program to eliminate wasteful programs, to remove overlapping, or to ensure efficiency in performance
- i. FBI -- failed to take steps to direct Clarence Kelley, or others, to finally determine what illegal actions the FBI has been committing
- j. Amnesty and Pardons -- failed to take any action to solve the problems of the great bulk of Vietnam War resisters or deserters who refused to participate in Ford's ill-conceived clemency program
- k. Welfare Reform -- failed to propose any comprehensive program to solve what he admits is an inadequate and unfair welfare system
- l. Tax Reform -- failed to propose any comprehensive program to decrease the income tax burden of the lower and middle classes
- m. Antitrust Enforcement -- failed to allow the Antitrust Division to file major suits to enforce existing antitrust laws and failed to support changes in those laws to ease their enforcement
- n. Busing -- failed to do anything about the problems and concerns raised by busing other than to repeatedly attack the concept of busing and to propose unworkable and publicly unconstitutional legislation to limit busing to a 5 year period.
- o. Conflict-of-Interest -- failed to take any meaningful steps to ensure that appointees divest themselves of conflicts-of-interest or that departing appointees do not practice law or lobby before their former departments or agencies

- p. Elderly -- failed to take any actions to ease the problems of the elderly. Failed to enforce the Age Discrimination in Employment Act, failed to support the Community Services Employment for Older Americans Act, failed to increase subsidized housing, failed to support cost-of-living increases in Social Security, failed to exempt elderly from his restrictive Food Stamp eligibility rules, and failed to control the soaring cost of Medicare -- in short, failed to do anything
- q. Education -- failed to show any concern for the nation's education needs through his numerous vetoes of education authorization or appropriations bills and his repeated attempts to impound lawfully appropriated funds.
- r. Agriculture -- failed to take necessary steps to ensure the price security needed by farmers through his vetoes of several price support bills and his three grain embargoes
- s. Postal Service -- failed to take any steps to change the Postal Service's pathetic, conflict-of-interest-scarred management, to improve the Service's delivery system, or to keep mailing costs at affordable prices
- t. Voter Registration -- failed to take any measures to improve the abysmally low national rate of voter registration, such as by supporting universal (post-card) voter registration
- u. Federal Employees -- failed to take any steps to ensure that federal employees are treated with the respect they deserve, evidenced by his seeking to defer pay increases one year, lowering cost-of-living increases another year, and vetoing a bill to remove Hatch Act restrictions
- v. Transportation -- failed to develop any coordinated national transportation policy or to take steps to cure the nation's severe railroad problems
- w. Defense -- failed to even question the billions of dollars of arms sales to the Arab nations, the need for new, expensive weapons systems such as the B-1 bomber, the ABM system, the cruise missile system, or the enormous cost-overruns for so many weapons projects
- x. Foreign Affairs -- failed to do anything without Henry Kissinger (see section 2 above)

4. Accomplishing So Little Over a Two Year Period

- a. As a result of Ford's having proposed so many ill-considered programs (which Congress was forced to ignore) and having failed to do anything at all about so many national problems, it is not surprising that two years of Ford's weak leadership have produced so few accomplishments; and it is not surprising that public polls indicate that so few Americans can name any accomplishments of Gerald Ford.
- b. A look at what Ford has claimed are his ten major accomplishments (in The Ford Presidency, recently published by the White House) shows exactly how little has in fact been accomplished:

- (1) Ford Claim: "Inflation has been cut by more than half" (evidence cited: consumer price index was rising at 12.2% a year when Ford took office; during first 6 months of '76, inflation rate was 4.6%)

FACTS:

- (a) While it is true the current inflation rate is 6%, that is still a higher rate than at any time between the Korean War and Nixon's inauguration. During the Kennedy-Johnson years, inflation was only 2.2%.
- (b) During 1974, when Ford was Vice President and then beginning in August President, the inflation rate was 12.2%. As Vice President Ford supported all of Nixon's economic policies
- (c) During the Nixon-Ford Administration, inflation has averaged almost 7%, an average exceeding the highest rate of inflation for any year under any other Administration since WWII. (From 1969-1974, Ford was Republican leader in the House and fully supported all of Nixon's economic policies)
- (d) Ford is essentially asking to be commended for having supported and implemented policies that gave the nation the highest inflation rate in 50 years and then reducing that rate to the highest in 20 years.

- (2) Ford Claim: "Over 3 million people have obtained jobs" (evidence cited: last year total employment was 84.3 million; now 87.7 million are employed)

FACTS:

- (a) The fact that 3 million have obtained jobs ignores the fact that 7.4 million are unemployed, a level exceeded on an annual basis only once since the 1930's -- by the 7.8 million unemployed during 1975.
- (b) When Ford took office, 5 million were unemployed -- 2.4 million below the current number.

- (3) Ford Claim: "The unemployment rate has been significantly cut" (evidence cited: in early 1975, unemployment peaked at 8.9%; today the rate is 7.5%, and the President's economic advisers predict the rate will go below 7% before the end of '76)

FACTS:

(c)\* Ford's economic advisers have never had a record for accurate predictions: they recommended, for instance, the WIN program to stop inflation. More importantly, with the recent increase in unemployment to 7.9 %, they are not now saying the unemployment rate will go below 7% by the end of the year.

- (a) The fact that the unemployment rate has been cut ignores the fact that the unemployment rate, which is actually 7.9%, (Aug.) is at an annual level exceeded only once since the 1930's -- by the 8.5% rate for 1975. The unemployment rate for blacks is 13.6%; for teenagers 18%; for black teenagers 40%; construction workers 17% (Note: each additional point in unemployment costs the government \$17 billion -- \$12 billion in lost tax revenues and \$5 billion in legally mandated food stamps, unemployment insurance and other support programs)
- (b) When unemployment "peaked at 8.9%," it was in Ford's Administration and as a direct result of his "WIN" and tight money policies; when Ford took office the unemployment rate was 5.5% -- in ten months Ford allowed unemployment to climb from 5 million to more than 8.2 million -- a more than 60% increase

- (c)\*
- (4) Ford Claim: "Key economic indicators are moving strongly upward" (evidence cited: in the past year, housing starts have risen by 40%, the GNP has risen by 10%, and per capita disposable income has risen by nearly 5%.)

FACTS:

Economic indicators are moving upward from recession-like levels; Ford is seeking credit for getting the country out of a recession that his tight money, high unemployment policies created.

- (a) Housing - In 1975, Ford's only full year in the White House, housing production was only 1.1 million units, the lowest in 20 years; apartment production was 268,000 units, the lowest since the Depression; home mortgage interest rates were 9-10%; and the average cost for a new single family house rose to \$45,000 -- a price beyond the capacity of 70% of American families.
- (b) GNP -- The relevant statistic is not GNP but real GNP, which accounts for inflation. In 1975, real GNP decreased by 1.8%; and in fact during the entire Nixon-Ford Administration, real GNP has grown only about 11%. (By contrast, during the Kennedy-Johnson years, real GNP increased by 45.9% -- a more than 300% improvement over the Nixon-Ford years. Throughout the Nixon-Ford years, real GNP has averaged only a 1.6% annual growth (and actually decreased in three years -- 1970, 1974, and 1975); during the Kennedy-Johnson years, the annual growth average was 4.5%.
- (c) Real Disposable Income Per Capita -- Throughout the Nixon-Ford Administration, real disposable income per capita has increased much more slowly than in the Kennedy-Johnson Administration; Nixon-Ford (1969-76) - 19.6%; Kennedy-Johnson - 28.4%. In two of the Ford Years, the nation had the lowest rate of increase in real disposable income per capita since the Depression: in 1974, there was a decrease of 2.3%; in 1975, the increase was only 1%. Of more significance, though, is the fact that the real average weekly earnings (which, unlike real disposable per capita income, includes only salary and wages and is therefore a better indicator of how the average working person is faring) has decreased during the Nixon-Ford years. In real terms, the average weekly earnings in 1968 was \$103.39; it is now, eight years later, only \$102.94.

- (5) Ford Claim: "Farmers are scaling new heights." (evidence cited: net farm income in 1976 reached \$26 billion, a record; farm exports in 1976 reached \$22 billion, a record)

FACTS:

- (a) Net farm income is only projected to reach \$26 billion this year, and even if it does that will be far from a record -- in 1973, net farm income was \$33 billion.
- (b) More importantly, "net farm income" is not the relevant measure of farmers' income; "real farm income," which accounts for inflation, is the relevant measure and that has been disastrous in the Ford Administration. For 1975, real farm income was \$16.8 billion and for 1976 it is projected at \$17.7 billion. By comparison, it was \$27.7 billion the year before Ford took office (1973) and \$22.6 billion in the year in which Ford assumed office (1974). That record does not indicate "new heights" for farms.
- (6) Ford Claim: "The growth of crime has been cut by more than 75%" (evidence cited: when Ford took office, crime was increasing at an 18% annual rate; in 1975, the rate of increase was 9%; in the first quarter of 1976, the rate of increase was 4%.)

FACTS:

- (a) That the annual growth in the crime rate has decreased ignores several major considerations:
- (1) the amount of crime is still enormous: in '74, there were 2.16 million serious crimes; in '75, there were 2.29 million serious crimes; and those figures included only reported crimes (which government studies show account for about one-half of all committed crimes).
- (2) During the Nixon-Ford Administration, counting only the reported crime, the rate of increase (through '75) for all serious crimes was 45%; for robberies 58%; for aggravated assaults, 48%. As Congressman and

Vice President, Ford supported all of Nixon's "law and order" policies, which were supposed to reduce crime, not just the rate by which crime increases.

- (3) Among the "law and order" policies Ford supported was the creation of LEAA, which was intended to provide funds to state and local communities in order to reduce crime. Through 1975, \$4.5 billion has been spent; there has been a 45% increase in reported serious crimes, and LEAA is now saying its mission is not to reduce crime but to reform the criminal justice system.
- (b) Leaving aside statistics about the crime rate, it is clear that the Nixon-Ford policies have done nothing to arrest the fear of crime: one half of Americans are still afraid of being the victim of a crime while walking in their neighborhoods, and one-quarter of Americans are still afraid of being the victim of a crime while sitting in their homes.
- (7) Ford Claim: "Dangerous downward trends in defense spending have been reversed" (evidence cited: in the decade before Ford took office, Congress cut proposed defense budgets by almost \$50 billion; in '76, Ford reversed that trend by persuading Congress to vote the first major increase in defense spending.)

FACTS:

- (a) Ford stated in the primaries that the U.S. military posture was No. 1 in the world; if that is true, it is difficult to see how the country has been hurt by saving \$50 billion.
- (b) The clear implication of Ford's statement is that defense spending can be directly equated with national defense posture, and it cannot. What is more important than the amount being spent is the effectiveness with which it is being spent. Ford understandably makes no claim as to increased effectiveness for the Defense Department.

- (8) Ford Claim: "Our alliances with the Atlantic Community and Japan have never been stronger" (evidence cited: When Ford took office, there was uncertainty in the international community over the constancy of American will and leadership; today the industrialized democracies are cooperating in many areas)

FACTS:

- (a) To the extent that there was foreign uncertainty over this country's will, Ford was a prime contributor; as Congressman and Vice President, he provided Nixon with the public support necessary to prolong Watergate into a two-year affair.
- (b) Our relations with the Atlantic Community are hardly at a peak; the Italians are resentful of the CIA's interference in their recent -- as well as past -- national elections; the Dutch are upset about the Lockheed bribes of Prince Bernard; the French and British are angry about the manner in which the question of Concorde landing rights has been handled; and the Canadians are increasingly upset with our unwillingness to recognize their desire for economic independence.
- (c) Our relations with Japan are also far from a post-World War II peak. There is great embarrassment in Japan over Lockheed's bribing of Japanese officials, and there is intense bitterness toward Ford's refusal for so long to provide the Japanese Parliament with the requested information about the bribes. Further, the Japanese are especially resentful of Ford's failure to warn Japan in advance of his recent decision to place American forces in Korea on alert (these forces are also intended to protect Japan.)
- (9) Ford Claim: "The Nation is at peace abroad for the first time in over a decade" (evidence cited: when Ford took office, the Vietnam War was still going on and tensions were high in the Middle East; now not a single American is fighting overseas)

FACTS:

- (a) It was despite Ford's policies, not because of them, that the U.S. has ended its involvement in Vietnam and Cambodia and not become involved in other wars.
- (1) Ford consistently supported Nixon's Vietnam War policies as Congressman

and Vice President, and he sought \$722 million in emergency military aid and \$250 million in emergency economic aid for Vietnam in 1973 in order to keep the Thieu government going.

- (2) Ford sought \$250 million in emergency aid to Cambodia in 1975 in order to keep the Lon Nol government going.
- (3) Ford was covertly funding in 1975 two of the factions in the Angolan Civil War, and he fought congressional efforts to stop that funding.

(b) If tensions have been eased in the Middle East during the past two years, the people living there have not noticed it. No permanent settlement of the Middle East situation seems near, the Arab nations are buying arms at record rates, Lebanon is rocked by a civil war of unbelievable dimensions, PLO terrorism continues unabated, and Israel is still forced to spend an extraordinarily high percentage of its funds on defense.

(c) If there are no Americans fighting overseas, how did two American soldiers get killed in Korea while chopping down a tree?

(10) Ford Claim: "The nation is at peace with itself" (evidence cited: when Ford took office, the Nation was rocked by scandal and inner doubts about its leaders and institutions, "today the strain of scandal has been erased from the White House, doubts have been replaced by growing national confidence, and the mood of the country has brightened perceptibly.")

FACTS:

- (a) Again, Ford cannot entirely escape blame for creating the "scandal and inner doubts" that led to Nixon's resignation. As a Congressman and Vice President, Ford fully supported and defended Nixon's handling of Watergate.
- (b) More importantly, the White House's reading of the country's present mood shows

how isolated Ford has become in just two years. Public opinion polls show that the country's mood is still one of serious doubt about the country's future and the ability of the government to solve major economic and social problems. In addition, the White House's reading of the country's mood has little basis for credibility, as Governor Reagan readily discovered.

D. Lack of Moral and Compassionate Leadership

1. The callousness of Ford's 25 year Congressional voting record presaged his Presidency, for he has continued during the last two years to ignore the needs of the poor, the elderly, the disabled, the unemployed and others looking to the federal government to help with with the nation's social and economic problems.
2. When Ford assumed the Presidency he told those concerned about his callous voting record to ignore it, for it really just represented Grand Rapids. The last two years have shown that his voting record really represented him, and that he is just not capable of moral or compassionate leadership. Examples:

a. Jobs for the Unemployed

- (1) Vetoed Public Works Employment Act of 1976 (overridden) (authorized \$3.95 billion in public works projects; 325,000 new jobs)
- (2) Vetoed Public Works Employment Act of 1975 (authorized \$6.3 billion in public works projects; 600,000 - 800,000 new jobs)
- (3) Vetoed Employment Appropriation Act of 1975 (\$5.3 billion for emergency jobs; 1 million new part and full-time jobs; 840,000 summer jobs)
- (4) Consistently opposed any program to reduce the level of unemployment to even a 4% level (Example: FY'76 - proposed to spend no more than \$1.3 billion on job creation)

b. Health Care

- (1) Vetoed Special Health Revenue Sharing Act of '75, which extended the health revenue sharing program, community mental health centers, National Health Service Corps program, and assistance for nurses' training (overridden)

- (2) Vetoed FY'76 appropriations of \$45 billion for HEW and Labor Departments; part of the reason for the veto -- appropriations for health programs exceeded Ford's request by \$1 billion (overridden)
- (3) Opposed any type of comprehensive national health insurance program
- (4) Sought to rescind 22 appropriations in FY'75, in health-related areas (totalling \$1.126 billion); Congress refused to approve any of these proposed recessions; sought to rescind 7 appropriations in FY'76 in health areas (totalling \$264 million); only one approved by Congress.

c. Education

- (1) Vetoed \$7.9 billion FY'76 appropriations for various educational programs including elementary, secondary, and higher education aid, National Institute for Education, and Impact Aid program; vetoed because amount exceeded Ford's recommendation of \$1.5 billion (overridden)
- (2) Vetoed Veterans Educational Benefit Act, which increased basic educational benefits for post-Korean and Vietnam War veterans by 22.7%; and increased on-the-job training funds and vocational aid for disabled veterans (overridden)
- (3) Proposed in FY'75 to rescind \$370 million and defer \$195 million in education funds (Congress rejected)

d. Elderly

- (1) Proposed in FY'75 a reduction to 5% in the guaranteed cost of living increase in Social Security benefits (8% enacted)
- (2) Continued a moratorium on construction of Sec. 236 subsidized housing programs for the elderly
- (3) Repeatedly failed to request any funds for Community Services Employment for Older Americans Act (though Congress has appropriated funds)
- (4) Sponsored legislation to increase by approximately 1/3 the cost of food stamps, which would have meant acquiring about 95% of food stamp recipients to pay 30% of their net monthly income for food stamps (20% of food stamps

recipients are over 60)

- (5) Proposed in FY'76 reductions in the Older Americans Act that would have been the sharpest reduction in history of the Act
- (6) Proposed financing "catastrophic" national health insurance for the elderly by substantially increasing short-term hospitalization charges
- (7) Vetoed bill to provide \$285 million to Railroad Retirement Fund in order to ensure its solvency (overridden)

e. Consumers

- (1) Opposed establishment of a Consumer Protection Agency
- (2) Opposed parens patriae antitrust bill (which would allow State Attorneys General to represent consumers injured by antitrust violations)
- (3) Supported immediate de-control of natural gas and oil prices
- (4) Vetoed the Freedom of Information Act Amendments

f. Civil Liberties

- (1) Failed to take any action against the FBI, CIA, or other intelligence agencies proven to in the Congressional investigations to have illegally violated the constitutional rights of Americans.
- (2) Supported (until the current campaign) enactment of S.1, the Criminal Codification Code that contains so many provisions designed to restrict basic civil liberties.
- (3) Proposed a foreign intelligence wiretapping bill that would allow American citizens to be tapped without "probable cause" of a crime
- (4) Refused to take any actions to pressure our foreign allies to stop the atrocities committed against political prisoners, as well as American citizens convicted of drug offenses.

g. Civil Rights

- (1) Opposed all federal efforts toward increasing the desegregation of the nation's public schools; recently released Report of U.S. Civil Rights Commission concluded that Ford's repeated anti-busing remarks and support of anti-busing legislation "undermine the desegregation process in communities across the country."
- (2) Proposed legislation which would permit busing of school children in any school district for no more than 5 years, regardless of how segregated a school district would become after busing ended.
- (3) Supported the practice of private schools of maintaining segregated student bodies (the Supreme Court subsequently held such a practice unconstitutional)

h. Environmental Needs

- (1) Twice vetoed a bill that would establish federal environmental standards for all strip mining activities
- (2) Supported the extension of EPA auto emission standards to 1982 (instead of 1977)
- (3) Supported amendments to substantially weaken the air pollution standards imposed by the Clean Air Act
- (4) Opposed any effective toxic substance control bill (such as the tough '76 Senate-passed bill)
- (5) Opposed legislation requiring mandatory fuel efficiency standards for new automobiles; opposed legislation taxing energy-inefficient automobiles
- (6) For two years, opposed any additions to the National Park System and the National Wildlife Refuge System, and changed only with the beginning of the general election campaign; agreed to give 1.5 million acres of Wildlife Refuge System to Bureau of Land Management (which is largely dominated by mining interests) (Congress overturned)
- (7) Vetoed bill to make certain that rights-of-ways in National Wildlife Refuge System are most protective of environmental needs.

HOW THEY STAND:

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES' POSITIONS

Gerald Ford (R)

Jimmy Carter (D)

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INFLATION

General/Economic Concentration/Domestic Monetary Policy/Government Spending/Government Regulation/Wage and Price Controls/Food Prices

---

All recent public opinion surveys have identified inflation as the number one issue bothering Americans. To gain insight into candidates' views on this issue, Common Cause has outlined their positions on the following problems commonly associated with inflation:

- The general category has been used when candidates describe generally the chief causes of inflation and the range of remedies they would apply.
- Current domestic monetary policy is seen by many citizens as a cause of inflation or a cure. In one view, increasing the money supply and keeping interest rates low would reduce inflation. The contrary theory is that, to combat inflation, growth of the nation's money supply must be limited.
- Government spending is considered by some to be a principal cause of inflation to be fought by sharply curtailing federal outlays.
- Government regulation that limits competition and fixes prices in certain industries is often attacked as contributing to inflation, with the recommendation that it be eliminated or reduced. Another view sees excessive regulation as causing higher business costs and thus higher prices.
- Wage and price controls have been advanced as one means of controlling inflation. Even some who do not support formal controls believe that some form of "jawboning" or persuasion can be helpful in preventing unwarranted price and wage increases. A different view rejects controls as unjustified or unworkable interference with the free market.
- Food prices (together with energy costs) are often cited as contributing seriously to inflation. Different approaches to stabilizing food prices have been offered.

Ford

Ford remarks, Bowling  
Green State University  
Ohio, 6/7/76

In discussing his economic policies, President Ford noted, "So we decided that we would give the free enterprise system a chance. And what has happened? First, inflation, which was 12 percent or more, is now 3 percent or less for the first 4 months of 1976, and that is a good record....But we are going to do better. We are going to stay the course and we are going to get the rate of inflation down to the kind of a level where this country can grow and prosper, and people, whether they are on fixed income or working in a factory or tilling the soil or teaching in this university, or students who are going here, will get a fair shake and not be robbed day after day after day by the kind of inflation we had in 1974."

Ford remarks, Economic  
Club of Detroit meeting  
Michigan, 5/12/76

"During 1974, the annual rate of inflation stood at 12 percent. We have cut that by well over 50 percent. During the first three months of 1976, the annual inflation rate has been not 12 percent, not 6 percent, but under 3 percent, and that is progress, by any score."

State of the  
Union Address  
1/19/76

"My first objective," Ford states, "is to have sound economic growth without inflation. We all know from recent experience what runaway inflation does to ruin every other worthy purpose. We are slowing it; we must stop it cold."

President's  
Budget Message  
for FY 1977

"This is not a policy of the quick fix," Ford asserts in his 1977 budget message. "It does not hold out the hollow promise that we can wipe out inflation and unemployment overnight. Instead, it is an honest, realistic policy--a policy that says we can steadily reduce inflation and unemployment if we maintain a prudent, balanced approach. This policy has begun to prove itself in recent months as we have made substantial headway in pulling out of the recession and reducing the rate of inflation; it will prove itself decisively if we stick to it."

"Ford Aides Assert  
Economic Gains Exceed  
Forecast," New York  
Times, 7/17/76

In mid-July Ford Administration officials announced more favorable economic projections for 1976 and 1977 than those issued in January 1976. They indicated that the rise in consumer prices was expected to be 5% in 1976, rather than 5.9%, and 5.7% in 1977, rather than the 5.9% estimated earlier. According to White House press secretary Ron Nessen, "The President believes his economic policies are the major reason for this improvement."

Ford Press Conference  
4/2/76

In April Ford stated that the biggest issue of the campaign "is the building up and strengthening, the fortifying of our economy to restore the kind of permanent prosperity that we must have so that anybody who wants a job can have a job, and, secondly, that we can get the rate of inflation down in the range of 2 to 3 percent or less."

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INFLATION: General

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Carter

Carter paper,  
"The Economy: An  
Economic Position Paper  
for Now and Tomorrow"  
April 1976

Carter believes that inflation has a variety of causes and that it is not necessary to increase unemployment in order to end inflation.

"It will be my responsibility as President to insure that this nation has a coherent, coordinated, short and long term economic policy, geared to achieve full employment, low rates of inflation, and cyclically balanced budgets. To these I am committed. These goals will be achieved," Carter asserts.

"We must give highest priority to achieving a steady reduction of unemployment and achieving full employment--a job for everyone who wishes one--as rapidly as possible, while reducing inflation."

Carter believes the expansionary policy he supports "can reduce unemployment without reigniting inflation, because our economy is presently performing so far under capacity."

Carter Acceptance Speech  
July 15, 1976

"We will never end the inflationary spiral, nor have a balanced budget, which I am determined to see, as long as we have eight or nine million Americans who cannot find a job.... We simply cannot check inflation by keeping people out of work."

Carter presentation to  
Democratic Platform  
Committee  
June 1976

According to Carter, "There are more humane and economically sound solutions to inflation than the Republican program of forced recessions and high unemployment. We must battle inflation through:

- steady flow of jobs and output
- a better matching of supply and demand
- reform of government regulations, such as the backhaul rule, which unnecessarily add to consumer costs
- strict anti-trust and consumer protection enforcement
- increased emphasis on productivity
  
- lower interest rates
- effective monitoring of inflationary trends and forces
- standby wage and price controls, which the President could apply selectively."

"What Carter Believes,"  
U.S. News & World Report  
5/24/76

Regarding the causes of inflation, Carter notes, "A lot of the inflationary pressures in recent years have been transient--caused not so much by excessive demand as by dollar devaluations, the big jump in oil and food prices."

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ECONOMIC CONCENTRATION

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Ford

State of the  
Union Address  
1/19/76

Ford apparently sees economic concentration as contributing to higher prices, for he says: "I have concrete plans...to foster competition and to bring prices down for the consumer. This Administration will strictly enforce the Federal antitrust laws for the same purpose."

"Ford Would Veto Bill  
Against Price Fixing"  
Washington Post  
3/17/76

Ford is, however, reported to have announced to his staff that he opposes and will veto a bill to deter and punish price fixing and other anti-competitive practices, if it comes to his desk. The Justice Department, with the approval of the Office of Management and Budget, had expressed support for the general concept of the bill, which would permit a state attorney general to sue violators for triple damages in the federal courts.

"Ford Veto of Anti-  
trust Bill Seen,"  
Washington Post  
3/18/76

In a letter to House Minority Leader John Rhodes, Ford said "I support vigorous antitrust enforcement, but I do not believe (the pending bill) is a responsible way to enforce federal antitrust laws."

As his reason for this decision, Ford stated, "The Administration questions whether the Congress should bypass the state legislatures and provide state attorneys general with access to the federal courts to enforce it."

Carter

Carter presentation to  
the Democratic Platform  
Committee  
June 1976

Carter supports vigorous enforcement of the anti-trust laws.

"Jimmy Carter on Economics,"  
Business Week, 5/3/76

Regarding oil industry divestiture, he has said, "Breaking up the oil companies as a major goal would be counterproductive. At the wholesale and retail level, I think divestiture ought to be considered, unless I was assured as President that there was an adequate amount of competition at those levels. In the exploration, extraction, transport, refining, and distribution of oil, I think divestiture would be counterproductive.

"On horizontal divestiture, there again I would seriously consider it, unless I were convinced that there was adequate competition in the production of coal and uranium."

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DOMESTIC MONETARY POLICY

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Ford

Text of Ford Press  
Conference of  
9/16/75 printed  
in Congressional  
Quarterly  
9/20/75

Ford does not believe that the Federal Reserve Board's monetary policy should be fully responsible for combatting inflation. He sees cuts in government spending as equally important. (see Government spending profile).

"I don't think it is fair to put all of the burden in the battle against inflation on the shoulders of the Federal Reserve Board. I have repeatedly indicated that Federal fiscal policy was as important as monetary policy in the battle against inflation."

Carter

Response to Common  
Cause "Questions  
from New Yorkers"  
3/20/76

Carter believes that a tight money policy is not the way to end inflation.

"A narrow, doctrinaire view that is to be avoided is that inflation is purely a consequence of excessive expansion of the money supply and that the only way to deal with it, once it has occurred is to pursue a restrictive monetary policy, come what may to interest rates, employment and production."

"The policy of monetary restriction to slow down the economy," he asserts, "was not a sensible way to try to counteract the price rises that occurred. There was an unnecessary pressure put on the housing market through the drying up of mortgage funds, a general scaring of the American consumer, and a setback to industrial capital formation."

Carter presentation to  
Democratic Platform  
Committee  
June 1976

Carter believes that, "Better coordination between fiscal and monetary policy should be assured by:

- giving the President the power to appoint the Chairman of the Federal Reserve for a term coterminous with the President's;
- requiring the Open Market Committee of the Federal Reserve Board to state its objectives more clearly and publicly;
- requiring the Federal Reserve Board to submit a credit market report on past and expected monetary conditions to be included with the Economic Report of the President;
- requiring the Secretary of the Treasury, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget and the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board to show in a consolidated report that their policies are mutually consistent or explain the reasons they are not consistent."

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GOVERNMENT SPENDING

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Ford

State of the Union  
Address, 1/19/76

Ford believes that the key to ending inflation is to cut back government spending.

"For many Americans the way to a healthy noninflationary economy has become increasingly apparent: the Government must stop spending so much and borrowing so much of our money; more money must remain in private hands where it will do the most good. To hold down the cost of living, we must hold down the cost of government."

If this is done, Ford believes, "We can achieve a balanced budget by 1979 if we have the courage and wisdom to continue to reduce the growth of Federal spending."

Noting that his 1976 budget of \$394.2 billion would cut in half the recent average annual growth rate of the federal budget, Ford asserts that his policy has already begun to work. "The worst recession since World War II turned around in April. The best cost of living news of the past year is that double digit inflation of 12% or higher was cut almost in half."

Ford remarks at  
Economic Club of  
Detroit meeting  
Michigan  
5/12/76

In defense of his policy of controlling government spending, Ford has said, "Just about a year ago we hit the bottom of our worst recession in 40 years. Many in Congress and elsewhere were urging that we push the panic button. In the Congress, the economic downturn set off a clamor for huge emergency Federal subsidies for more and bigger Government programs and higher deficit Government spending. But the prophets of doom were wrong, and I knew they were wrong. We did not panic, We resisted big spending schemes that would have caused larger Federal deficits and even more destructive inflation. We rejected the disproven techniques of the old politics; instead, we pursued a calm, steady policy to insure America's economic health not for a month or for six weeks or six months, but for the long, long, pull."

Ford has viewed the Democratic Congress as an adversary in holding down spending, saying: "From the very beginning, I forced the Congress to abandon or to severely cut back reckless Federal spending programs. One of my most important weapons is the veto. I vetoed 49 bills sent to me by the Congress and 42 of those vetoes have been sustained, saving the American taxpayer \$13 billion."

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GOVERNMENT SPENDING

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Ford (continued)

Ford remarks at public  
forum, Fort Wayne, Ind.  
5/2/76

"Now, the majority in the Congress," Ford asserts, "...believe higher Federal spending on a host of social programs will stimulate a more rapid recovery and that the government should provide jobs for everybody if private employers don't do so fast enough. They believe that an acceptable price for economic recovery is a new round of higher and higher and higher inflation. They believe that bigger Federal deficits are required to keep the recovery underway. They are wrong."

Ford Press Conference  
4/2/76

Asked whether he would support zero-based budgeting for the Federal Government, Ford responded:

"I am very interested in reducing the expenditures of the Federal Government, and if the Congress would go along with my budget for fiscal year 1977, we would cut roughly \$28 billion out of the projected Federal budget for that fiscal year. And so I am very definitely interested in reducing the growth of federal spending."

Carter

Response to North  
Carolina Common Cause  
3/17/76

Carter believes that improving the federal budgeting system and reorganizing the government departments can help to combat inflation. "I think that a strong emphasis toward comprehensive planning and carefully prepared budgets can reduce large deficits and therefore contribute to controlled inflation."

Carter presentation to  
Democratic Platform  
Committee  
June 1976

"We must give top priority to a drastic and thorough revision and reorganization of the federal bureaucracy, to its budgeting system and to procedures for analyzing the effectiveness of its services. We must establish mechanisms to set our priorities more systematically and to make our spending decisions more carefully."

To accomplish this, Carter recommends the following steps:

--"The federal government should be committed to requiring zero-base budgeting by all federal agencies. Each program, other than income support programs such as Social Security, should be required to justify both their continued existence and their level of funding."

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GOVERNMENT SPENDING

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Carter (continued)

--"We must commit ourselves to a greater reliance upon long-range planning and long-term budgets.... 'Uncontrollable,' spending is only uncontrollable in the short run; spending can be controlled if the planning system builds in more lead time."

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

"What Carter Believes"  
U.S. News & World Report  
5/24/76

"I favor balanced budgets over the business cycle. If the economy is managed progressively, we can attain a balanced budget with full employment by 1979--before the end of the first term of my Administration. Putting people to work, don't forget, would enlarge the amount of taxes the Government collects and reduce what it spends to fight unemployment."

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GOVERNMENT REGULATION

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Ford

State of the  
Union Address  
1/19/76

Ford recommends regulatory reforms to end the waste of "literally millions of working hours costing billions of consumers' dollars because of bureaucratic red tape."

Ford cites the farmer as an example of a segment of the American economy that can produce effectively "without the shackles of Government control." The segments of the economy in which he recommends regulatory reforms include airlines, trucking, railroads, and financial institutions. "I have concrete plans in each of these areas," he asserts, "not to help this or that industry, but to foster competition and to bring prices down for the consumer."

Carter

"What Carter Believes,"  
U.S. News & World Report

"I'd like to see a reform of Government regulations that tend to drive up costs--for example, the rule prohibiting a truck from carrying goods on its return haul."

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WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS

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Ford

Text of Ford Press  
Conference of  
9/16/75 printed  
in Congressional  
Quarterly  
9/20/75

Ford is firmly opposed to wage and price controls because he does not believe they work. He also believes they can have detrimental effects on the economy.

"I would like to reiterate my firm opposition to wage and price controls." "We do have a wage-price council that has on some occasions investigated price increases and, on several occasions, have been helpful in trying to get a moderation of a price increase, but I do not believe on the basis of past history of wage and price controls during peacetime that they worked."

Ford adds that, because he thinks controls would have "long-range detrimental repercussions," he is opposed to them. "I think there are better remedies."

Carter

Carter paper,  
"The Economy"  
4/76

Carter sees wage and price controls as a tool to be used only when absolutely necessary.

"Jimmy Carter on Economics"  
Business Week, 5/3/76

"I would like standby wage-price controls. My guess is that I would never use them. But I would like them as a lever. I wouldn't hesitate to use them if I had to."

"What Carter Believes,"  
U.S. News & World Report  
5/24/76

In a subsequent interview, Carter noted that, "Right now, though, I don't see the need for use of standby controls."

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FOOD PRICES

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Ford

Ford speech, Ft. Myers  
Florida, 2/14/76

Ford sees increased farm productivity as one way to slow the rise in food prices and blames the "middleman" for much of that rise.

"It is true that in 1973, just about the time we had the oil embargo, food prices soared. In the meantime, the farmers of this country have really turned to, and last year we had an all time record of wheat production, an all time record of corn production, and the net result is that instead of the increase in food prices of 15 to 20 percent in 1973, they are down now to an annual rate of about four to five percent. That is still too high."

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FOOD PRICES

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Ford (continued)

"But I can tell you that the farmers are producing. Our big problem--let's be frank about it--it is the middleman profit. The farmer doesn't get it and the consumer doesn't get it, and one of the jobs that the Department of Justice must do, the Federal Trade Commission must do, and others, is to find out why there is such an abnormally high differential between what the farmer gets and what the consumer pays, and we are going to go after it."

Ford remarks at public forum, Fort Wayne, Ind. 5/2/76

Ford credits Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz with improvements in farm income: "I believe very strongly that Earl Butz is one of the finest Secretaries of Agriculture our country has ever had. Under the leadership of this administration and Secretary Butz, we have made solid gains in agriculture. The last 3 years have registered the highest net farm income in America's history. American farmers have been relieved of heavy and costly burdens of government intervention. They have been given new freedom to meet the challenge of the open market and have been rewarded for it."

Carter

Common Cause  
"Iowa Asks"  
response  
2/1/76

Carter blames high food prices on national agricultural policies. He believes that concern for the consumer and the family farmer, coupled with national reserves of agricultural products, would help to stabilize food prices.

"The United States is the greatest agricultural producer in the world. Yet we now find ourselves in the ridiculous position of seeing the family farmer going broke trying to produce food the consumer cannot afford to buy."

"A first requirement is a Secretary of Agriculture who is inclined towards stability, predictability and honest concern for the needs of family farmers and consumers. This has not been the case in recent years under Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz whose orientation is toward grain speculators and food processors."

"We need a national food policy that will assure the consumer abundance of supply at prices he or she can afford and will avoid the shortages that drive prices higher. Such a policy can also assure farmers that they can produce abundantly at a fair price to them. We can do both, if we have national leadership dedicated to the interests of the people."

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FOOD PRICES

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Carter (continued)

Carter response to  
Iowa Democratic Party  
poll  
1976

Carter believes "We should maintain a predictable, reasonably small and stable reserve of agricultural products. ...This carefully managed reserve would support farm incomes when prices are low, help avoid boosts to the inflationary spiral, provide assurance of supplies to our foreign customers and facilitate a regular flow of food aid.... We must strive to give farmers incentives to produce abundantly."

"Jimmy Carter on  
Economics"  
Business Week  
5/3/76

Defending his position on price supports, Carter asserts, "If you establish price supports for domestic crops equivalent to production costs, I don't consider that inflationary. The inflationary aspect comes in when you have wild fluctuations in price."

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JOBS AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Public Service-Guaranteed Jobs/Incentives for Private Sector Jobs  
Labor Issues/Minority-Youth Employment/Job Training  
Structural Unemployment/Unemployment Benefits

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With the national unemployment rate at 7.5% in June of 1976, jobs are a major issue in the Presidential campaign. A February 1 Gallup Poll reported that 23% of the respondents listed unemployment as the nation's top problem--second only to inflation.

In outlining Presidential candidates' views on jobs and unemployment, Common Cause has used the following categories:

Overview - The candidates' general approach to the jobs and unemployment issue, including views on broad economic principles, such as the employment-inflation trade off, the role of monetary policy and economic growth.

Public Service/Guaranteed Jobs - Candidate positions on public service jobs (including the numbers and types of such jobs) and the concept of an enforceable right to a job. Where available candidate positions are given on the Humphrey-Hawkins Equal Opportunity and Full Employment Act, the \$5.3 billion Emergency Employment Act (H.R. 4481) vetoed by President Ford in 1975, the \$6.1 billion Public Works Employment Act of 1975 (H.R. 5247) vetoed by President Ford in February and the \$3.95 billion Public Works Employment Act of 1976 vetoed by President Ford in July (S. 3201).

Incentives for Private Sector Jobs - Candidate proposals designed to stimulate employment in the private sector, including tax preferences, tax credits, federal matching money and investment incentives.

Labor Issues - Business-union issues, including collective bargaining, right to work, occupational health and safety and minimum wage. Where available, candidate positions are given on the Common Situs Picketing Bill (H.R. 5900) vetoed by President Ford in January.

Minority/Youth Employment - Candidate proposals to increase employment opportunities for minorities and youth. Topics include affirmative action programs, public service jobs, job training and minimum wage.

Job Training - Candidate proposals for manpower training, vocational training and incentives for private sector job training.

Structural Unemployment - Candidate proposals to deal with employment problems related to long-term shifts in the economy, including proposals for economic conversion and matching jobs with the unemployed in different trades and geographical areas.

Unemployment Benefits - Candidate proposals to change the amount and duration of unemployment benefits.

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JOBES & UNEMPLOYMENT: Overview

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Ford

State of the Union  
1/19/76

"My first objective is to have sound economic growth without inflation."

Veto Message  
7/6/76

"The best and most effective way to create new jobs is to pursue balanced economic policies that encourage the growth of the private sector without risking a new round of inflation. This is the core of my economic policy, and I believe that the steady improvements in the economy over the last half year on both the unemployment and inflation fronts bear witness to its essential wisdom. I intend to continue this basic approach because it is working."

"My proposed economic policies are expected to produce lasting, productive jobs, not temporary jobs paid for by the American taxpayer."

"This is a policy of balance, realism, and common sense. It is a sound policy which provides long term benefits and does not promise more than it can deliver."

Speech at Economic  
Club of Detroit  
5/12/76

"Just about a year ago we hit the bottom of our worst recession in 40 years. Many in Congress and elsewhere were urging that we push the panic button. In the Congress, the economic downturn set off a clamor for huge emergency Federal subsidies for more and bigger Government programs and higher deficit Government spending."

"But the prophets of doom were wrong, and I knew they were wrong. We did not panic. We resisted big spending schemes that would have caused larger Federal deficits and even more destructive inflation. We rejected the disproven techniques of the old politics; instead, we pursued a calm, steady policy to insure America's economic health not for a month or six weeks or six months, but for the long, long pull."

"We had faith that the American system of private enterprise would regain its strength and, as a result, we meet today not in the gloom of a depression or a recession but in the full surge of economic recovery. Everything that is supposed to be going up is going up, and everything that is supposed to be going down is going down. Our great free enterprise economic system is working and let's take a quick look at some of the indicators..."

"Simply stated, my goal is the full restoration of the United States economy as the world's most reliable engine for producing an ever-increasing standard of living and an economic climate in which every American who wants a job, who wants to work, can find a good job."

Ford Speech  
Bowling Green State  
University  
6/7/76

"President Ford is not going to be satisfied until everybody has a job who wants a job. That is the only criterion by which this administration will judge whether we are going well or badly. Everyone who wants a job has to have a job under this administration. But let's talk for just a minute about how we did this..."

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JOBS & UNEMPLOYMENT: Overview

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Ford (continued)

New York Times  
4/27/76

"If Congress has its way, there is every reason to expect that our present recovery will be followed by a new round of inflation and then another recession, with higher unemployment in the same roller coaster pattern of the postwar years."

Ford Campaign Hand-  
out

"President Ford's primary goal has been to increase job opportunities in your home town. The President realizes that short-term public employment programs often postpone the real solution of the unemployment problems. Therefore, President Ford has directed his efforts towards curbing inflation and stimulating private industry, aiming for longer-term, more permanent results. As a result, the newly created jobs provide better income and are more lasting than temporary public service jobs."

Washington Post  
2/1/76

In a speech to Republican leaders from 13 Midwestern states Ford stated: "It is true that what I am proposing is not going to get the unemployed back to work overnight. But it will get them back to work, with lasting and secure jobs--not dead-end jobs supported by the government...One cannot promise full employment overnight, and I hope nobody does in the upcoming debate, because it is a cruel illusion."

Carter

Carter's  
Acceptance Speech  
7/15/76

"Too many have had to suffer at the hands of a political and economic elite who have shaped decisions and never had to account for mistakes nor to suffer from injustice. When unemployment prevails, they never stand in line looking for a job...

"I believe that anyone who is able to work ought to work -- and ought to have a chance to work. We will never have an end to the inflationary spiral, we will never have a balanced budget -- which I am determined to see -- as long as we have 8 or 9 million Americans out of work who cannot find a job. Now, any system of economics is bankrupt if it sees either value or virtue in unemployment. We simply cannot check inflation by keeping people out of work."

Carter's Submission  
to Democratic Platform  
Committee

"The first priority must be a rapid reduction of unemployment and the achievement of full employment with price stability. For the near future, economic policy should be expansionary. By 1979, we can achieve a balanced budget within the context of full employment.

- (1) To reach full employment we must assure:
  - (a) support for the Full Employment Act of 1976.
  - (b) countercyclical assistance to cities with high unemployment.

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JOBS & UNEMPLOYMENT: Overview

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Carter (continued)

- (c) an expansionary fiscal and monetary policy for the coming fiscal year to stimulate demand, production and jobs;
- (d) (stimulation and incentives for) the private sector to hire the unemployed and to retain workers already employed even during periods of economic downturn. To provide an additional incentive, the unemployment compensation tax paid by employers should be provided for business which hire persons previously unemployed.
- (e) an increased commitment by the federal government to fund the cost of on-the-job training by business;
- (f) more efficient employment services to match people to jobs;
- (g) improved manpower training programs;
- (h) creation of meaningful and productive public needs jobs as a supplement to the private sector, including jobs for unmet needs in areas such as housing rehabilitation and repairing our railroad roadbeds;
- (i) we should provide 800,000 summer youth jobs and double the CETA program from 300,000 to 600,000 jobs.

Carter Interview  
Business Week  
5/3/76

"I think the major priority of the next Administration has got to be employment. My own belief is that we can get the adult unemployment rate down to 3%, or the overall rate down to 4.5%, without any adverse effect on inflation."

Carter Position  
Paper: The Economy  
4/76

"(1) We must develop a sensible, steady, fair, humane, well-coordinated national economic policy . . .

"(2) We must give highest priority to achieving a steady reduction of unemployment and achieving full employment -- a job for everyone who wishes one -- as rapidly as possible, while reducing inflation.

"(3) We must insure a better coordination between fiscal and monetary policy and insure a closer working relationship between the Executive Branch and the Federal Reserve Board.

"(4) 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...

"(5) We need better economic coordination and planning through an expanded role for the Council of Economic Advisors, to aid government, business, and industry in making intelligent decisions."

"A constant effort to battle inflation must accompany our drive for full employment."

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JOB S & UNEMPLOYMENT: Overview

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Carter (continued)

Carter Position  
Paper  
5/76

"The essential building block of our urban policy must be the provision of a job for each person capable of holding gainful employment. I believe every person has a right to a job.

"But our urban unemployment rate is intolerable. This high level of unemployment means less tax revenue for cities, increased social tension, and higher crime rates."

ABC's Issues and  
Answers  
2/22/76

"I think the major thrust ought to be the strengthening of the private sector, not guaranteeing everybody they will get a job from the federal government."

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PUBLIC SERVICE/GUARANTEED JOBS

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Ford

State of the Union  
1/19/76

"One test of a healthy economy is a job for every American who wants work."

"Government--our kind of government--cannot create that many jobs. But the Federal Government can create conditions and incentives for private business and industry to make more and more jobs."

Veto Message  
7/6/76

"I am today returning without my approval, S 3201, the Public Works Employment Act of 1976."

"This bill would require \$3.95-billion in federal spending above and beyond what is necessary. It sends a clear signal to the American people that four months before a national election, the Congress is enacting empty promises and giveaway programs. I will not take the country down that path. Time and time again we have found where it leads: to larger deficits, higher taxes, higher inflation and ultimately higher unemployment."

"We must stand firm. I know the temptation, but I urge members of Congress to reconsider their positions and join with me now in keeping our economy on the road to healthy, sustained growth."

"It was almost five months ago that the Senate sustained my veto of a similiar bill, HR 5247, and the reasons compelling that veto are equally persuasive now with respect to S 3201. Bad policy is bad whether the inflation price tag is \$4-billion or \$6-billion."

"Proponents of S 3201 argue that it is urgently needed to provide new jobs. I yield to no one in concern over the effects of unemployment and in the desire that there be enough jobs for every American who is seeking work. To emphasize the point,

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PUBLIC SERVICE/GUARANTEED JOBS

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Ford (continued)

let me remind the Congress that the economic policies of this administration are designed to create 2-2.5 million jobs in 1976 and an additional 2 million jobs in 1977. By contrast, administration economists estimate that this bill, S 3201, will create at most 160,000 jobs over the coming years- less than 5% of what my own policies will accomplish. Moreover, the jobs created by S 3201 would reduce national unemployment by less than one-tenth of one percent in any year. The actual projection is that the effect would be .06 percent, at a cost of \$4-billion. Thus, the heart of the debate over this bill is not over who cares the most--we all care a great deal--but over the best way to reach our goal."

"When I vetoed HR 5247 last February, I pointed out that it was unwise to stimulate even further an economy which was showing signs of a strong and steady recovery. Since that time the record speaks for itself. The present 7.5 percent unemployment rate is a full one percent lower than the average unemployment rate of 8.5 per cent last year. More importantly, almost three and a half million more Americans now have jobs than was the case in March of last year. We have accomplished this while at the same time reducing inflation which plunged the country into the severe recession of 1975..."

"I recognize there is merit in the argument that some areas of the country are suffering from exceptionally high rates of unemployment and that the federal government should provide assistance. My budgets for fiscal years 1976 and 1977 do, in fact, seek to provide such assistance."

"Beyond my own budget recommendations, I believe that in addressing the immediate needs of some of our cities hardest hit by the recession, another measure before the Congress, HR 11860 sponsored by Congressman Garry Brown and S 2986 sponsored by Senator Bob Griffin provides a far more reasonable and constructive approach than the bill I am vetoing."

"HR 11860 would target funds on those areas with the highest unemployment so that they may undertake high priority activities at a fraction of the cost of S 3201. The funds would be distributed exclusively under an impartial formula as opposed to the pork barrel approach represented by the public works portions of the bill I am returning today. Moreover HR 11860 builds upon the successful Community Development Block Grant program. That program is in place and working well, thus permitting HR 11860 to be administered without the creation of a new bureaucracy. I would be glad to accept this legislation should the Congress formally act upon it as an alternative to S 3201."

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PUBLIC SERVICE/GUARANTEED JOBS

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Ford (continued)

LA Times  
7/23/76

"In response to the Congressional override of his veto of the Public Works Employment Act of 1976 (S 3201), Ford said Congress was not sufficiently concerned about 'the risks of double-didger-inflation.... It would rather create \$4 billion worth of temporary, government-funded jobs than let those same dollars go to work in the private sector to produce real, rewarding, lasting jobs."

New York Times  
4/27/76

Ford opposes the Humphrey-Hawkins bill which he has described "a vast election year boondoggle." Ford asks: "How much all this would cost, how long such public payroll jobs would continue, what the added inflationary impact would be, really defies rational calculation...the law would get the Federal government deeper and deeper into social and economic planning on a national scale unprecedented in all our history."

Ford speech  
Economic Club of  
Detroit  
5/12/76

"But putting America back to work is not a job for the President alone or as a matter of fact for the Congress, though sometimes some Senators and some Congressmen seem to think they can abolish unemployment by passing new laws such as the deceptive and dangerous Humphrey-Hawkins bill now pending in Congress."

"This bill is a classic example of the way the misguided majority in recent Congresses has tried to apply discredited remedies to our economy. The Humphrey-Hawkins boondoggle would decree that unemployment must be no higher than 3 per cent by the end of four years. If not enough private jobs are available, the Federal Government will make work. How much all of this would cost, how long such public payroll jobs would continue, what the added inflationary impact would be really defies any rational calculations. Never mind the law would get the Federal Government deeper and deeper into economic planning on a national scale unprecedented in our history."

"I am obviously against the Humphrey-Hawkins bill and all of the other schemes to give Washington more and more control over our lives. Instead, as an alternative that I think makes a lot more sense, I have proposed tax reductions and other tax reforms to create more and better jobs in private industry."

Boston Globe  
1/28/76

The Ford Administration, in its fiscal 1977 budget, proposes to reduce the number of public service jobs from the current level of 320,000 to about 40,000 by September 1977."

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PUBLIC SERVICE/GUARANTEED JOBS

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Ford (continued)

Washington Star  
9/5/75

The President said the government has been offering too many jobs in recent years. "The result has been the creation of a bureaucracy that contributes little to America's prosperity and productivity-- it just shares in it," he said.

Washington Post  
2/1/76

In a speech to Republican Party leaders from 13 Midwestern states, Ford attacked proposals for what he called "another quick fix public-jobs program."

Veto Message  
5/28/75

President Ford vetoed the \$5.3 billion Emergency Employment Appropriation Act (HR 4481). In his veto message, Ford stated that the bill authorized spending \$3.3 billion above his budget request.

Veto Message  
2/13/76

President Ford vetoed the \$6.1 billion Public Works Employment Act of 1975 (HR 5247). In his veto message, Ford explained:

"The truth is that this bill would do little to create jobs for the unemployed. Moreover, the bill has so many deficiencies and undesirable provisions that it would do more harm than good. While it is represented as the solution to our unemployment problems, in fact it is little more than an election year pork barrel. Careful examination reveals the serious deficiencies in HR 5247."

Carter

Carter Position  
Paper: The Economy  
4/76

"To supplement our effort to have private industry play a greater role, the federal government has an obligation to provide funds for useful and productive public employment of those whom private business cannot or will not hire. Therefore we should:

- create meaningful public jobs in the cities and neighborhoods of the unemployed adjusted to solving our national needs in construction repair, maintenance, and rehabilitation of facilities such as railroad roadbeds, housing and the environment.
- improve manpower training and vocational education programs to increase the employability of the hard-core unemployed.
- provide 800,000 summer youth jobs.
- pass an accelerated public works program targeted to areas of specific national needs.
- double the CETA (Comprehensive Educational Training Act) program from 300,000 to 600,000 jobs, and provide counter-cyclical aid to cities with high unemployment.
- develop more efficient employment services to provide better job counseling and to match openings to individuals, and consider establishment of special Youth Employment Services especially geared to finding jobs for our young people."

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PUBLIC SERVICE/GUARANTEED JOBS

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Carter (continued)

Boston Globe  
4/17/76

Carter has endorsed the Humphrey-Hawkins bill.

Carter Interview  
Business Week  
5/3/76

Q: You recently endorsed the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill. Why did you wait so long?  
A; I didn't approve of it the way it was originally written. With a mandatory total unemployment goal of 3%, taking in all age groups, most of my economic advisers thought that would mean double-digit inflation. And although in its original form the bill professed to make the government the employer of last resort, in effect it placed the government almost as an employer of first resort.

Carter Position Paper  
Urban Policy  
5/76

"It is an incredible misallocation of resources for the current Administration to spend between \$17 and \$20 billion dollars for unemployment compensation and an additional \$2 to \$3 billion on food stamps due to unemployment, and yet only \$2 1/2 billion on public job programs. . .

"The programs I have proposed will be repaid by increased tax revenues generated by the reduction in unemployment from the jobs programs I have outlined. Their financing can be assisted by the \$5 billion to \$8 billion streamlining of the defense budget I have suggested."

Carter Address  
U.S. Conference of  
Mayors  
6/29/76

"In terms of public employment, I favor an improved CETA program, an accelerated public works program, and funds for a total of some 800,000 summer jobs. Like some of you, I remember the impact of the CCC and WPA in the 1930's, and I think similar initiatives are called for today, but with stress on urban, rather than rural work projects, and with maximum possible local control over those projects. Public employment must be meaningful and productive in meeting the most urgent needs of the community. . .

"I regret President Ford's veto last year of the Public Works Economic Development Act, with its needed provision for public works, for counter-cyclical aid to cities, and for waste water treatment plants, and I join you in urging that he sign the new version passed with overwhelming Democratic majorities, which now awaits his action.

"The present bill is within the budget resolutions adopted by Congress, and it would not be rejected by a President who genuinely understood and cared about our cities and their people."

Meet the Press  
7/11/76

Carter condemned President Ford's recent veto of a \$3.95 billion public works bill as a "very serious indication... [of the President's] insensitivity to people's needs."

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PUBLIC SERVICE/GUARANTEED JOBS

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Carter (continued)

ABC's Issues and  
Answers, 2/22/76

"In certain categories I would provide direct federal assistance. For instance, if an industry has to lay off ten per cent of its workers, we might have it employ one hundred per cent of the workers for a shorter work week and let the federal government share the extra expense. In some areas of high unemployment, young people, where the unemployment is 20 or 25 percent, black young people make 40, 45 percent, there a direct job opportunity program from the federal government would be a very advantageous thing."

Congressional  
Quarterly  
3/6/76

"As a last resort, public employment jobs need to be created similar to the CCC and the WPA during the depression years, particularly for young Americans who have an extremely high unemployment rate--in excess of 40 per cent for black young people."

Carter Answer to  
New York/Common  
Cause Questionnaire  
3/20/76

"For areas and groups afflicted by acute unemployment, I favor federally created jobs. According to a recent M.I.T. study, the cost would be only slightly higher than existing relief programs. The benefits in additional national productivity, taxes paid, and human dignity would be enormous."

New York Times  
2/18/76

"I don't think the Federal Government ought to be the major place for people to go to get jobs when they're out of work."

Manchester (N.H.)  
Union Leader  
12/8/75

"Government should be the employer of the last resort. There are many things it can do to create jobs without having to go to the Humphrey-Hawkins bill for full employment."

New York Times  
12/26/75

Carter would offer public service jobs to welfare recipients unable to find any work.

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INCENTIVES FOR PRIVATE SECTOR JOBS

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Ford

State of the Union  
1/19/76

"The government must stop spending so much and stop borrowing so much of our money. More money must remain in private hands where it will do the most good..."

Veto Message  
7/6/76

"The best and most effective way to create new jobs is to pursue balanced economic policies that encourage the growth of the private sector without risking a new round of inflation. This is the core of my economic policy, and I believe that the steady improvements in the economy over the last half year on both the unemployment and inflation fronts bear witness to its essential wisdom. I intend to continue this basic approach because it is working."

"My proposed economic policies are expected to produce lasting, productive jobs, not temporary jobs paid for by the American taxpayer."

"This is a policy of balance, realism, and common sense. It is a sound policy which provides long term benefits and does not promise more than it can deliver."

"My program includes:

Large and permanent tax reductions that will leave more money where it can do the most good: in the hands of the American people;

Incentives for the construction of new plants and equipment in areas of high unemployment;

More than \$21-billion in outlays in the fiscal year beginning October 1 for important public works such as energy facilities, waste water treatment plants, roads, and veterans' hospitals representing a 17 percent increase over the previous fiscal year.

And a five and three-quarter year package of general revenue sharing funds for state and local governments."

"I ask Congress to act quickly on my tax and budget proposals, which I believe will provide the jobs for the unemployed that we all want."

State of the Union  
1/19/76

"One test of a healthy economy is a job for every American who wants work."

"Government--our kind of government--cannot create that many jobs. But the Federal Government can create conditions and incentives for private business and industry to make more and more jobs."

"Five out of six jobs in this country are in private business and industry. Common sense tells us this is the place to look for more jobs and to find them faster."

"I mean real, rewarding, permanent jobs."

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INCENTIVES FOR PRIVATE SECTOR JOBS

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Ford (continued)

"To achieve this we must offer the American people greater incentives to invest in the future. My tax proposals are a major step in that direction."

"--To supplement these proposals, I ask that Congress enact changes in Federal tax laws that will speed up plant expansion and the purchase of new equipment. My recommendation will concentrate this job-creation tax incentive in areas where the unemployment rate now runs over 7 per cent. Legislation to get this started must be approved at the earliest possible date."

Ford Speech  
Economic Club of  
Detroit  
5/12/76

"I have proposed tax reductions and other tax reforms to create more and better jobs in private industry."

"Some where enacted last year and are obviously working, but others, such as tax incentives to stimulate investment in new plants and equipment, are stalled in the Congress and should be acted upon quickly to help the job situation in hard-hit areas, such as we have here in the great State of Michigan."

"I have also recommended to Congress that starting July 1 of this year we get an additional \$10 billion tax cut, 75 per cent of it going to individuals and 25 percent of it going to business to provide employment. As part of this tax reform package, I have proposed the personal exemption to be raised from \$750 to \$1,000 for each individual Federal taxpayer. In addition, I want the estate tax exemption increased from \$60,000 to \$150,000 so small business owners and small farmers can have the opportunity again to pass their businesses or farms along to the next generation."

Carter

Carter Interview  
Business Week  
5/3/76

Q. How would you attack unemployment?

A. My thrust would be in the private sector. Wherever there is a choice between channeling jobs in the private sector or the public, I would favor the private. Quite often, you can get a great magnification of benefits from public money by spending it in the private sector. You don't get much magnification in jobs provided within the federal government.

Carter Position  
Paper: The Economy  
4/76

"Specific stimulation should be given to private industry to hire the unemployed through:  
--an increased commitment by the federal government to fund the cost of on-the-job training by business  
--encouragement by the federal government to employers to retain workers during cyclical downturns including reforming the unemployment compensation tax paid by employers.  
--public programs to train people for work in private sector jobs.

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INCENTIVES FOR PRIVATE SECTOR JOBS

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Carter (continued)

--incentives specifically geared to encourage employment, including incentives to employers who employ young persons and persons with lengthy records of unemployment, and to those employers who provide flexible hours of employment and flexible jobs, to aid access by women to the market place."

Carter Position  
Paper: Urban Policy  
5/76

"Almost 85% of America's workers depend on private industry for jobs. Most of the unemployed will depend on recovery in the private sector for renewed job opportunities. We cannot afford to ignore well-designed job related incentives to private industry to help reduce unemployment. These should take the form of:  
---assistance to local governments for urban economic planning and development and to help local government encourage private industry to invest in our cities  
---an expanded employment credit to give businesses benefits for each person they hire who had been previously unemployed  
---as a further stimulant to private industry to hire the unemployed, the federal government should increase its commitment to fund the cost of on-the-job training by business  
---encouragement by the federal government to private industry to prevent layoffs."

ABC's Issues and  
Answers, 2/22/76

"In certain categories I would provide direct federal assistance. For instance, if an industry has to lay off ten per cent of its workers, we might have it employ one hundred per cent of the workers for a shorter work week and let the federal government share the extra expense."

"The thing that I have learned in the last 13 months traveling around this country is that we don't have a weak country. We still have the same capacity to produce agricultural goods and manufactured products. We have the same purchasing power among our consumers in this country. We have the same potential foreign market, and maybe even better, and the same basic natural resources. God hasn't done anything to us to make us a weak country. It is still a tremendous reservoir of economic strength there waiting to be released, and I think that the federal government ought to do what it can to inspire the private sector to be strong, and in some instances cooperate, like on pollution control, repair the railroads, preventive health care, education programs, day care centers and so forth. But the major thrust in my opinion ought to still be outside federal government jobs and private sector jobs."

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LABOR ISSUES

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Ford

Ford Speech  
Economic Club  
of Detroit  
5/12/76

"The Taft-Hartley Act I support and, I might say parenthetically, I am completely opposed to the repeal of Section 14(b), but Taft-Hartley is a legislative tool that is available."

Veto Message  
1/2/76

President Ford vetoed the Common Situs Picketing Bill (HR 5900). In his veto message, he explained: "The collective bargaining provisions have great merit. It is to the common situs picketing title that I address my objections...There are intense differences between union and nonunion contractors and labor over the extent to which this bill constitutes a fair and equitable solution to a long-standing issue. I have concluded that neither the building industry nor the Nation can take the risk that the bill, which proposed a permanent change in the law, will lead to loss of jobs and work hours for the construction trades, higher costs for the public, and further slowdown in a basic industry."

Washington Post  
1/22/76

The Ford budget calls for expanded enforcement in the Occupational Health and Safety Administration, adding fifty new compliance officers.

U.S. News and  
World Report  
5/3/76

"Ford decided not to limit imports of foreign-made shoes despite protectionist demands by U.S. shoe manufacturers and the AFL-CIO."

Carter

Carter Answer to  
Iowa Democratic  
Party Poll 1976

In answer to the question "Do you believe in comprehensive collective bargaining for all employees, including governmental?" Carter answered: "Yes, but I favor arbitration for public safety employees."

New York Times  
12/26/75

Carter favors common situs picketing legislation.

CBS' Face the  
Nation 3/14/76

"Well, when I was running for Governor of Georgia, I told the labor leaders and also the public that if the Georgia legislature repealed the right-to-work laws that I would be glad to sign it into law. Now that was when my responsibilities were in Georgia. At that time I did not favor a repeal of 14-B, which is a national law. Now that I approach the presidency as a potential president, I've taken the same position, which I think is fairly consistent, although there is some inconsistency there, I admit, but I want everybody to understand that if the Congress passes a repeal of 14-B, that I'll be glad to sign it into law."

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LABOR ISSUES

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Carter (continued)

Meet the Press  
7/11/76

Regarding the federal right-to-work law, Carter said: "I have now taken the position ... that as President if the Congress repeals 14-B that I would be glad to sign the repeal into law... [but] I would not object to the law staying the way it is."

Carter Interview  
Business Week  
5/3/76

Q. Would you lower the minimum wage for teen-agers?  
A. No. Quite often they are not part of a family structure. There is no unemployment compensation for them; there is no welfare program when they reach the age of 18. They're forced out into the world [with] the same economic needs as a 45 year old.

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MINORITY & YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

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Ford

State of the Union  
1/19/76

"We need more and more jobs every year. Today's economy has produced over 85 million jobs for Americans, but we need a lot more jobs, especially for the young."

Question and Answer Session  
Northern Illinois  
Newspaper Ass'n.  
3/12/76

"That is a serious matter because approximately one million-eight to two million new job applicants come into the labor market every year and they primarily come from high schools and colleges. The youth unemployment rate is higher than the national average for everybody. We have got to expand the economy, to absorb that influx. I think the best place to do it is in the private sector where five out of six jobs in our society now exist."

"In the meantime, I think we have to fully fund what is called the Comprehensive Education Training Act, CETA, so that those who graduate without a skill can be trained for a skill where there is a demand, and there are areas in our employment across the country where there is a shortage. That particular legislation and the funding we have provided will help in that regard."

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MINORITY & YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

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Carter

Congressional  
Quarterly  
3/6/76

"As a last resort, public employment jobs need to be created similar to the CCC and the WPA during the depression years, particularly for young Americans who have an extremely high unemployment rate---in excess of 40 per cent for black young people."

Carter Position Paper:  
The Economy 4/76

Carter favors a program to provide 800,000 summer jobs for youth.

Carter Interview  
Business Week  
5/3/76

Q: Would you lower the minimum wage for teen-agers?  
A: No. Quite often they are not part of a family structure. There is no unemployment compensation for them; there is no welfare program when they reach the age of 18. They're forced out into the world [with] the same economic needs as a 45 year old.

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JOB TRAINING

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Ford

State of the Union  
1/19/76

"In my fiscal 1977, I am also requesting funds to continue proven job training and employment opportunity programs for millions of other Americans."

Question and  
Answer Session  
Northern Illinois  
Newspaper Ass'n.  
3/12/76

"In the meantime, I think we have to fully fund what is called the Comprehensive Educational Training Act, CETA, so that those who graduate without a skill can be trained for a skill where there is a demand, and there are areas in our employment across the country where there is a shortage. That particular legislation and the funding we have provided will help in that regard."

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JOB TRAINING

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Carter

Carter Position  
Paper: The Economy  
4/76

Carter favors:  
"--an increased commitment by the federal government to fund the cost of on-the-job training by business.  
--public programs to train people for work in private sector jobs.  
--improve manpower training and vocational education programs to increase the employability of the hard-core unemployed.  
--double the CETA (Comprehensive Educational Training Act) program from 300,000 to 600,000 jobs, and provide countercyclical aid to cities with high unemployment."

Carter Answer to  
New York/Common  
Cause Questionnaire  
3/20/76

"About half of the approximately 25 million Americans who are classified as poor receive welfare payments of some kind on a regular basis. Roughly ten per cent of these recipients are able to work full time. Those who are able to work should be separated from the other ninety per cent and treated as part of our unemployed work force. They should be treated with dignity and respect. The private and public training and educational programs of this country should be marshalled to prepare them for employment commensurate with their ability and talent."

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STRUCTURAL UNEMPLOYMENT

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Ford

Common Cause has found no campaign statement on this issue by Ford.

Carter

Carter Position  
Paper: The Economy  
4/76

"I favor coordinated government planning to attack problems of structural unemployment, inflation, environmental deterioration, exaggeration of economic inequalities, natural resource limitations, and obstructions to the operation of the free market system.  
"I believe that this type of planning can be carried out without the creation of a new bureaucracy, but rather through well defined extensions of existing bodies and techniques. I propose that the role of the present Council of Economic Advisors, established under the Full Employment Act of 1946, be expanded to include this type of coordinated planning and to deal with long range problems of individual sectors fitted into an overall economic plan for the economy as a whole, as well as to deal with considerations of supply, distribution, and performance in individual industries."

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UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS

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Ford

State of the Union  
1/19/76

"As we rebuild our economy, we have a continuing responsibility to provide a temporary cushion to the unemployed. At my request the Congress enacted two extensions and expansions in unemployment insurance which helped those who were jobless during 1975. These programs will continue in 1976."

Washington Post  
1/22/76

In Ford's budget, there would be an increase in the federal unemployment insurance tax rate from 0.5 per cent to 0.65 per cent on a \$6,000 wage base (up from \$4,200), effective next January 1. These steps would increase tax receipts by \$2.1 billion.

Carter

Common Cause has found no campaign statement on this issue by Carter.

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THE ROLE OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Big Government/Aid to Cities/Revenue Sharing/Regulatory Reform  
Transportation Policy/Economic Planning

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One of the major political battlegrounds of the 1976 campaign is the role of the federal government -- its costs, benefits, strengths and weaknesses.

Recent public opinion surveys indicate serious dissatisfaction with government: red tape, facelessness, waste, non-responsiveness, program ineffectiveness, delay, bureaucracy, size and impenetrability. Many of the public's critical attitudes are suggested by the term "big government." In attempting to digest candidates' positions on big government, Common Cause has included their views on the size of the federal government as an ideological issue, the extent to which they would have the federal government assume new or additional functions, and their proposals for dealing with government waste, reorganization and bureaucracy.

Another important element of the role of federal government is its relationship to the nation's states and cities. How should programs, responsibilities and revenues be distributed among federal, state and local governments? To gain insight into candidates' views on this issue, Common Cause has included statements of their positions on aid to cities (both generally, and as crystallized by the New York City problem) and on general revenue sharing (which is up for extension in 1976).

Candidates' views on the proper role of government with respect to the private sector -- particularly with business and the free market economy -- are illustrated in three areas where that issue is raised vividly: regulatory reform (do we need more regulation? less regulation? where?); transportation policy (which transportation systems should we fund?); and economic planning (should the government set goals that include the private sector? what powers should it have to achieve such goals?).

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BIG GOVERNMENT

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Ford

Remarks of the President to Economic Club of Detroit  
5/12/76

"From the very beginning, I forced Congress to abandon or to severely cut back reckless Federal spending programs. One of my most important weapons is the veto. I vetoed 49 bills sent to me by the Congress and 42 of those vetoes have been sustained, saving the American taxpayer \$13 billion."

State of the Union Address  
1/19/76

"For many Americans the way to a healthy non-inflationary economy has become increasingly apparent; the government must stop spending so much and borrowing so much of our money; more money must remain in private hands where it will do the most good. To hold down the cost of living, we must hold down the cost of government."

Budget Message of the President  
1/21/76

"We must not continue drifting in the direction of bigger and bigger government. The driving force of our 200-year history has been our private sector. If we rely on it and nurture it, the economy will continue to grow, providing new and better choices for our people and the resources necessary to meet our shared needs. If, instead, we continue to increase government's share of our economy, we will have no choice but to raise taxes and will, in the process, dampen further the forces of competition, risk, and reward that have served us so well. With stagnation of these forces, the issues of the future would surely be focused on who gets what from an economy of little or no growth rather than, as it should be, on the use to be made of expanding incomes and resources."

Ford points out that his budget for FY 77 cuts the average annual rate of Federal budget growth over the last decade (10%) in half.

Ford also proposes consolidation of 59 existing Federal programs in the areas of health, education, child nutrition, and social services as a step towards providing more program flexibility and efficiency to state and local units of government.

New York Times  
2/24/76

According to the Times, while emphasizing his desire to delegate more decision-making authority to the states in fields such as health programs, President Ford told the National Governors Conference that he would "not dismantle programs that really work, that reach the people and meet their needs." He added: "I will never irresponsibly transfer serious problems from the federal government to state governments without regard for human needs and fiscal realities."

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BIG GOVERNMENT

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Ford (continued)

Presidential  
News Conference  
4/2/76

Asked about the federal bureaucracy as a campaign issue, Ford replied:

"I have done more than talk about trying to get the bureaucracy under control. The first decision I made when I became President in August of 1974, was to insist upon a cutback in the projected increase in Federal employment of 55,000. And we achieved that reduction."

"Number two, I ordered, about 6 months ago, the Director of OMB to cut back on the number of forms that are required by the American people to fill out and submit to the Federal Government. I ordered a 10 percent cutback. We have achieved a 5 percent cutback already, and by July 1 of this year, I am assured that we will have accomplished our record of a 10 percent cutback in the forms that plague the American people, where they have to fill out this, this, and this. It is a record of performance, both as to a reduction of U.S. Government personnel and a reduction in the red-tape and bureaucracy in the Federal Government."

Q. "How about the structure of the Federal bureaucracy which Carter talks about completely reorganizing?"

"The structure of the Federal Government is always under review, and the Office of OMB is constantly going into every Department to try and get rid of functions and responsibilities in individual Departments to improve their management. It is a possibility that in the next administration, that we would undertake something comparable to the Hoover Commission, which was set up first in 1946 and came through with its recommendations, and a second Hoover Commission in 1953 or '54, as I recall. That is a possibility in the next administration and, if I am the President, which I think I will be, we will have something comparable to the first two Hoover Commissions."

When asked if zero-based budgeting would be considered by such a commission, Ford avoided any direct or explicit comment on the concept.

Baltimore Sun  
7/24/76

President reported that efforts to reduce government paperwork have eliminated about 600 federal forms so far, but added that "the biggest, most intricate forms remain in existence and must still be cleaned up." Ford said he would attempt to cut 7 million hours from time consumed by federal reporting by the end of FY 1977 and to try for an additional 20 million-hour cut the next year.

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BIG GOVERNMENT

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Carter

Carter statement  
on Bureaucracy and  
Government  
Inefficiency  
(undated)

"Our government in Washington now is a horrible bureaucratic mess. It is disorganized, wasteful, has no purpose; and its policies -- when they exist -- are incomprehensible or devised by special interest groups with little regard for the welfare of the average American citizen."

"... Tight businesslike management and planning techniques must be instituted and maintained, utilizing the full authority and personal involvement of the President himself."

Carter submission to  
Democratic Platform  
Committee  
6/76

"The basic difficulty facing the American government today cuts across all the other campaign issues. The proliferation of programs and agencies, particularly in the past ten years, has inevitably created duplications, waste and inefficiency ...

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

"The number of federal agencies should be reduced to no more than 200 ...

"The reform I am seeking is not a retreat; it is a marshalling of our resources to meet the challenges of the last quarter of this Century."

Manchester  
Union Leader  
12/20/75

Referring to zero-based budgeting, Carter said at a Manchester, N.H. press conference:

"It is obvious that an examination of this sort is needed at the federal level. It would allow government to reduce expenses by cutting out unneeded programs. It would ensure the people that funds are being protected from wasteful and inefficient programs. Most of all, it is a crucial planning tool which enables government to establish broad policy."

Washington Post  
1/13/76

Although he has pledged to reduce some 1900 federal agencies to about 200 in a move patterned on his Georgia executive reorganization, Carter has refused to be specific. Asked for specific agencies he would abolish, the Post reported Carter replied that it was "impossible to say now" because he hadn't been able to take a close enough look at the federal agencies. "I'm not being evasive," Carter says. "For instance, there are 42 federal agencies in education. I don't know now which could be cut. It would just be conjectural. It would just be a guess on my part."

Interview with  
Cronkite -- CBS  
Evening News  
11/18/75

"I would say that the most wasteful bureaucracy in Washington is the Pentagon."

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BIG GOVERNMENT

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Carter (continued)

Change  
2/76

"I will not hesitate to propose and support such basic and controversial changes as:

The creation of a separate Department of Education." Describing some of the programs he would consolidate, Carter concludes, "The result would be a stronger voice for education at the federal level."

Carter Interview  
"Face The Nation"  
3/14/76

Asked whether his reorganization plans would result in more, less or the same number of federal bureaucrats, Carter responded:

"I can't say they would be exactly the same or more, but the portion of our federal budget that goes to administrative costs will be cut substantially."

Pressed for specifics on his reorganization plans and asked how voters could judge him without specifics, Carter replied:

"Well, whether or not they can, they'll have to, because there is no way I can take off from campaigning, do a complete and definitive study of what the federal government is and what it's going to be three or four years in the future, even if I was in the White House now, with all the prerogatives...I couldn't do it, but let me give you one other point. We now have 72 agencies responsible for health. I can't say which of those 72 might survive, but we certainly don't need that many. I would say two would be a gracious plenty."

Business Week,  
Interview with  
Carter  
5/3/76

Asked why Georgia had 30% more employees and a 50% bigger budget after he reorganized the state government, Carter replied:

"The last year I was in office total employees increased only 2.4%. We were able to cut administration costs and shift people to more productive jobs. I promised state employees that no one would be discharged as a result of my reorganization. But I did reserve the right not to fill vacancies as they occurred. And I would do the same thing as a President."

Business Week: "You're talking about more efficient government, not necessarily smaller government?"

Carter: "That's right."

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AID TO CITIES

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Ford

New York Times  
7/1/76

The Times reported that President Ford has appointed a 13-member committee that includes eight Cabinet members to study the problems of the cities. HUD Secretary Carla Hills, who made the announcement to the U.S. Conference of Mayors, said that the committee had been directed by Ford to review all major Federal programs that had ben impact on cities and neighborhoods and to recommend charges that would allow local communities to make their own decision in connection with the programs.

Hills also announced a \$21 million pilot project to improve public housing management in six cities.

The Times also reported that the Administrative has released \$35 million to provide funds for 60,000 additional youths summer jobs in 45 big cities that have unemployment rates of 9% or more.

President's Remarks  
at Public Forum, Ft.  
Wayne, Indiana  
5/2/76

Asked what he would do to help the cities, Ford said

"Well, there are two very important programs. Number one, I would make sure that the Congress pass what is called revenue sharing, which has been in existence now for almost 5 years...

That is one program. It is a good program and the Congress better pass it.

Number two, I would extend what we call the Community Development Act, which is the kind of legislation and funding that in many, many cities--I am not familiar with the facts here in Fort Wayne, but I know at Indianapolis and in Grand Rapids and in many, many other cities we have had a rebuilding of the downtown primarily as a consequence of what is called the community development program.

Number three, I would urge the continuation, as I have, of what we call the Law Enforcement Administration Act, which is federally authorized programs to give Federal money to local units of government and to the States to help those cities and States enforce their laws, improve the administration of justice, and to make sure, as I said in my prepared remarks, that we protect the victim and we convict and send to prison the criminal."

Congressional  
Quarterly re-  
print of 10/9/75  
Ford Press  
Conference

Asked his position on short-run assistance to New York City, President Ford replied:

"I do not think it is a healthy thing for the Federal Government to bail out a city, and I mean any city, that has handled its fiscal affairs as irresponsibly over a long period of time ans New York City has. Now, I have great sympathy for the people of New York, the 6 or .8 million people there. They have a terrible program. Their government expenditures are out of control. Unless they come in with a balanced budget, unless they get some state aid from the State of New York by some means or other, I just am very reluctant to say anything other than 'no' until I see what New York City has done."

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AID TO CITIES

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Ford (continued)

Congressional  
Quarterly re-  
print of 11/26/75  
Ford Press  
Conference

In a prepared statement President Ford detailed the steps New York officials had taken to place the city's finances on a sound basis. He commended New York officials, but acknowledged that short-term operating expenses would still require NYC to borrow funds over the next two years.

Ford then presented his "seasonal" assistance plan:

"I have decided to ask Congress...for authority to provide a temporary line of credit to the State of New York to enable it to supply seasonal financing of essential services for the people of New York City.

"There will be stringent conditions. Funds would be loaned to the State on a seasonal basis, normally from July through March, to be repaid with interest in April, May, and June, when the bulk of the city's revenues come in. All Federal loans will be repaid in full at the end of each year.

"There will be no cost to the rest of the taxpayers of the United States.

"...New York officials must continue to accept primary responsibility. There must be no misunderstanding of my position. If local parties fail to carry out their plan, I am prepared to stop even the seasonal Federal assistance."

In December, with Ford's backing, Congress cleared legislation authorizing a \$2.3 billion federal loan program for the city.

Ford remarks to  
U.S. Conference of  
Mayors and League  
of Cities  
3/15/76

Noting that he was proposing a \$446 million increase for community development in his FY '77 budget, President Ford added:

"The success of the community block grant program, like the success of the general revenue sharing program, points to one central fact-- you know what to do to improve your cities and you know how to do it, and with the proper tools and the necessary resources, you can do the job that needs to be done. I have faith in you and I think your constituents have faith in you."

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AID TO CITIES

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Carter

"Cities: Urban Policy  
for the Remainder of  
the Twentieth Century,"  
Carter statement  
4/1/76

"I believe that the future of America is directly dependent upon the good health and welfare of our nation's cities. Our cities and metropolitan areas are the main staff of life for the majority of Americans...

"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...

"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."

To assist the fiscal needs of the cities, Carter proposes: \$2 billion in counter-cyclical assistance, 5-year extension of revenue sharing at funding levels that compensate for inflation (Carter believes all such funds should go directly to the cities--see revenue sharing profile), and studying the creation of a Federal Municipalities Securities Insurance Corporation to assist localities in their borrowing.

To help solve the physical problems confronting the cities, Carter pledges "to fulfill our national commitment to build 2½ million housing units per year," with emphasis on subsidies for low and middle income housing, housing for the elderly and rehabilitation of existing house.

In tandem with this program, he would bolster our urban transportation system by "substantially increasing the amount of money available from the Highway Trust Fund for public mass transportation" and permitting localities to use greater amounts of their federal mass transit funds as operating subsidies.

"Mayors need a person at the White House with the President's ear to whom they can relate directly about city problems...You (the mayors) also have my assurance that the federal government itself will be pro-city."

New York Times  
Interview with  
Carter  
3/31/76

"There needs to be, perhaps above all other things, a fair delineation of a national policy on urban problems, so there's some predictability of what they're sharing, what future responsibility -- fiscally and otherwise -- among the city, among the local, state and Federal levels of government. That relationship ... has now been almost completely destroyed ..."

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AID TO CITIES

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Carter (continued)

"Also, a good many of the costs need to be shifted rapidly to the Federal Government. I favor a nationwide mandatory health insurance program, which I think would relieve the local governments, including NYC, of some of the costs involved now."

"There are other aspects of the problem which need to be resolved. There needs to be a tighter fiscal management of NYC's problems, a more honest approach to estimating income and expenditures, a re-organization of the Government, zero-based budgeting, long-range planning. The same sort of principles that apply to the Federal Government ought to apply to local governments."

Washington Post  
Interview with  
Carter  
3/21/76

Speaking of urban problems, Carter said:

"I would not favor the federal government ever injecting itself between a state and a local government. In the New York City problem, which is illustrative, I did not favor guaranteeing New York City's bonds. I would have favored keeping New York City and the state bound together with a mutual responsibility and requiring only two things--that the budget be balanced some time in the future as assessed and monitored, and that the bonds that have already been sold or to be sold be sound. Under those circumstances I would have guaranteed New York State's bonds from the federal government under which circumstances they would not have been taxed any further."

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REVENUE SHARING

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Ford

State of the  
Union Address  
1/19/76

Ford pointed out that he has asked for a five-year extension of the existing revenue sharing legislation. He added, "This program has been effective with decision-making transferred from the Federal Government to locally elected officials. Congress must act this year or State and local units of government will have to drop programs or raise local taxes."

Ford remarks to  
U.S. Conference of  
Mayors and League  
of Cities  
3/15/76

"In the 4 years since the revenue sharing program began, State and local governments have proved beyond any doubt whatsoever the merit of local control over local concerns, and I congratulate you..."

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REVENUE SHARING

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Ford (continued)

"Behind all of the rhetoric associated with the growing Congressional debate over the renewal of this program is a very fundamental issue-- whether or not to continue providing cities, counties, and States with effective Federal assistance now authorized by this program. It is just too important to your cities; it is just too important to your States; it is just too important to the United States of America; the general revenue sharing bill must pass clearly this year...

"I deeply share your concern, and I stand firm in my commitment to secure an extension of general revenue sharing, which should no longer be a partisan political issue, and I hope it won't be in the months ahead. If you will work with me we can meet that common commitment, and we can do even more good with revenue sharing in the future."

Carter

"Cities: Urban Policy for the Remainder of the Twentieth Century,"  
Carter statement,  
4/1/76

Carter proposes:

"Extension of the Revenue Sharing program for five years, with an increase in the annual funding level to compensate for inflation and with enforcement of the civil rights provisions of the bill to guarantee against discriminatory use of the funds. I will study whether the Revenue Sharing formula should be amended in the future to place greater emphasis on areas of high need. Moreover, I believe that all Revenue Sharing funds should go to the cities and that localities should be allowed to use these funds for defraying the costs of health, social services, and education, which they are currently forbidden to do."

Jimmy Carter on Revenue Sharing  
undated

"I would favor an approach which would give funds directly to local cities and communities rather than the states. I would favor this for two reasons. First, it is a means of giving local governments more control over programs that affect them daily, because it is a mechanism that combines effectively local needs and decision-making processes with the federal government's powers of coordination and revenue-raising. Second, and more important, local communities do not have the capacity to generate extra income--through taxes or other methods--that the states have."

Carter Statement on revenue sharing  
12/3/75

But in another statement, Carter observed that "Revenue sharing actually violates a basic principle in government fiscal management, in that the responsibilities for raising and spending funds are separated."

Carter also recommends achieving more effective citizen input into the local planning and spending process.

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REGULATORY REFORM

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Ford

New York Times  
5/14/76

Calling it "a declaration of independence from the needless regulations of government," President Ford proposed legislation designed to force consideration of systematic overhaul of dozens of federal agencies over the next four years.

The new legislation would establish a year-by-year schedule, requiring the President to propose regulatory changes affecting a different sector of the economy (e.g., transportation, heavy manufacturing) each January between 1977 and 1980. Congress would then have until November 15 of each year to vote on the President's proposals would become the pending business of Congress (presumably blocking any other legislative business).

Ford said his agenda for regulatory reform had four major goals:

1. To guarantee that Government policies do not infringe unnecessarily in the market place.
2. To find better and less costly ways to achieve social goals such as clean air.
3. To insure that Government policies benefit the public interest rather than private interests.
4. To assure that regulatory policies are equitably enforced.

State of the  
Union Address  
1/19/76

"A necessary condition of a healthy economy is freedom from the petty tyranny of massive government regulation. We are wasting literally millions of working hours costing billions of consumers' dollars because of bureaucratic red tape." After citing the positive example of reduced farm controls, Ford continues, "Now, we need reforms in other key areas of our economy -- the airlines, trucking, railroads, and financial institutions. I have concrete plans in each of these areas, not to help this or that industry, but to foster competition and bring prices down for the consumer."

The Ford Administration has proposed regulatory reform legislation dealing with railroads, airlines, motor carriers and financial institutions.

Washington Star  
9/5/75

In a speech to California business leaders, Ford said American business is hamstrung by "a mulligan stew of government rules and regulations (that) has created a nightmare of red tape, paper shuffling and new heights in counter-productivity."

Ford continued, "Starting from point zero not quite a century ago, the federal government now employs over 100,000 people whose sole responsibility is the writing, reviewing and enforcing of some type of regulation. One hundred thousand people whose principal job is telling you how to do your job. It's a bureaucrat's dream of heaven, but it's a nightmare for those who have to bear the burden."

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REGULATORY REFORM

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Ford (continued)

Fact Sheet on  
the President's  
State of the  
Union Message  
1/19/76

The principal objectives of the Ford Administration's regulatory reform program were described as follows:

"Benefit consumers by encouraging increased competition. Competition fosters innovation, encourages new businesses, creates new jobs, ensures a wide choice of goods and services, and helps to keep prices at reasonable levels. By eliminating arbitrary barriers to entry and by increasing pricing flexibility, the Administration hopes to restore competition in the regulated sectors of the economy.

Increase understanding of the costs of regulation. Often the real costs of regulatory activities are hidden from public view. Inefficient and out-dated regulation costs consumers billions of dollars every year in unnecessarily high prices. The Administration believes that these costs should be subject to the same critical attention devoted to the Federal budget.

Improve methods of achieving the objectives of regulation. In many instances, regulation is necessary, particularly in the health, environment and safety areas. However, regulation can impose a considerable cost burden on the consuming public and on the economy. The Administration is concerned that public protection be achieved in the most efficient manner.

Substitute increased antitrust enforcement for administrative regulation. In the past, regulation has often been a substitute for competition. The Administration is seeking to reverse this pattern and believes that antitrust enforcement has an important role in keeping costs and prices down."

Wall St. Journal  
3/12/76

The Journal reports that the Ford Administration is strongly opposing proposed legislation to merge the three federal bank regulatory agencies.

New York Times  
2/22/76

Writing to Senator Kennedy in praise of a Kennedy subcommittee report on airline regulation, President Ford added that he "firmly believed that fundamental changes are required in the regulations governing our transportation system" and that greater reliance on competition "should assist our railroad, airline and motor carrier industries in providing more efficient transportation services to the public."

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REGULATORY REFORM

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Carter

Carter submission  
to Democratic Plat-  
form Committee  
6/76

"Priority attention should also be given to restructuring the nation's antiquated system of regulating transportation. 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 a 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."

To combat inflation, Carter proposes "reform of government regulations, such as the backhaul rule, which unnecessarily add to consumer costs..."

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TRANSPORTATION POLICY

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Ford

L.A. Times  
5/6/76

The Times reported that President Ford signed a \$17.50 billion two-year extension of federal highway aid. Ford said the measure would provide key links in the interstate highway system, upgrade existing highways and develop public facilities. The measure allows states and cities to use funds from withdrawn segments of interstate highway projects for other road and mass transit projects.

Boston Globe  
2/6/76

On Feb. 5, President Ford signed the \$6.4 billion Railroad Revitalization and Regulatory Reform Act. The measure, a compromise between the Administration and Congress, includes \$1.6 billion to improve rail service in the Northeast corridor and makes it possible to reorganize bankrupt railroads in the Northeast and Midwest.

Ford said the measure "permits us to begin an overdue program of improvements in rail passenger service in the densely populated Northeast Corridor." He also pointed out that the measure will remove many unnecessary regulatory restrictions which "for too long have hindered the ability of our railroads to operate efficiently and competitively."

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TRANSPORTATION POLICY

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Carter

Carter submission  
to Democratic Plat-  
form Committee  
6/76

"...the federal government often has encouraged one mode of transportation to the disadvantage of another. No coordinated transportation policy exists. While the Nation has an extremely well-developed rail, highway, and aviation system, substantial parts of that system have deteriorated to the point where the efficiency and effectiveness of the total system is being compromised. Arresting this deterioration and completing needed work on new urban transit systems, must become the Nation's first transportation priority.

"While the private sector should be encouraged to undertake this rehabilitation work directly with privately raised capital, it must be recognized that the task of rebuilding the existing transportation system is so massive, so important and so urgent that private investment will have to be supplemented with substantial direct public investment...

"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. We should oppose the Administration's efforts to reduce federal operating subsidies."

Carter release  
Highway Trust Funds  
undated

"The Highway Trust Fund has served as an outstanding and successful mechanism for constructing an extensive and effective highway network in the United States...

"We need to reevaluate the Highway Trust Fund and consider whether its past success might be extended to other modes of transportation. What we need most today is a balanced multi-modal approach to maintaining and improving the nation's transportation system...

"The concept of a total transportation trust fund is especially appealing in that it would support and facilitate this balanced approach. At the same time, we need to review and change the complex regulatory system with which our transport industries must contend."

New York Times  
Interview with Carter  
3/31/76

"I favor the allocation of Federal funds for mass transit. In case the mass transit system has been completed, then a city's allocation of their proportion -- of its share -- could be used for operation... I think it's inevitable in the future that the Federal Government increase its allocation of transportation funds for rapid transit."

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TRANSPORTATION POLICY

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Carter (continued)

Carter release  
Railroad Reorgani-  
zation  
undated

Carter seems to approve in general the formation of Amtrak and Conrail. He continues:

"The problem of transportation services to communities that are to be left without rail service under Conrail makes evident that the problem of railroad reorganization cannot be analyzed in a vacuum but must be treated as one part of a larger transportation problem. We need a national comprehensive transportation policy and it is obvious that the savings in fuel, operating, and pollution costs from intensive use of railroads should provide them with a competitive advantage over other forms of transportation...

"The current transportation policy has been to subsidize airports, highways and canals while railroad roadbeds receive no subsidies for reconstruction. In addition, railroads pay a greater proportion of their revenues in taxes on their right-of-way facilities and have until recently received little federal aid.

"It is no wonder then that the reorganization and revitalization of our railroad system remains one of the most important and pressing issues in transportation today...

"The key to success in railroad reorganization will be establishment of a system which makes greater use of inter-modal coordination and which provides support for the substantial effort required to put the system back in shape...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."

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ECONOMIC PLANNING

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Ford

Washington Post,  
"Ford's Economic  
Views Pragmatic,"  
5/2/76

According to the Post, Ford rejects economic planning. In general, he sees such planning as just another intrusion of government in to the private sector.

Ford Speech  
Economic Club  
of Detroit  
5/12/76

President Ford has criticized the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill because "the law would get the Federal Government deeper and deeper into economic planning on a national scale unprecedented in our history."

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ECONOMIC PLANNING

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Carter

Carter statement,  
"The Economy: An  
Economic Position  
Paper for Now and  
Tomorrow,"  
April 1976

Carter proposes that the federal government budget on a three-year cycle, "rolling forward three years at a time when the budget is prepared each year," as a means improving both business and government planning.

Carter continues:

"I oppose the type of rigid, bureaucratic centralized planning characteristic of communist countries.

"But better general economic planning by government is essential to insure a stable, sensible, fair, humane economic policy, without the roller-coaster dips and curves we have faced in the last eight years. Government must plan ahead just like any business...

I favor coordinated government planning to attack problems of structural unemployment, inflation, environmental deterioration, exaggeration of economic inequalities, natural resource limitations, and obstructions to the operation of the free market system.

I believe that this type of planning can be carried out without the creation of a new bureaucracy, but rather through well defined extensions of existing bodies and techniques. I propose that the role of the present Council of Economic Advisors Advisors...be expanded to include this type of coordinated planning and to deal with long range problems of individual sectors fitted into an overall economic plan for the economy as a whole, as well as to deal with considerations of supply, distribution, and performance in individual industries.

Many of the economic shocks of the past eight years have come on the supply side of the economy. It is imperative that we study ways to anticipate problems rather than await their arrival and once again react with ill-conceived solutions in a crisis environment. Such detailed studies will be an important new task for the Council of Economic Advisors.

We have no discernible economic goals. Goals must be established and clearly enunciated, so that our programs can be developed within a planned, orderly context.

The techniques I have outlined can and will be carried out within the framework of our present private enterprise system, free market institutions and administrative structures."

TAXES

General Tax Burden & Structure/Loopholes  
Social Security Taxes/Capital Formation-Business Taxes

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Taxes, a perennial campaign topic, are in 1976 among the top concerns of citizens, as reported by public opinion pollsters. The issue of taxes has been discussed in every past Presidential campaign, and 1976 will be no different. Already major issues with the candidates are social security taxes, capital formation and tax equity. In approaching the subject of taxes, Common Cause has attempted to catalog candidate positions on four aspects of tax policy:

- General Tax Burden and Structure. Included here are candidates' overall views on distribution of the federal, state and local tax burden as well as on tax simplification.
- Loopholes. This category includes statements by the candidates on the so-called "loopholes" or tax preferences they wish to modify or eliminate.
- Social Security Taxes. Some candidates have proposed changes in the payroll tax because of projected deficits in the social security trust fund, or because they believe this tax to be highly regressive. This category contains candidate views on social security taxes.
- Capital Formation/Business Taxes. Included in this listing are statements by candidates on use of federal tax incentives to encourage investment, together with their positions on the appropriate taxing of business profits.

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GENERAL TAX BURDEN & STRUCTURE

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Ford

New York Times  
10/7/75. Ford  
speech on economy

"I propose permanent tax reductions totalling \$28 billion - the biggest tax cut in history...by raising everyone's personal tax exemption from \$750 to \$1,000; by making the standard deduction for single taxpayers a flat \$1,800 and for every married couple \$2,500, and by lowering our basic personal income tax rates. Under my proposal, a typical family of four with a total of \$14,000 a year would get a permanent tax cut of \$412 a year - a 27% reduction."

Boston Herald  
American 2/4/76

"It is clear that the Federal tax law must be reformed in the interests of achieving greater fairness among taxpayers, and I have submitted legislation to that end - legislation that would require high income tax payers to pay a reasonable tax, that would restrict the use of artificial accounting losses as tax shelters, and would gradually reduce the double taxation on corporate dividends so that we might encourage greater investment in the country's future."

Washington Star  
8/8/76

"A major objective should be to simplify the tax system as well as make it more equitable. My administration's objectives are threefold -- greater equity, greater simplification, and lower taxes.

"My program also includes \$10 billion of further tax reductions. Benefits are directed toward middle and lower income tax payers and incentives for creation of new jobs by business. These cuts would be linked to comparable cuts in Federal spending."

Presidential remarks  
Economic Club of Detroit  
Press release  
5/12/76

"The tax proposals I have recommended will give middle income tax payers the kind of tax relief they both need and obviously deserve."

Presidential remarks  
Bowling Green University  
6/7/76  
"Presidential Documents"

"We haven't treated the family farmer, the small businessman appropriately. Do you realize that in 1942 we set the estate tax exemption -- it has not been changed since 1942, since \$60,000. In the meantime, family farms have had to be sold, small businesses have had to be sold as it went from one generation to another. Those kinds of operations are the strength and the core of this great country of ours.

"So, I proposed to the Congress that they go from \$60,000 to \$150,000 and they make it so that when a piece of property -- whether it is a family farm or a family business -- goes from the husband to the wife or from the wife to the husband there is no Federal estate tax that has to be paid."

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M Mary Lansing

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GENERAL TAX BURDEN & STRUCTURE

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Carter

"Jimmy Carter on Tax Reform," undated

"Our national tax system is a disgrace. Carefully contrived loopholes let the total tax burden shift more and more toward the average wage earner. Some of our largest corporations with extremely high profits pay virtually no tax at all. The average family earning \$10,000 per year pays a larger portion of its income in taxes than a family with an annual income of \$1 million or more. When a business executive can charge off a \$50 luncheon on a tax return and a truck driver cannot deduct his \$1.50 sandwich -- when oil companies pay less than 5% on their earnings while employees of the company pay at least three times this rate -- when many pay no taxes on incomes of more than \$100,000 -- then we need basic tax reform."

Carter Position Paper, July, 1976

"I am considering a drastic simplification of the income tax system that would lower taxes on middle and low income families. To do that you would eliminate hundreds of tax breaks and greatly reduce the tax rate. A recent study says such a plan would allow a reduction of as much as 40% in the tax rate.

"Basically, subject to some exceptions, I favor a simplified tax system which treats all income the same.

"The only people who have anything to fear from any Carter tax reform plan are the special interests who do not pay their fair share of taxes and who are responsible for the disgracefully unfair tax system we now have."

Carter Acceptance Speech, 7/15/76

"It is time for a complete overhaul of our income-tax system. I still tell you: It is a disgrace to the human race. All my life I have heard promises about tax reform, but it never quite happens. With your help, we are finally going to make it happen. And you can depend on it!"

Washington Post,  
3/15/76

Carter contends that tax reform is "too complicated and too important to do even piecemeal." He favors an all inclusive tax reform bill which would result in "a simple structure with all income treated the same, with income being taxed only once, with a truly progressive tax rate so that those who made the most...paid the higher percentage in total taxes."

Baltimore Sun,  
3/27/76

Jimmy Carter said that he would have to be in the White House a year before he could propose a detailed comprehensive tax reform plan.

Interview with Carter,  
Business Week, 5/3/76

"I believe the next President ought to assume the responsibility for complete tax reform. One provision would be to tax capital income and earned income in the same way. I'd also seek a drastic simplification of the tax system by re-

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GENERAL TAX BURDEN & STRUCTURE

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Carter (continued)

moving many of the incentives that have been added over the past 70 years to cover transient circumstances. I would go to direct grants that could be reconsidered annually. I also favor taxing income only once, and would want to reconstitute a progressive tax rate."

Washington Post,  
3/21/76

On the subject of sources of revenue for areas like education, Carter said, "I think the regressive taxes, sales taxes, and property taxes from which local revenues are derived, are overburdened. I think the natural growth in revenue in the future is inevitably in the federal structure."

Washington Post,  
3/6/76

Carter also favors an increase in the dollar-value exemption from inheritance taxes on farms. The amount of the increase over the current \$60,000 has not been specified.

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LOOPHOLES

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Ford

Industry Week  
2/3/76

In a written interview Ford remarked that one of his proposals for tax reform is "to restrict artificial accounting losses which are used by some as tax shelters."

Carter

Chicago Tribune,  
2/29/76

Referring to his plan to simplify the tax system by eliminating many tax incentives and adjusting rates, Carter mentioned the tax deduction for home mortgage interest payments: "In general, along with the elimination of hundreds of other tax incentives, those would be among the incentives I would like to do away with."

Baltimore Sun,  
3/2/76

Carter explained that the mortgage interest deduction costs the federal government \$10 billion a year. He said the deductions apply to second homes, vacation homes, and summer homes. "I would rather see that \$10 billion spent, used to help homeowners" but not the rich. Carter called it an upside-down proposal that individuals paying a higher percentage of income in tax, receive a larger percentage deduction on home mortgage interest payments.

Atlanta Journal  
and Constitution,  
3/7/76

Carter explained that the elimination of exemptions for interest paid on home mortgages would have to be tied with other changes to insure that middle-income home owners would be more than compensated. "I would never, never do anything that would hurt the middle American wage earner."

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LOOPHOLES

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Carter (continued)

Wall Street Journal,  
4/26/76

Carter was quoted at a news conference as saying that he did not advocate doing away with the tax deduction for home mortgage interest. That was one "incentive I would consider modifying...if I change the deduction it would be increased and not decreased."

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SOCIAL SECURITY TAXES

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Ford

State of the  
Union Address  
1/19/76

"I am concerned about the integrity of our Social Security Trust Fund...Simple arithmetic warns all of us that the Social Security Trust Fund is headed for trouble. Unless we act soon to make sure the Fund takes in as much as it pays out, there will be no security for old or for young. I must, therefore, recommend a .3% increase in both employer and employee Social Security taxes effective January 1, 1977."

White House Fact  
Sheet on the State  
of the Union Ad-  
dress 1/9/76

The current Social Security tax rate is 5.85% for each employee and employer of covered wages. Under this proposal, in 1977 the tax rate would be 6.15% on a maximum wage base of \$16,000. This increase will cost workers with the maximum taxable income less than \$1 a week and will help stabilize the trust funds so that current and future recipients can be assured of the benefits they have earned.

Presidential message  
to Congress  
"Congressional Record"  
6/17/76

In a proposal submitted to the Congress on June 17, 1976, President Ford said he was "correcting an inadequate method of adjusting benefit payments which over time, could mean that many new retirees would receive Social Security benefits in excess of the highest earnings they ever received... a result...never intended." His proposal would insure that "future retirement benefits are a constant share of preretirement earnings." He suggested a 10 year phase in period so that benefits to those persons retiring would be no lower than under the old formula. He termed his proposal not a complete solution, but said that immediate action on it would eliminate more than half the estimated long range financial problem.

Presidential remarks at  
public forum  
Fort Wayne, Indiana  
"Presidential Documents"  
5/7/76

"I think Social Security can be improved, but under no circumstances, for example, would I invest the proceeds into the stock market or would I, in any other way, interfere with the financial integrity of the Social Security Trust Fund. Those 32 million people are expecting their benefits to come from our government for which they made payments, and I am going to make damn sure they get them."

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SOCIAL SECURITY TAXES

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Carter

"Jimmy Carter on  
Social Security,"  
undated

"I pledge to you and Americans around the country that as President I will preserve, with the assistance of Congress, the financial integrity of the Social Security system to which so many Americans have contributed and are contributing. To solve the current problems of the Social Security system we must energetically insure that:

--we preserve the present cost-of-living benefits for those receiving benefits and stabilize the 'replacement rate' of benefits to wages, by guaranteeing to present day contributors that their benefits at retirement will fully reflect increases in their wages. Workers should be guaranteed that when they retire Social Security benefits will bear the same relationship to their recent earnings as is true for those retiring today. This could be accomplished by indexing average monthly earnings under Social Security. The reform I have suggested would cut in half the estimated long-range imbalance in the program.

--rather than increasing the contribution rate as President Ford has suggested, which would put an even greater burden on the average wage earner, would not insure more benefits, and would require everyone to pay more, if additional revenues are needed, I would prefer a more progressive plan to increase gradually the maximum amount of earnings subject to the social security tax."

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CAPITAL FORMATION/BUSINESS TAXES

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Ford

New York Times  
10/7/75. Ford  
speech on economy

Ford proposes a "tax reduction directed at business in a way that creates more jobs. The tax cuts that I propose, including a permanent increase in the investment tax credit (10%) and a 2% reduction in the corporate tax rate, are specifically designed to increase employment."

State of the  
Union Address  
1/19/76

"I propose tax changes to encourage people to invest in America's future and their own, through a plan that gives moderate income families income tax benefits if they make long-term investments in common stock in American companies."

White House  
Fact Sheet on  
the State of the  
Union Address  
1/19/76

To encourage investment, the President has already proposed a phased integration of the corporate and individual income tax which will eventually eliminate the double tax burden now imposed on corporate dividends.

Testimony of Secy.  
of Treasury  
William Simon  
before Senate  
Finance Committee  
3/17/76

Presenting President Ford's proposals to the Finance Committee, Simon said that Ford favors a job creation incentive program which provides for accelerated depreciation of new plant facilities and equipment in areas which experienced unemployment of 7% or more in 1975. He also has introduced a proposal to encourage capital formation and the efficient allocation of investment resources by the introduction of a sliding scale for the taxation of capital gains.

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CAPITAL FORMATION/BUSINESS TAXES

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Carter

Interview with  
Carter, Business  
Week, 5/3/76

Carter said that capital and earned incomes should be taxed in the same way. He also said he favors taxing income only once (a reference to the double-taxing of corporate dividends).

New York Times  
7/23/76

Speaking to a group of New York City businessmen, Carter said he would move cautiously on tax reform and would retain the credit on foreign taxes paid by American companies. Carter stated, "I would not make any substantive changes in our tax law, or propose any as President, until at least a full year of very careful analysis." While he backed the present credit on United States taxes given to American corporations that pay foreign taxes, Carter said he opposed tax deferrals on profits of American companies overseas until the money is brought into the United States. "At this point my inclination would be to eliminate these tax deferrals," he said.

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## ENERGY

Overview/Energy Independence/Conservation  
Energy Prices/Energy Industry Structure/Nuclear Power/Non-Nuclear Power

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Since the Arab oil embargo of 1973 and its attendant long lines at the gasoline station, energy has been an important and confusing issue to most Americans. A nation accustomed to years of abundant, low-priced energy is learning to live with sharply higher prices and the threat of shortages. But public opinion surveys identify energy -- how to get it, what to pay for it, what directions to take for the future -- as an issue troubling and often angering many Americans.

The "energy crisis" is many things to different people. To some it is a question of prices; others see supply, at any price, as the issue. The energy industries are portrayed as rapacious monopolists and as overburdened victims of government regulation.

Those who look beyond the present are concerned about the role that nuclear power, increased use of coal, solar power and fusion will play in our lives. They are asking what part the federal government should play in encouraging or discouraging these technologies, and what costs society should bear in order to have alternatives to oil and gas.

To gain insight into candidates' views on the energy issue, Common Cause has outlined their positions on the following problems commonly associated with the energy crisis:

- The overview category contains candidate analysis of the energy crisis and proposed solutions.
- Energy independence includes candidate proposals for lessening our dependence on foreign oil over the coming years, or in case of another embargo.

- Conservation includes candidate proposals for reducing energy consumption.
- Energy prices details candidate views on oil and gas price controls, as well as general positions on fuel and electricity prices.
- Energy industry structure includes candidate views on vertical and horizontal divestiture, as well as the government's future role in energy production.
- Nuclear power contains candidate views on the priority that should be given to nuclear power development.
- Non-nuclear fuels details candidate views on alternative energy sources, such as coal, solar power, wind power, geothermal power and the burning of refuse. Which of these fuels to rely on, when to expect them to play a role, and how much to spend on technology for them are all issues for the candidates.

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ENERGY: Overview

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Ford

Speech to Economic  
Club of Detroit  
5/12/76

"In the first place, we have to free the energy-producing portions of our economy from the kind of regulation and control that has been imposed on it for a number of years.

In January, a year ago, I recommended the deregulation of all new natural gas. Unfortunately, the Congress has not done that although the Senate did pass an acceptable bill. We have to deregulate the exploration and development of crude oil in this country. We have on the statute books a law that will permit us to deregulate that industry domestically over a period of over 40 months. It was not the legislation I wanted but it is the best we could get.

We have to make some realistic appraisals and adjustments in how we use our coal more effectively and more efficiently. We have 300 years, they tell me, supply of coal. We have got to increase it from 600 million tons to 1 billion 200 million tons by 1985. We have to spend research and development money on solar energy, on geothermal energy and some of the other exotic fuels, and I am glad to report to you that in these areas of research and development in the budget that I submitted for the next fiscal year, we increased the R and D money by over 35 percent.

So we have to have a broad approach because every passing day our dependence on foreign oil becomes more acute. In 1973, it was 31 or 32 percent. Today, 40 percent of the oil we use in this country comes from foreign sources and it is going to get worse unless we do something along the lines that I have recommended."

"Message to the  
Congress"  
February 26, 1976

"I envision an energy future for the United States free of the threat of embargoes and arbitrary price increases by foreign governments. I see a world in which all nations strengthen their cooperative efforts to solve critical energy problems. I envision a major expansion in the production and use of coal, aggressive exploration for domestic oil and gas, a strong commitment to nuclear power, significant technological breakthroughs in harnessing the unlimited potential of solar energy and fusion power, and a strengthened conservation ethic in our use of energy.

"I am convinced that the United States has the ability to achieve energy independence."

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ENERGY: Overview

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Carter

Press Release  
(undated)

"The mishandling of the energy problem is a primary cause of the current economic crisis. We are the only civilized nation on earth without an energy policy. This negligence is a crime against the American people."

Response to North  
Carolina Common Cause  
3/17/76

"We should remember that we only have enough oil available as an energy source for another 30 years. We must make a major shift to coal and substantially increase our use of solar energy. With proper national planning, energy conservation can be increased and we can keep our dependence on nuclear energy to an absolute minimum."

National Wildlife  
Federation  
3/15/76

"One of the most frequent questions I get in my travels around this country is 'what are we going to do about energy?' Other nations have a comprehensive energy policy- we do not. We have, in the entire world, about sixty cubic miles of oil, total reserves and the best estimates are then that we can expect from the ground about seventy-five percent of that oil. We use about 1.3 cubic miles per year and the rate of that use is increasing year by year, not particularly in this country now but in the areas of the world which is becoming more industrialized- which means in turn, we have enough oil to last about thirty-five years: we have enough uranium to last forty or fifty years and we have enough coal to last six hundred years. Among the Nuclear Physicists of this country, there is a fifty-fifty judgement about whether or not we will have electricity from fusion in this century. We are now seeing a struggle going on, an economic struggle, about how to use what we do have."

Issues Summary from  
Carter Campaign  
Committee  
3/25/76

"The major thrust of the energy problem should be away from oil toward coal and solar energy, with heavy emphasis on conservation. Unnecessary electrical power plant construction should be stopped. Advertising at consumers' expense to encourage increased consumption of electricity should be prohibited. Rate structures which discourage total consumption and peak power demand should be established. If patriotic appeals and strict conservation measures prove to be inadequate to control consumption, standby excise taxes should be available to the President for selective imposition on petroleum products."

Business Week  
5/3/76

Q: What changes would you like to see in energy policy?  
A: "I would continue to import oil at least at the present level. I would let the Arab countries know that if they declare another embargo on oil ship-

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ENERGY: Overview

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Carter (continued)

ments to us, we would consider this an economic declaration of war and would respond quickly with a boycott against them.

Next, I would shift toward coal as quickly as I could, using government inducements if necessary.

I would increase dramatically the the amount of research and development funds that go into solar energy. I would favor strong conservation measures, including mandatory efficiency of autos, better insulation of homes, changes in the rate structure of electric power companies. I would continue to use atomic power as a last priority, and with strict conservation and safety protections required. I favor the deregulation of natural gas for a limited period of time, leaving existing contracts at the lowest price levels intact."

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ENERGY INDEPENDENCE

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Ford

Press Conference  
3/22/76

"There is no fuel shortage. The shortage could come in any year ahead of us if we were to have another embargo such as we had by the OPEC nations in 1973.

The problem is not an immediate shortage. The problem is that we are becoming more and more dependent on foreign oil imports. Two years ago, we were relying on foreign oil imports to the extent of about 33 percent. Today, it is up to almost 40 percent, and unless we stimulate more U.S. production of oil and natural gas, and unless we utilize our vast resources of coal, unless we expedite the construction and installation of more nuclear powerplants, unless we more rapidly develop some of our exotic fuels, our dependence on foreign oil will go up, up, up, which means that we are more dependent not only on the amount of foreign oil, but the price they charge us."

New York Times  
9/30/75

The Times quoted President Ford:  
"The only way Congress can really protect the American consumer is to enact a long-range energy program that encourages Americans to produce our own energy with our own workers from our own resources and at our own prices."

Wall Street  
Journal, 9/23/75

President Ford called for the creation of an Energy Independence Authority with \$100 billion dollars of federal funding. President Ford called for a "crash" program to be directed by EIA to show foreign oil nations that "Uncle Sam is not about to say 'uncle.'"

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ENERGY INDEPENDENCE

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Ford (continued)

"Message to the  
Congress"  
February 26, 1976

"A little over two years ago, the Arab embargo proved that our Nation had become excessively dependent upon others for our oil supplies. We now realize how critical energy is to the defense of our country, to the strength of our economy, and to the quality of our lives.

"We must reduce our vulnerability to the economic disruption which a few foreign countries can cause by cutting off our energy supplies or by arbitrarily raising prices. We must regain our energy independence."

Carter

Face the Nation  
11/30/75

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

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

On oil import quotas and a strategic national reserve, Carter said: "I would like to build up our reserves for about 60 days worth, to be stored maybe in the salt domes, cut down on oil consumption considerably --"

Q: "How do you do that?"

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

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

A: "I think a quota system would be very good, yes."

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ENERGY INDEPENDENCE

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Carter (continued)

Carter  
Issues summary  
4/12/76

"It is unlikely that we will be totally "independent" of oil imports during this century. It is certainly not possible or necessary for us to be energy independent by 1985, but we should be free from possible blackmail or economic disaster which might be caused by another boycott. Our reserves should be developed, imports reduced to manageable levels, standby rationing procedures evolved and authorized, and aggressive economic reprisals should await any boycotting oil supplier."

Atlanta Constitution  
3/7/76

Carter labelled Project Independence  
"a joke"

Business Week  
5/3/76

"I would continue to import oil at least at the present level. I would let the Arab countries know that if they declare another embargo on oil shipments to us, we would consider this an economic declaration of war and would respond quickly with a boycott against them."

Carter Position  
Paper- California  
Campaign

"Our main thrust in energy must be away from oil toward the environmentally- safe use of coal and development of solar energy, coupled with energy conservation. I favor a system which would keep oil imports at or below the present 40% level. Anti-trust laws must be strictly enforced. Maximum disclosure of data on reserves and production should be required. Advertising at the consumers' expense to encourage consumption of electricity should be prohibited."

Speech to National Press  
Club  
12/12/75

"Energy imports and consumption must be reduced, free competition enhanced by rigid enforcement of antitrust laws and general monetary growth restrained. Pinpointed federal programs can ease the more acute pains of recession, such as now exist in the construction industry. We should consider extension of unemployment compensation, the stimulation of investments, public subsidizing of employment and surtaxes on excess profits."

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CONSERVATION

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Ford

Special Appendix  
to the Budget  
6/76

The Administration asked for \$99.2 million to fund all conservation research and development programs for FY77 as opposed to \$101.7 million for FY76.

"Message to the  
Congress"  
February 26, 1976

"The nation has made major progress in reducing energy consumption in the last two years but greatly increased savings can yet be realized in all sectors. . . .

"I have asked for a 63 percent increase in funding for energy conservation research and development in my 1977 budget."

Carter

Speech to Washington  
Press Club  
7/11/75

"The potential for dramatic energy conservation remains untapped. Our energy waste in transportation is 85%, in generating electricity 65%. Overall, 50% of our energy is wasted.

"When we had to cut our own wood to burn on the farm, we did not waste it.

"We need:

- mandated motor vehicle efficiency standards;
- rigid enforcement of speed laws;
- efficiency standards and labeling for electric appliances;
- mandatory improvements in building insulation
- regulatory agency decisions that reduce fuel consumption;
- and similar conservation measures.

"The federal government with all its agencies should set a national example in the conservation and proper use of energy."

Face the Nation  
11/30/75

"We also need to have mandatory conservation measures, automobile efficiency, a change in the rate structure of electric power companies to discourage consumption of electricity, rather than to encourage it, and at the same time have a shift towards solar energy.

Carter Position  
Paper  
6/21/76

"With proper national planning and determined execution of those plans, energy conservation can be completely compatible with environmental quality and with economic well-being. Lower energy consumption inherently reduces world pollution levels. Technological advances into new energy fields and elimination of excess waste, can result in enhanced employment opportunities without any reduction in the quality of our economic lives!"

Business Week  
5/3/76

"I would favor strong conservation measures, including mandatory efficiency of autos, better insulation of homes, changes in the rate structure of electric power companies. I would continue to use atomic power as a last priority, and with strict conservation and safety protections required."

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ENERGY PRICES

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Ford

State of the  
Union Address  
1/11/76

Commenting on the Energy Policy and Conservation Act of 1975, which rolled back domestic crude oil prices, "Last month I signed a compromise national energy bill which enacts a part of my comprehensive energy independence program. This legislation was late in coming, not the complete answer to energy independence, but still a step in the right direction."

"Message to the  
Congress"  
February 26, 1976

"Deregulating the price of new natural gas remains the most important action that can be taken by the Congress to improve our future gas supply situation."

Los Angeles Times  
5/1/76

"Fifteen months ago," he told an Abilene audience in his last Texas appearance, "I recommended decontrol of oil and new natural gas prices. The Congress deliberated and delayed and debated and dawdled all the way from January to December of last year and finally sent me an energy bill. It was a long way from perfect but it was a start."

Speech to  
Economic Club of  
Detroit  
5/12/76

"In the first place, we have to free the energy-producing portions of our economy from the kind of regulation and control that has been imposed on it for a number of years.

In January, a year ago, I recommended the deregulation of all new natural gas. Unfortunately, the Congress has not done that although the Senate did pass an acceptable bill. We have to deregulate the exploration and development of crude oil in this country. We have on the statute books a law that will permit us to deregulate that industry domestically over a period of over 40 months. It was not the legislation I wanted but it is the best we could get."

Carter

Speech to Washington  
Press Club  
7/11/75

"There is no need to deregulate the price of old oil and natural gas. The price of all domestic oil should be kept below that of O.P.E.C. oil.

"Utility rates are up more than 40% in two years, while electric power plants operate at about 35% efficiency. Electric power companies demand that their present customers finance huge construction projects while less than half of their present capacity is utilized. Some of their projections for annual power consumption increases are double even those of the Federal Energy Administrator!

"Unnecessary electrical power plant construction should be stopped.

"Advertising at consumers' expense to encourage increased consumption of electricity should be prohibited.

"Rate structures which discourage total consumption and peak power demand should be established."

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ENERGY PRICES

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Carter (continued)

Carter Column  
Boston Globe  
2/26/76

"I have warned that New England must fight against any attempt to eliminate the allocation of the Federal Energy Administration. Most people are unaware that even at the height of the embargo, only 3 percent of the oil was subject to the allocation formula and that this soon dropped to 1 percent. But this provided the necessary supply cushion."

Carter Position  
Paper  
Undated

"There is no need to deregulate the price of old oil. The price of all domestic oil should be kept below that of O.P.E.C. oil. However, our natural gas supply is rapidly approaching critically low levels. As our shallower wells gradually become exhausted, we must depend more and more on deeper wells to supply our natural gas needs. Under the present regulated price structure, producers who attempt to exploit these deeper wells are forced to take a loss on every cubic foot of gas they pump. We need to deregulate the price of gas for a period of five years. During this time, presently existing contracts will remain in force. At the end of a five year period, the success of the programs should be evaluated and appropriate new actions taken. Such a policy would help ensure an adequate supply of gas during the coming years."

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ENERGY INDUSTRY STRUCTURE

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Ford

Wall Street  
Journal, 2/11/76

On divestiture:  
"I don't think divestiture is the way to solve the problem. It seems to me that a well-managed energy company, big or small, is the best way to solve our energy problem, and to just tear them apart I don't think answers the problem."

Boston Globe  
2/9/76

The Globe reported:  
On energy, as on other economic issues, Mr. Ford believes in reliance on private business and the laws of supply and demand...He thinks private companies, rather than non-profit government corporations, should develop the energy resources on our public lands and off our shores and he favors private nuclear power plant development.

Wall Street  
Journal, 9/30/75

Speaking about the Energy Independence Authority, the President stated the new corporation "will not replace the private enterprise system--it will supplement it."

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ENERGY INDUSTRY STRUCTURE

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Ford (continued)

"Message to the  
Congress"  
February 26, 1976

"I again strongly urge the Congress to give high priority to my Nuclear Fuel Assurance Act to provide enriched uranium needed for commercial nuclear power plants here and abroad. This proposed legislation which I submitted in June 1975, would provide the basis for transition to a private competitive uranium enrichment industry and prevent the heavy drain on the Federal budget. "

"Message to the  
Congress"  
February 26, 1976

"I urge Congress to approve my October, 1975 proposal to create an Energy Independence Authority, a new government corporation to assist private sector financing of new energy facilities.

"This legislation will help assure that capital is available for the massive investment that must be made over the next few years in energy facilities, but will not be forthcoming otherwise."

CBS Interview  
2/3/76

"Well, in the energy bill that I signed, that Congress passed, there is greater supervision of the oil companies in the United States. But I don't think you produce more oil or more gas by tearing apart the oil companies in the United States.

Yes, they should be supervised and the legislation does do that and we will carry the legislation out. But I think dismantling the oil companies at this time would hinder rather than help the solution to our energy problems."

Carter

Speech to the  
National Press Club  
7/11/76

"To insure maximum protection for our consumers during the coming years of increasing energy shortages, anti-trust laws must be rigidly enforced. Maximum disclosure of data on reserve supplies and production must be required."

The Baltimore Sun  
2/12/76

The Sun reported that Carter would not completely break up the oil companies but would have them give up ownership of coal companies and separate retail and wholesale oil sales.

Business Week  
5/3/76

Q: Do you favor breaking up the integrated oil companies?

A: "Breaking up the oil companies as a major goal would be counterproductive. At the wholesale and retail level, I think divestiture ought to be considered, unless I was assured as President that there was an adequate amount of competition at those levels. In the exploration, extraction, transport, refining, and distribution of oil, I think divestiture would be counterproductive.

On horizontal divestiture, there again I would seriously consider it, unless I were convinced that there was adequate competition in the production of coal and uranium. "

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ENERGY INDUSTRY STRUCTURE

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Carter (continued)

Business Week  
5/24/76

Q: Do you want the largest oil firms broken up?  
A: "I haven't taken on the oil companies as scapegoats. When competition inadequate to insure free markets and maximum benefit to American consumers exists, I will support divestiture. At present, I support restrictions on the right of a single company to own all phases of production and distribution of oil. However, it may not always be in the consumer's interest to limit a company to one single phase of production. Such a restriction, for example, might make it illegal for the same company to explore for oil and then extract that oil from the ground once discovered. That would clearly result in tremendous price increases to the consumer. I support legal prohibitions against ownership of competing types of energy- oil and coal, for example. However, I cannot promise to oppose any joint responsibility for any phase of production of competing energy sources. Fuel oil and some propane, for example, are produced from crude oil. Their production clearly cannot be separated until after extraction and refining take place. It may not be beneficial to the consumer to separate control of these two competing energy sources until even further down the distribution line."

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NUCLEAR POWER

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Ford

"Message to the  
Congress"  
February 26, 1976

"Greater utilization must be made of nuclear energy in order to achieve energy independence and maintain a strong economy. It is likewise vital that we continue our world leadership as a reliable supplier of nuclear technology in order to assure that worldwide growth in nuclear power is achieved with responsible and effective controls."

"Message to the  
Congress"  
February 26, 1976

"It is essential that the Congress act if we are to take timely advantage of our nuclear energy potential. I urge enactment of the Nuclear Licensing Act to streamline the licensing procedures for the construction of new power plants."

Special Appendix  
to the Budget  
1/76

The Administration has requested the following FY77 funding for energy:

Nuclear power	3,554 million	(includes plant and capital equipment)
Fossil energy development	467 million	"
Solar energy	130 million	"
Geothermal energy	47 million	"

The budget includes 575.4 million for the breeder reactor and 378 million for the development of nuclear fusion.

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NUCLEAR POWER

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Carter

Response to North  
Carolina Common Cause  
3/17/76

"Our dependence on nuclear power should be kept to an absolute minimum. We ought to apply much stricter safety standards as we regulate its use. We must be completely honest with our people concerning any problems or dangers.

"Nuclear reactors should be located below ground level. The power plants should be housed in sealed buildings within which permanent heavy vacuums are maintained. Plants should be located in sparsely populated areas and only after consultation with state and local officials. Designs should be standardized, and a fulltime federal employee, with full authority to shut down the plant in case of any operational abnormality, should always be present in control rooms."

Speech to the  
National Press Club  
7/11/75

"During the past few years, two-thirds of all federal research and development funds went for atomic power, primarily for the liquid metal fast breeder reactor (LMFBR). Since this potential source of energy will not be economically feasible until the price of natural uranium increases several times over, since England, France and the U.S.S.R. have design experience with the LMFBR, and because of the mounting costs and environmental problems, our excessive emphasis on this project should be severely reduced and converted to a long-term, possibly multinational effort.

"Our atomic plants use light water with enriched uranium. Some countries such as Canada use heavy water with more plentiful natural uranium. Our government's fuel enrichment plants can produce adequate enriched uranium for the next decade. A shift away from sustained production of atomic weapons or toward heavy water reactors can extend this time of adequate supply.

"The private commercial production of enriched nuclear should be approached with extreme caution.

"In addition to the physical damage and human suffering which would result from a nuclear disaster, the economic, psychological and political consequences to our energy supply system would be more devastating than a total Middle East oil embargo. It is imperative that such an accident be prevented. We must maintain the strictest possible safety standards for our atomic power plants, and be completely honest with our people concerning any problems or dangers.

Address to United  
Nations  
5/13/76

"U.S. dependence on nuclear power should be kept to the minimum necessary to meet our needs. We should apply much stronger safety standards as we regulate its use. And we must be honest with our people concerning its problems and dangers. I recognize that many other countries of the world do not have the fossil fuel reserves of the Uni-

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NUCLEAR POWER

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Carter (continued)

ted States. With the four-fold increase in the price of oil, many countries have concluded that they have no immediate alternative except to concentrate on nuclear power.

But all of us must recognize that the widespread use of nuclear power brings many risks. Power reactors may malfunction and cause widespread radiological damage, unless stringent safety requirements are met. Radioactive wastes may be a menace to future generations and civilizations, unless they are effectively isolated within the biosphere forever. And terrorists or other criminals may steal plutonium and make weapons to threaten society or its political leaders with nuclear violence, unless strict security measures are developed and implemented to prevent nuclear theft. Beyond these dangers, there is the fearsome prospect that the spread of nuclear reactors will mean the spread of nuclear weapons to many nations."

"Considerations of commercial profit cannot be allowed to prevail over the paramount objective of limiting the spread of nuclear weapons. The heads of government of all the principal supplier nations hopefully will recognize this danger and share this view."

I am not seeking to place any restrictions on the sale of nuclear power reactors which sell for as much as \$1 billion per reactor. I believe that all supplier countries are entitled to a fair share of the reactor market. What we must prevent, however, is the sale of small pilot reprocessing plants which sell for only a few million dollars, have no commercial use at present, and can only spread nuclear explosives around the world."

Carter on the Issues  
Undated

Governor Carter has also proposed to reduce federal expenditures for the development of the Liquid-Metal Fast Breeder Reactor.

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NON-NUCLEAR POWER

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Ford

Speech to Economic  
Club of Detroit  
5/12/76

"We have to make some realistic appraisals and adjustments in how we use our coal more effectively and more efficiently. We have 300 years, they tell me, supply of coal. We have got to increase it from 600 million tons to 1 billion 200 million tons by 1985. We have to spend research and development money on solar energy, on geothermal energy and some of the other exotic fuels, and I am glad to report to you that in these areas of research and development in the budget that I submitted for the next fiscal year, we increased the R and D money by over 35 percent."

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NON-NUCLEAR POWER

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Ford (continued)

"Message to the  
Congress"  
February 26, 1976

"Coal is the most abundant energy resource available in the United States, yet production is at the same level as in the 1920's and accounts for only about 17 percent of the Nation's energy consumption. Coal must be used increasingly as an alternative to scarce, expensive or insecure oil and natural gas supplies. We must act to remove unnecessary constraints on coal so that production can grow from the 1975 level of 640 million tons to over 1 billion tons by 1985 in order to help achieve energy independence."

State of the  
Union Address  
1/19/76

The President asked for legislation to "develop more and cleaner energy from our vast coal resources" and "to accelerate development of technology to capture energy from the sun and the earth for this and future generations."

Boston Globe  
7/5/76

President Ford vetoed mineral royalties legislation saying it would have "an adverse impact on our domestic coal production."

Special Appendix  
to the Budget  
1/76

The Administration has requested the following FY77 funding for energy:

Nuclear power	3,554 million
Fossil energy	467 million
Solar power	130 million
Geothermal power	47 million

Carter

Face the Nation  
11/30/75

"Then as we drop off our domestic production about six per cent, we need to allocate the remaining supplies of oil among states in an equitable way, shift toward other sources of energy; coal is the most logical source -- I personally prefer the concentration in the Appalachian regions of coal production. We have about 200 years worth of coal that's clean-burning; it can be mined with strict strip-mining laws which I favor."

Speech to the  
National Press Club  
7/11/75

"In spite of growing dependence on other sources of power, fossil fuels will still be our main source of energy in the year 2000 A.D., with fusion power still in the developmental stage."

"A major immediate need is to derive maximum energy from coal, while preserving environmental quality. We have at least a 200-year supply of clean and accessible coal. Power companies and industries must shift to this source of energy, and we must invest in improved mining efficiency, cleaner combustion technology, and a better transportation system for moving coal to its end users."

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NON-NUCLEAR POWER

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Carter (continued)

Carter indicated that, while deemphasizing research on the breeder reactor, the United States should be involved in other major research projects: "There is certainly enough challenge and responsibility to go around in energy fields involving: thermonuclear reaction containment; liquefaction and gassification of coal; use of solid wastes; breeder reactors; electric propulsion and rail development; building insulation and design; heating, cooling and electrical power generation from solar energy; electric power transmission; industrial plant efficiency; automobile engine design; coal mining techniques; efficiency of petroleum extraction from the ground; materials recycling; long range benefit: cost ratio for energy sources; and nuclear waste disposal.

Meet the Press  
11/30/75

Carter on solar power: "We can get four or five per cent of our energy from the sun in the next seven or eight years if we concentrate on it."

Address to National  
Wildlife Federation  
3/15/75

"The destruction of the surface of our lands with uncontrolled strip mining is certainly not a logical approach to meeting energy requirements.

The unrestrained and profuse off-shore leasing of scarce and very lightly understood oil reserves is in no way protecting the public's interest and the public's oil deposits.

There is a great pressure to make synthetic fuels out of coal; to take coal and change it into oil or gas.

This is probably counterproductive because it takes a lot of energy just to change the form of coal but we do need research and development to make sure that when coal is used that the environment is less adversely affected.

Shale also has tremendous potential but enormous amounts of water and energy are required to extract oil from shale and to get four or five percent of our total energy resources from shale would require us to dig a Panama Canal every day."

Carter Issues  
Summary  
3/25/76

"The major thrust of the energy problem should be away from oil toward coal and solar energy."

Business Week  
5/3/76

Q: What changes would you like to see in energy policy?

A: "I would continue to import oil at least at the present level. I would let the Arab countries know that if they declare another embargo on oil shipments to us, we would consider this an economic declaration of war and would respond quickly with a boycott against them.

Next, I would shift toward coal as quickly as I could, using government inducements if necessary. I would increase dramatically the amount of research and development funds that go into solar energy."

ENVIRONMENT

Economic Costs of Environmental Protection  
Growth and Land Use Planning/Clean Air and Water/Nuclear Power/Strip Mining

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Environmental protection has become an increasingly controversial subject since the energy crisis and the U.S. economic situation of the last several years. Environmental goals and programs established in the late 1960's and early 1970's have come under greater scrutiny and -- in some cases -- legislative challenge. As efforts are made to relax clean air standards and delay timetables for other environmental clean up, Americans tell public opinion pollsters that they are concerned.

To place candidate positions on environmental issues in a broad framework, Common Cause has included their views on economic costs of environmental protection and on "growth" and land use planning.

Their views on several environmental issues of immediate significance and public concern are included under the following headings:

- The controversial question of nuclear power brings into sharp focus the issue of energy supply versus environmental and safety concerns.
- Strip mining controls have been bitterly contested in recent sessions of Congress. Controls are a key legislative objective of many environmentalists, in the face of growing pressure to develop U.S. coal resources.
- Efforts to relax clean air and water standards have raised additional issues for Presidential candidates to address.

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ECONOMIC COSTS OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

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Ford

Ford Remarks at  
Dedication of  
National Environ-  
mental Resource  
Center, Cincinnati,  
7/3/75

"If accomplishing every worthy environmental objective would slow down our effort to regain energy independence and a stronger economy, then of necessity I must weigh all factors involved."

Message of the Presi-  
dent to Congress on  
Report of the Council  
of Environmental  
Quality, Cong.  
Record, 3/1/76

"We must improve our understanding of the effects of pollutants and of the means and costs of reducing pollution. As we develop new energy sources and technologies we must assure that they meet environmental standards."

"Our experience and our growing knowledge about the scientific, technical and economic aspects of environmental effects and controls has given us a basis for considering 'mid-course corrections' in existing environmental laws. The attention now being given in the Congress and the Administration to a review of the requirements of the Clean Air Act and the Water Pollution Control Act are important examples of this new level of awareness."

Washington Post,  
1/22/76

Ford's 1977 budget would cut appropriations for the Environmental Protection Agency to \$718 million -- \$53 million less than Congress appropriated for 1976 and \$77 million less than he requested in the 1976 budget.

Boston Globe,  
2/9/76

The Globe says Ford seeks to relax environmental controls because he believes they interfere unreasonably with private business and inhibit development of jobs.

Carter

Carter's Presentation  
to the Democratic Plat-  
form Committee,  
June, 1976

"I do not believe that there is an incompatibility between economic progress and environmental quality. We should not be diverted from our cause by false claims that the protection of our ecology and wildlife means an end to growth and a decline in jobs. This is not the case."

Orlando, Fla.  
Sentinel Star,  
3/5/76

The Sentinel-Star quoted Carter as saying, "Whenever there is a conflict between development and environmental quality, if it can be resolved, I will be for the project; when it can't, I would go with the environment. I want to make it clear if there is ever a conflict, I will go for beauty, clean air, water and landscape."

Carter News Release,  
7/11/75

"With proper national planning and determined execution of those plans, energy conservation can be completely compatible with environmental quality and economic wellbeing."

New York Times,  
7/31/76

In answer to the question of the Governors of New York and New Jersey wanting to ease anti-pollution rules to help business, Carter stated, "My own personal preference would be to maintain the quality of environment."

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NUCLEAR POWER

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Ford

News from President  
Ford Committee,  
3/23/76

Ford proposes to "expedite clean and safe nuclear power production" as part of the energy independence program.

Washington Post,  
1/22/76

The Post says that the Ford Administration is still convinced of the worth of nuclear power, although it is scaling down its forecast of the number of plants that will be generating nuclear electricity in ten years.

Under Ford's 1977 budget, ERDA's outlays will increase by 30%. ERDA will spend \$574 million expanding its three uranium enrichment plants and \$117 million developing safer and better ways to recycle spent nuclear fuel and bury atomic wastes.

President Ford Comm.  
Handout, "Energy",  
(undated).

"President Ford is committed to finding new sources of energy and feels the use of nuclear power must be developed rapidly."

Carter

Atlanta Journal &  
Constitution, 3/7/76

Carter would institute stronger controls on the development and use of nuclear power -- such as limiting construction to isolated areas, placing reactors underground and setting up much stronger safety requirements. He would minimize nuclear power as a potential future energy source and concentrate on the development of the nation's coal reserves and solar energy as an alternative to coal.

Carter Campaign  
"Issues Summary,"  
April, 1976

"We must maintain the strictest possible safety standards for our atomic power plants and be completely honest with our people concerning any problems or dangers. For instance, nuclear reactors should be located below ground level. Power plants should be housed in sealed buildings within which heavy vacuums are permanently maintained. Plants should be located in sparsely populated areas but only after consultation with state and local officials. Designs should be standardized. A full-time federal employee with full authority to shut down the plant in case of any operational abnormality should always be present in control rooms."

Carter News Release,  
7/11/75

"The private commercial production of enriched nuclear fuel should be approached with extreme caution. In addition to the physical damage and human suffering which would result from a nuclear disaster, the economic, psychological and political consequences to our energy supply system would be more devastating than a total Middle East oil embargo."

"Unless we conserve energy drastically, make a major shift to coal, and substantially increase our use of solar energy, we will have no alternative to greatly increase dependence on nuclear power. As one who is intimately familiar with the problems and potential of nuclear energy, I believe we must make every effort to keep that dependence to a minimum."

"During the past few years, two-thirds of all federal research and development funds went for atomic power, primarily for the Liquid Metal Fast Breeder Reactor...because of the mounting costs and environmental problems our emphasis on the project should be severely reduced and converted to a long-term possibly multi-national effort."

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NUCLEAR POWER

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Carter (cont'd)

Concord, (N.H.)  
Monitor,  
2/19/76

According to the Monitor, Carter acknowledges that "we haven't worked out a good solution to the problem of atomic waste disposal."

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GROWTH & LAND USE PLANNING

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Ford

Budget briefing,  
Ft. Lauderdale,  
Feb. 13, 1976.  
Reported in The  
Citizen's Guide to  
the 1976 Presiden-  
tial Candidates,  
Capitol Hill News  
Service.

Concerning federal land use legislation, Ford said, "I am opposed to it, period. I think the state and local units of government can make better decisions as to land use . . . than the federal government can."

Carter

Carter's Presentation  
to the Democratic  
Platform Committee,  
June, 1976

Carter says he would, "support the need for better land use planning. I favor giving planning assistance to the states if firm assurances are given by the states that these plans will be implemented and will protect critical environmental areas."

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STRIP MINING

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Ford

Congressional  
Quarterly,  
1/17/76

Ford has twice vetoed strip-mining legislation (pocket veto in 1974).

Northern Illinois  
Newspaper Assn.,  
3/12/76. Presi-  
dential Documents,  
3/22/76.

In response to a question on the strip mining bill, Ford said, "If the same bill came before me of course I would veto it because of several things. One, it would have slowed down our answer to the energy program. It would have slowed down significantly the development and expansion of our coal mining through out the country at a critical time when jobs were important. There could be a strip mining bill that I would sign and I have indicated about 10 different amendments to the legislation. If they were adopted, yes, I would accept them. . . . In the meantime, it has been interesting, there have been a number of states -- not a number, but a few states -- that have moved ahead in their own strip mining legislation, and I think this could be a very good alternative."

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STRIP MINING

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Carter

Interview with  
Carter, Business  
Week, 5/3/76

In response to a question on how Carter would reconcile the differences between the environmentalists and the coal companies, Carter said, "I favored the strip-mining bill that was vetoed by President Ford, with a couple of exceptions."

Carter's Presentation  
to the Democratic  
Platform Committee,  
June, 1976

Carter says that he would "support efforts to place reasonable limits on strip mining. We must require reclamation of land as a condition of strip mining."

CBS "Face the Nation,"  
11/30/75

Speaking about the search for other sources of energy, Carter said, "We have about 200 years worth of coal that's clean burning; it can be mined with strict strip mining laws which I favor."

Carter News Release,  
7/11/75

"Substantial increases in coal production and utilization will only come with a stable regulatory climate. The recent veto of the strip mining bill merely prolonged the present climate of uncertainty."

"A major immediate need is to derive maximum energy from coal while preserving environmental quality."

Baltimore Sun,  
4/16/76

According to the Baltimore Sun, Carter changed his stand on the vetoed strip mining bill after discussion with Mr. Joe Browder, director of the Environmental Policy Center, (the principal lobbying group for the bill) and the United Mine Workers. Carter previously believed the strip mining bill was "too strict" in its requirements for filling in the scars on strip-mined hills that slope more than 20 degrees. Mr. Powell, Mr. Carter's press secretary, said Mr. Carter has also frequently criticized the slope fill-in provision and another dealing with citizen lawsuits, but still felt he supported a strong strip-mining measure.

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CLEAN AIR & WATER

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Ford

Washington Post,  
1/22/76

Ford's proposed budget for 1977 includes sharp cut-backs in the fight for clean air and water. The figure is down \$62 million from last year. Ford did ask Congress to appropriate additional funds to improve drinking water supplies.

Boston Herald  
American,  
2/4/76

In a written interview, Ford said that the Clean Air Act "unnecessarily discourages greater coal production." He wants to modify the law to "permit greater use of coal without relaxing standards that are set to protect public health."

Ford Remarks at  
Dedication of Natl.  
Environmental Re-  
source Center,  
Cincinnati, 7/3/75

"I pursue the goal of clean air and water, but I must also pursue the objective of maximum jobs and continued economic progress. Unemployment is as real and as sickening a blight as any pollutant that threatens the nation."

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CLEAN AIR & WATER

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Ford (cont'd)

Message of the President to Congress on Report of the Council of Environmental Quality, Cong. Record, 3/1/76

"We must improve our understanding of the effects of pollutants and of the means and costs of reducing pollution. As we develop new energy sources and technologies we must assure that they meet environmental standards."

"Our experience and our growing knowledge about the scientific, technical and economic aspects of environmental effects and controls has given us a basis for considering 'mid-course corrections' in existing environmental laws. The attention now being given in the Congress and the Administration to a review of the requirements of the Clean Air Act and the Water Pollution Control Act are important examples of this new level of awareness."

Carter

Carter's Presentation to the Democratic Platform Committee, June, 1976

Carter would "insist on strict enforcement of anti-water pollution laws to protect our oceans, lakes, rivers, and streams from unneeded and harmful commercial pollution, and oppose efforts to weaken the federal Water Pollution Control Act."

Carter would "hold fast against efforts to lower clean air requirements of the Clean Air Act. I support strict enforcement of the non-degradation clause of the Clean Air Act."

Interview with Carter, Business Week, May, 1976

Carter supports greater reliance on coal as a fuel source. When asked what about air standards that would permit more coal burning, Carter said, "I would not favor the lowering of air pollution standards." Q: But isn't that a contradiction? How will you get more coal use with existing technology? A: "I don't agree. I think we are now burning clean coal, and there's a lot more where that came from."

Wall Street Journal, 3/30/76

"We are still floundering and equivocating about protection of our environment. Neither designers of automobiles, mayors of cities, power companies, farmers nor those of us who simply have to breathe and would like to fish or swim in pure water have the slightest idea in God's world what is coming out of Washington next. What does come next must be a firm commitment to pure air, clean water and unspoiled land."

Carter Presentation to the Democratic Platform Committee, June, 1976

In regard to the development of the Outer Continental Shelf, Carter said he would "Assist the coastal states which bear the economic and environmental impact associated with the development of the Outer Continental Shelf. Federal officials should accept the state's recommendation regarding lease sales and development plans, unless those recommendations seriously conflict with national security."

POVERTY AND INCOME SUPPORT

Welfare Reform/Food Stamps/Health Care  
Aid to the Elderly/Child Care

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Poverty and income support programs have become politically controversial in this time of inflation and high unemployment. The rising cost of welfare programs, the food stamp program and health care have caused increased debate about the role of the federal government in funding and administering social services. Many of these programs, initiated or expanded in the 60's, are a part of the often-expressed concern with "big government". Common Cause has outlined the candidates' views on the following social programs:

--views on welfare reform, including consolidation and simplification of programs.

--views on food stamps.

--views on health care, including national health insurance and consolidation of existing federal programs.

--views on aid to the elderly.

--views on child care.

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WELFARE REFORM

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Ford

State of the Union  
Address, 1/19/76

In his State of the Union Address, President Ford said, "Complex welfare programs cannot be reformed overnight. Surely we cannot simply dump welfare into the laps of the 50 states. . . and just walk away from it."

Boston Herald  
American, 2/4/76

In answer to written questions submitted to him by the Boston Herald American, President Ford said, "It is clear to everyone that the current welfare system is in a mess, and one of our prime objectives must be a sweeping overhaul -- hopefully before the end of the decade." He said that 1976 is not the year for sweeping changes because "it would not be fair to turn the futures of millions of disadvantaged Americans into a political football." But he said he would be sending to Congress "a proposal to enable the President with approval of Congress to tighten up rules to make programs of assistance more equitable and efficient."

Fact Sheet on the  
President's State  
of the Union Mes-  
sage, 1/19/76

The President will, later this year, ask Congress for authority to reform income assistance programs -- Food Stamps, AFDC, and SSI -- to make them more "consistent, equitable and efficient". In the proposal, to be known as the Income Assistance Simplification Act:

- 1) The President will seek authority to modify those federally assisted programs for which there is a means test, e.g. Food Stamps, AFDC, and SSI.
- 2) The Act would permit modification of administrative procedures, eligibility requirements, benefit levels, and program administration authority.
- 3) All changes would be subject to Congressional approval.
- 4) The duration of the authority would be five years.

[A draft bill containing the President's proposals has been introduced by Sen. Carl T. Curtis (R-Neb.) but no action has been taken on the proposal.]

U. S. News & World  
Report, 3/1/76

Ford said, "When it comes to welfare, government at all levels is not doing the job well. Too many of our welfare programs are inequitable and invite abuse. Worse, we are wasting badly needed resources without reaching many of the truly needy. . . . I will ask Congress for authority to tighten up rules for eligibility and benefits."

Baltimore Sun,  
2/26/76

President Ford yesterday proposed legislation to consolidate 15 child nutrition programs. Ford said that his Child Nutrition Reform Act of 1976 would feed more of the poor children, and eliminate meals to most children whose families are above the federal poverty level. [The President's proposal was introduced by Rep. Robert Michel (R-Ill.) but there has been no action on H.R. 13208.] The estimated saving to taxpayers would be \$900 million a year. Each state's allocation would be based on the number of needy children in that state. The programs involved include school lunches, school breakfasts, special milk programs, supplemental food and child care.

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WELFARE REFORM

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Ford (continued)

Boston Globe,  
2/20/76

Mr. Ford said Reagan's plan to cut \$90 billion from the Federal budget would "toss a lot of worthwhile programs" onto state and local governments. He said in response to Reagan's suggestion that dissatisfied welfare recipients unhappy with state-run welfare programs could 'vote with their feet', Americans "vote with their heads and not with their feet".

Ford Press Conference, 2/17/76

"Governor Reagan has suggested a \$90 billion cut in Federal expenditures transferring the responsibilities and the programs to the local and State officials where they either have to abandon the programs or raise taxes to support them. I disagree with that approach."

Carter

Carter Pamphlet,  
Undated

"Our welfare system is an insult to those who pay the bill and those who honestly need help . . . Some combined welfare payments exceed the income of the average working family, while other needy families are unable to obtain a bare subsistence. We have heard promises of welfare reform too long. It's time to act."

Carter's Presentation to the Platform Committee of the Democratic Party, June, 1976

Carter said that his welfare reform recommendations are intended to achieve the following goals: "We must recognize there are three distinct categories of poor people -- the unemployable poor, the . . . jobless poor, and the working poor; no person on welfare should receive more than the working poor can earn at their jobs; strong work incentives, job creation and job training should be provided for those on welfare able to work; family stability should be encouraged by assuring that no family's financial situation will be harmed by the breadwinner remaining with his dependents; efforts should be made to have fathers who abandon their family be forced to continue support; the welfare system should be streamlined and simplified . . .; [and] persons who are legitimately on welfare should be treated with respect and dignity."

To achieve these objectives Carter proposed "one fairly uniform, nationwide payment, varying according to cost of living differences between communities. It should be 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 . . . so as to encourage employment. . . ."

And Carter added, "The welfare burden should be removed from cities, with all welfare costs being paid by the federal and state governments."

Baltimore Sun,  
6/16/76

Carter said he has already decided to make welfare reform and national health insurance the first two goals of his presidency. His good relations with congressional leaders and the Democratic party's platform drafters are "good omens for the future". So Carter said, "On welfare reform, national health insurance and so forth, I intend to be ready to go with that at the first of the year. I'll do as much as I can before the inauguration."

Washington Post,  
The Candidate on  
the Issues: An  
Interview",  
3/21/76

". . . I think we need to address the problem, say, of the programs . . . that haven't worked. We've got about 12 million people on welfare, permanently. We've got 2 million welfare workers. That's a worker for every six recipients. Good

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WELFARE REFORM

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Carter (continued)

Washington Post,  
3/21/76

people. But they don't spend their time alleviating affliction or dealing with the aged or helping people get a job that are out of work. They spend their time in offices bogged down in red tape, shuffling papers, trying to administer about 100 different welfare programs."

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FOOD STAMPS

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Ford

State of the Union  
Address, 1/19/76

In the State of the Union Address, Pres. Ford said of social programs in general and the Food Stamp program in particular, "Complex welfare programs cannot be reformed overnight . . . Nevertheless, there are still plenty of improvements that we can make. I will ask Congress for Presidential authority to tighten up the rules for eligibility and benefits."

"Last year I twice sought long overdue reform of the scandal riddled Food Stamp program. This year I say again: Let's give Food Stamps to those most in need. Let's not give any to those who don't need them."

Fact Sheet on the  
President's State  
of the Union Mes-  
sage, 1/19/76

The National Food Stamp Reform Act of 1975, still pending in Congress (S. 2537, H.R. 10244) contains the key elements of the President's plans for reform of the food stamp program.

Washington Star,  
2/21/76

Saying he was tired of waiting for Congress to act on the food stamp program, Ford announced February 20 that he had ordered Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz to amend food stamp regulations.

In his letters to the House and Senate Agriculture Committee chairmen Ford said, "each day that goes by without enactment of the reforms costs the taxpayer more than \$3.25 million."

Washington Post,  
5/5/76

The Agriculture Department announced yesterday the adoption of new regulations which will tighten the food stamp eligibility standards. Most of the new rules will go into effect June 1, although some states may be granted delays until June 30 or possibly Sept. 1. The present complex system of income deductions is being eliminated and replaced by a standard \$100-a-month deduction (\$125 for elderly people). Any non-welfare family of four whose net income after the standard deduction is above the official federal poverty ceiling of \$5,500 a year will be ineligible. Eligible applications will be required to pay 30% of their income in cash for food stamps. Also, a family's average income for the previous 90 days will be used to determine eligibility, rather than current income.

Department officials estimated that nearly 10 million persons would be dropped from the program or receive benefit cuts, but nearly 5 million of the neediest participants would get increased benefits.

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FOOD STAMPS

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Ford (continued)

Congressional  
Quarterly,  
July 10, 1976

Implementation of the Agriculture Department regulations was stopped first by a temporary restraining order issued on May 28 by U.S. District Court Judge Howard F. Corcoran in response to a lawsuit filed by the Food Research and Action Center. On June 18 Judge John Lewis Smith Jr. of the U.S. District Court, after a hearing, granted a preliminary injunction against the proposed regulations. Aides to President Ford said July 6 that he would personally decide whether to appeal Judge Smith's decision.

Carter

The Washington Post,  
"The Candidate on  
the Issues: An In-  
terview", 3/21/76

In the place of the many existing welfare programs [now perhaps as many as 100], Carter suggests, "There ought to be one nationwide payment to meet the basic necessities of life -- varying in amount only to accommodate the cost of living. . . That would eliminate the food stamp program. Just one basic payment would mean a great deal."

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AID TO THE ELDERLY

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Ford

Message to the House  
of Representatives  
from Pres. Ford:  
"Proposals Relating  
to the Health and  
Security of Older  
Americans", 2/9/76

Pres. Ford said, "I ask the Congress to join with me in making improvements in programs serving the elderly. . . The proposals being forwarded to Congress are directly related to the health and security of older Americans."

"The single greatest threat to the quality of life of older Americans is inflation. . . The particular vulnerability of the aged to the burdens of inflation . . . requires that specific improvements be made in two major Federal programs, Social Security and Medicare."

"My budget request to the Congress includes a full cost of living increase in Social Security benefits . . . effective in July, 1976."

"Income security is not our only concern. We need to focus also on the special health care needs of our elder citizens. Before Medicaid in 1966, per capita health expenditures for our aged were \$445 per year. In FY 1974 they were \$1218, an increase of 174%. Despite the dramatic increase in medical services made possible by public programs, some problems remain."

The President recommended that the Medicare program be modified to protect the elderly against catastrophic illness, to limit the effects of health care cost inflation and to create incentives to use hospital and medical services efficiently and economically.

Another component of the Administration's program for the elderly is the programs authorized by

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AID TO THE ELDERLY

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Ford (continued)

the Older Americans Act. An extension of the Act along with important amendments, was signed into law by the President in November, 1975. The President said, "The Administration on Aging and a number of Federal Departments and agencies have signed agreements which will help to make available to older persons a fair share of the Federal funds available in such areas as housing, transportation, social services, law enforcement, adult education and manpower - resources which can play a major role in enabling older persons to continue to live in their own homes."

Congressional  
Quarterly, 1/24/76

There is one program authorized by the Older Americans Act which the President does not want continued. The Administration feels that the Community Service Employment program which provides part-time community service jobs for workers 55 years or age and older should be terminated. The Administration feels that a separate program for the elderly is not needed as they can participate in the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA). The President has not requested any money to fund the program and, when Congress appropriated \$12 million in FY 1975 the President asked that the appropriation be rescinded. In 1976 Congress appropriated \$30 million for the program. In his budget request for FY 1977 the President has again asked for no funds for the Community Service Program.

Carter

Carter's Presenta-  
tion to the Platform  
Committee of the  
Democratic Party,  
June, 1976

Carter said in his presentation to the Democratic Platform Committee, "Senior citizens need adequate income, housing, health care, and transportation. More important, they need to . . . be assisted by a comprehensive program designed specifically for their benefit."

"I have proposed that the Social Security system be strengthened through an increase in the maximum earnings base and an increase in benefits in proportion to earnings before retirement . . . 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."

"To provide better housing construction for the elderly, we must rapidly expand housing construction for the elderly under Section 202 of the Housing Act, and we must strengthen the protection the elderly need against displacement by landlords seeking to convert rental housing into condominiums and cooperatives."

Carter Position  
Paper - "Senior  
Citizens", 12/75

"The federal government must adopt an active and aggressive policy to eradicate employment discrimination against older people and to encourage those who wish to continue working to do so."

"The rapid increase in health costs dramatically affects older people. The idea that they are protected by Medicare is false. All public health care programs combined pay only about 65% of their medical bills. This percentage has actually dropped since 1969 by about 5%."

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AID TO THE ELDERLY

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Carter (continued)

League of Women  
Voters Candidates'  
Forum, Miami, Fla.,  
3/2/76

In a discussion of the Social Security program, Carter was asked if he would support allowing retirees to earn an unlimited amount without reduction of benefits. Carter said, "No, it would cost too much, but let them earn up to \$3,600 at most."

Jimmy Carter on the  
Elderly and Social  
Security, undated

Of his plan for insuring a coordinated government policy toward the elderly Carter said, "I will establish in the Office of the President a Counselor on the Aging, to develop innovative programs for the elderly and insure that government action takes into account fully the concerns of the elderly."

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CHILD CARE

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Ford

Congressional  
Quarterly,  
2/28/76

On Feb. 23, President Ford sent the Congress a social services block grant proposal. He asked that Congress approve his proposal to combine day care and other social services programs for welfare recipients and lower-income families into a block grant program. The President's proposal would not require that states put up one-quarter of the funds for social services and would eliminate the controversial federal day care staffing standards for those centers receiving federal funds. The states would be required to set and enforce their own day care standards. [The legislation proposed by the President was introduced in the House on Feb. 26 (H.R. 12175) and hearings have been completed in the Public Assistance Subcommittee of Ways and Means. There has been no action on the Senate bill S. 3061 in the Finance Committee.]

Congressional  
Quarterly,  
3/20/76

House and Senate conferees reached a compromise on a bill authorizing an extra \$125 million through Sept. 30 to help states meet federal requirements for day care centers serving children of welfare recipients and other low-income families. It was expected that the President would veto the bill (H.R. 9803) if it passed the Congress.

Congressional  
Record, 4/6/76

The President on April 6, 1976, vetoed the Child Care Standards Act, H.R. 9803 calling it a bill which "would perpetuate rigid Federal child day care standards for all the States and localities in the Nation, with the cost to be paid by the Federal taxpayer."

"H.R. 9803 is the antithesis of my proposal. It would make permanent highly controversial and costly day care staff-to-children ratios. And it would deny the States the flexibility to establish and enforce their own staffing standards for federally assisted day care."

". . . I urge that the Congress extend, until Oct. 1, 1976, the moratorium on imposition of Federal day care staffing standards that it voted last October. This would give the Congress ample time

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CHILD CARE

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Ford (continued)

to enact my proposed Federal Assistance for Community Services Act, under which States would establish and enforce their own day care staffing standards and fashion their social services programs in ways they believe will best meet the needs of their citizens."

New York Times,  
5/5/76

On May 4 the House of Representatives voted 301 to 101 to override the President's veto of the Child Care Standards Act.

Washington Post,  
5/6/76

On May 5 the Senate sustained the President's veto of the Child Care Standards Act. The vote was 60-34, three votes short of the required two-thirds.

Carter

Natl. Women's  
Political Caucus  
Answers, undated

"The United States is the only industrialized nation which does not have a public, comprehensive maternal and child health care program, or a national large-scale public child-care program. The enactment of a comprehensive child development bill to provide quality, non-profit child care must be one of our major national priorities. All Americans suffer from the present lack of a coherent national child-care policy. Over half the women welfare recipients cite the need to be at home with their children as the reason they need such assistance. If adequate care were provided for these children, many of these mothers would be able to work."

"I believe that parental and local control over child-care programs is essential to their success. As President, I intend to make sure that federal, bureaucratic intervention in such programs is kept to a minimum."

The Washington Post,  
"Carter on the  
Issues", 3/21/76

Carter would give "all revenue sharing to local governments, removing the prohibitions in the revenue sharing against being used for things like day care centers, education, preventive health."

Christian Science  
Monitor, 3/11/76

Carter favors strict enforcement of laws against sex discrimination and favors expansion of government child-care programs for working parents.

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HEALTH CARE

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Ford

State of the Union  
Address, 1/19/76

In his State of the Union message, President Ford rejected the idea of national health insurance but called for modification of Medicare to provide insurance against catastrophic illness. "Increasing health costs are of deep concern to all, and a powerful force pushing up the cost of living. The burden of catastrophic illness can be borne by very few in our society. We must eliminate this fear from every family."

"I propose catastrophic health insurance for everybody covered by Medicare. [The President's proposal was introduced on request by Rep. Duncan (R-Tenn.) but there has been no action on the bill, H.R. 12082.] . . . We cannot realistically afford Federally dictated national health insurance providing full coverage for all 215 million Americans. The experience of other countries raises questions about the quality as well as the cost of such plans."

Fact Sheet on the  
President's State  
of the Union Mes-  
sage, 1/19/76

President Ford said that there are several failings in the Medicare program: it does not provide protection against catastrophic illness and lacks adequate mechanisms to control inflation of health care costs. To correct these deficiencies, the President proposes that Medicare recipients pay 10% of hospital charges up to a maximum of \$500 per year and increases the deductible amount for physicians' charges but would institute an annual maximum of \$250. To control inflation of health care costs, the President's proposal sets reimbursement limits. Annual Medicare reimbursement increases would be limited to 7% for hospital costs and 4% for physicians' service charges in 1977 and 1978.

St. Petersburg Times,  
2/19/76

On his Medicare proposals Ford said, "I think the way to look at [it] is best put this way: Every person has seen a family . . . where there has been a catastrophic illness, where the costs are unbelievable. Very few people in our society have the funds available to take care of these extended illnesses that cost tremendous amounts of money."

"Under Medicare about 3-million people out of 24-million are affected by catastrophic illness. It was a choice between making sure that those people . . . were relieved of the financial and mental burden and putting a slight additional charge on the remainder . . . it is my feeling that they would be willing to pay a little more to get this guarantee of catastrophic illness care."

U. S. News & World  
Report, 3/1/76

Ford said, "We cannot realistically afford federally dictated national health insurance providing full coverage for all . . . I do envision the day when we may use the private health-insurance system to offer more middle-income families high-quality health services at prices they can afford and shield them also from catastrophic illnesses."

Congressional  
Quarterly, 1/31/76

On Jan. 28 the Senate joined the House in overriding the President's veto of the 1976 HEW Appropriation bill (H.R. 8069). The President had called the bill a "classic example of . . . unchecked spending". Most of the increase over the President's budget was in health care programs such as cancer research, maternal and child health, mental health, and alcoholism.

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HEALTH CARE

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Ford (continued)

Ford Message to the  
Congress, 2/25/76

Saying that Federal spending for health care had increased from \$5 to \$37 billion in a 10-year period for "a multitude of Federal programs," Ford said, "I am asking Congress to enact the Financial Assistance for Health Care Act which will consolidate Medicaid and 15 categorical Federal health programs into a \$10 billion block grant to the States."

"My proposal is designed to achieve a more equitable distribution of Federal health dollars among States and to increase State control over health spending. . . ."

". . . this legislation will achieve a more equitable distribution of Federal health dollars by providing funds according to a formula giving primary weight to a State's low-income population. . . . Let me emphasize that every State will receive more Federal funds in fiscal years 1977, 1978 and 1979 under the block grant than it received in fiscal year 1976."

"To assure accountability and responsiveness to the public, my proposal requires each State to develop an annual health care plan as a condition to receiving Federal funds."

Baltimore Sun,  
2/26/76

Ford declared that "consolidation of health programs is essential to continue our national progress in the field of health." [The services that would be consolidated include public health programs, community mental health centers, alcohol projects, maternal and child health, migrant health, family planning and emergency medical services.]

Concord Monitor,  
2/9/76

Campaigning in New Hampshire, the President was asked about cuts in federal aid for alcoholic rehabilitation programs. Ford said it was not a real cut, just an attempt to permit states to decide where to spend federal funds for health programs.

Carter

Baltimore Sun,  
6/16/76

Saying that national health insurance is one of the first two goals of his presidency, Carter said, "On welfare reform, national health insurance and so forth, I intend to be ready to go with that at the first of the year. I'll do as much as I can before the inauguration."

Carter's Presenta-  
tion to the Platform  
Committee of the  
Democratic Party,  
June, 1976

Carter said, "Our present health care system is in need of drastic reorganization." Carter's proposals include: "a national health insurance program, financed by general tax revenues and employer-employee shared payroll taxes, which is universal and mandatory."

"We must shift our emphasis in both private and public health care away from hospitalization and acute-care services to preventive medicine. . . ."

A second "major problem is to better utilize the health personnel available to us." And Carter said, "We must also reorganize the physical plant of our health care delivery system."

Another major thrust should be "to improve the delivery of health care and to bring care within the reach -- as well as the means -- of all our people."

HEALTH CARE

Carter (continued)

New York Times,  
4/17/76

Carter also called for improving the American system of medical care; specifically, he called for the streamlining of the "bureaucratic sprawl" of Federal health agencies. Carter said that the system would be phased in over a four-year period. His program differs slightly from the Kennedy-Corman bill in that it allows private administration of a "portion" of the program. Carter was unable to say how much his proposal would cost. He said that rates for both institutional care and doctor fees would be set in advance.

Face the Nation,  
CBS, 3/14/76

"There are two phases of a national, comprehensive, mandatory health insurance program that I'd like to reserve the right to decide later on, when I have more time to study it. I would presume that before the general election is over, if I am nominated, I'd spell it out specifically. But I would like to reserve the right to include the private sector, say, Blue Cross and Blue Shield, as a co-partner with the federal government in the administration of a national health insurance program. And as far as the exact percentages that would be derived from general funds, employees'

and employer contributions, that's another subject that I don't yet know about my exact stand, but I think that's not very important to the voters. What they want to know is, are we going to have a national, comprehensive, mandatory health insurance program. I'm committed to that, and will work hard as president to get it implemented."

Carter Position  
Paper - "Senior  
Citizens", 12/75

"Our health care delivery system must be restructured to hold down the cost of services, to make care available to those who do not find it available because of geography or income, and to improve the quality of medical care."

Carter points to programs of research and preventive medicine which he initiated in Georgia.

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DISCRIMINATION

Busing/Equal Employment Opportunity/ERA  
Fair Housing/Voting Rights

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Candidates generally support non-discrimination and the concepts of equal education, employment, and housing opportunities regardless of race or sex. Controversy, however, surrounds the various remedies, actual or proposed, for dealing effectively with these problems. To gain insight into candidates' views on these issues, Common Cause has outlined their positions on the following discrimination problems:

- Busing schoolchildren in order to achieve equal educational opportunity for minorities within the public schools is the most controversial discrimination issue in this campaign.
- Past progress in achieving equal employment opportunities for minorities and women is in danger of being eroded during this time of high unemployment.
- Both candidates support the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) passed by the Senate in 1972 and awaiting ratification by the states. The amendment states that "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."
- Fair housing issues are not only associated with race and sex discrimination in sales and rentals, but also with various bank lending practices and the role of government in providing adequate subsidized housing in low income areas.
- The protection of voting rights for minorities has long been an important issue in assuring adequate representation of minority groups in government.

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BUSING

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Ford

Presidential  
Documents, 4/9/76  
Transcript of News  
Conference 4/2/76  
at Milwaukee, WI

Q: Milwaukee has been ordered to integrate its public schools. Do you have any thoughts on how to achieve racial integration?

FORD: "Well, I have always believed that the constitutional right of equality must be protected by the courts of the land and by all other public officials. On the other hand, I do not believe that court-ordered, forced busing to achieve racial balance is the right way to get quality education."

"We have ample evidence that in those instances where it has been applied ... there has not been an increase in quality education. It is my belief that there is a better way to improve educational opportunities and, at the same time, to improve the integration of our society as guaranteed by the Constitution."

"The Esch Amendment, which was passed by the Congress in 1974 and signed by me, provides a series of steps whereby we can desegregate and, at the same time, improve educational opportunity with an emphasis on the neighborhood schools."

"I will not pass judgment on any one court order, because that is a responsibility of the judicial system, and I will, of course, under the oath of office that I took, have to enforce the law as decided by the courts."

Presidential  
Documents, 3/22/76  
Transcript of News  
Conference with  
Northern Illinois  
Newspaper Assn.

Q: Do you foresee any changes in the next four years that will change the stance of HEW or the courts on the busing issue?

FORD: "Of course, the problem is forced on the country under a judgment or a decision of the United States Supreme Court that ... it was a constitutional violation of the rights of individuals to perpetuate segregation in public school systems."

"Now, the courts make that judgment. Nobody in the executive branch can change that judgment. The problem is that when Congress has tried to change the laws to meet the problem, there is always the constitutional question involved ..."

"So, the courts, when they have used radical remedies, have torn the local communities' society asunder, but when the courts use a rational remedy for the solution of the constitutional issue, there is a great deal more acceptance by the community."

"Now, I have asked the Attorney General and the Secretary of HEW to submit to me any thoughts that they might have or recommendations they might have for what I or we in the executive branch might do. They submitted this a week or so ago. I asked them to take two or three of the suggestions and to refine them more precisely."

"... I think the final answer really comes in how the Federal courts interpret the Brown decision and utilize it in individual cases at the local level."

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BUSING

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Ford (continued)

Interview with Ford  
Boston Herald  
American  
2/4/76

Mr. Ford was asked: Exactly what do you advocate to bring about integration in the schools and reduce the racial tension in our city [Boston] -- and what actions will you take to achieve these goals?

Ford: "The first question we must answer is, what are we really trying to do by busing? All of us -- white, black, every American, in my opinion -- want quality education."

"I believe that quality education can be enhanced by better school facilities, lower pupil-teacher ratios, the improvement of neighborhoods and possibly by other alternatives. Accordingly, I directed the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, the Attorney General, and members of my staff to develop better methods of achieving quality education within an integrated environment for all children. The development of these alternatives is going on now."

Congressional  
Quarterly reprint  
of Ford Press  
Conference  
9/20/75

Mr. Ford was asked: ...you have been saying that there is a better way than busing to achieve quality education and suggested some better ways, such as improving facilities and the teacher-pupil ratio. Are you prepared to approve of more money to do things like that?

Ford: "We, of course, do have in the emergency school aid legislation and appropriations a substantial amount of money that is available, and we have made money available to Boston and we have -- if my memory is correct -- done the same in Louisville..."

Then Mr. Ford was asked: Mr. President, that requires a lot more money than just the emergency funds you talked about. Are you going to propose increases?

Ford: "I don't think it is going to require a great deal more money. Really, that is a very substantial sum, and it has been used up in Boston, and I believe it is being used in Louisville."

"It is not nearly as much money if you focus it in on the places where the tension is the highest, and the problem is the greatest, particularly if the courts follow the law, as was enacted by the Congress in 1974."

Washington Star,  
6/24/76

The Star reported that today President Ford sent the School Desegregation Standards and Assistance Act of 1976 to Congress. The legislation would: provide for busing as a limited and transitional remedy with a five-year limit (except for extraordinary circumstances); limit desegregation to specific schools within a system where discrimination is found rather than (school) district-wide; create a National Community and Education Committee to give advice and technical assistance to school districts in the process of desegregation.

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BUSING

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Carter

U.S. News &  
World Report  
5/24/76

Q: Do you favor busing to achieve school integration?

CARTER: "Mandatory busing, no. Voluntary transfers, yes. I do see a need, however, which I would honor, for the President to support the federal courts. And if the courts should rule differently from my own personal beliefs, of course I would support the federal courts. I do not favor a constitutional amendment to prohibit busing."

"Ultimately, I think the best solution is voluntary transfers for students who want it, and adequate representation of minority leaders in the administration of a school system."

Boston Globe  
Column by Carter  
2/26/76

"I do not favor mandatory busing of children from their home communities to distant schools against the wishes of the children. This well-intentioned idea has contributed little to the equalization of educational opportunity, has often resulted in a decreased level of integration over the long term, and has divided and sidetracked our efforts toward improving education for all children."

Jimmy Carter  
Presidential Campaign  
Issues Summary  
4/76

"Carter favors a four-point plan which was implemented in Atlanta during his administration [as Governor] and agreed upon by the NAACP and the SCLC: 1) Any child who wishes to be bused can be bused at public expense; 2) no child can be bused against the wishes of the child; 3) busing must contribute to increased integration; 4) black leaders must be represented at all levels in the decision making process of the school system (this element is missing from the Boston and Louisville plans).

New York Times  
4/2/76

In response to a Times question, Carter stated, "I favor school integration; I do not favor mandatory busing. The only kids who get bused are the poor children. I've never seen a rich kid bused. The rich parents either move or put the kids in private schools."

CBS  
Face the Nation  
3/14/76

Q: Governor, you tend to have it both ways on ...busing...by saying you are opposed to forced busing...but you would not attempt to amend the Constitution [on the issue]. Is that because you think you would fail to amend the Constitution, or do you have some philosophical complaint against any further amendments to the Constitution?

CARTER: "Well, I don't have any philosophical commitments that would be overriding....But, I would not favor trying to prohibit busing in the states of the country by passing a constitutional amendment. It would just re-open old wounds and old sores, and have every legislature bogged down in debating back and forth whether or not

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BUSING

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Carter (continued)

to try and prevent busing with a constitutional amendment. I think that is the wrong way to go about it. We [in the South] have successfully overcome that problem, and I think that Boston, and other places now, are 10-15 years behind the South. I think that eventually they will come basically to the Atlanta plan, which says voluntary busing is OK, but the blacks have to be adequately represented in running the school system."

Washington Post  
5/3/76

In an interview with the Connecticut Public Information Network, Carter was asked about a federal suit charging two private schools in Northern Virginia with discrimination for refusing to accept black pupils. He replied:

"I don't understand the federal court's effort now to open up every single private school in the nation to every kind of student who wants to be admitted whether it be on religious grounds, racial grounds or age." Carter told the Network that requirements for tax-exempt status for private schools are "adequate" to deter segregation.

"You get into ridiculous sorts of exclusionary things on the basis of age, race, sex and so forth. You know, you get into a situation where you can't have an all-girls school, an all-boys school," Carter added, "You can't have a school that would exclude 45-year-old men when the school is for kindergarten students. If you have a school that educates young Jewish students and if the federal court then says you have to admit Christian and atheist students as well, you're going a step further than the courts have ever tried."

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EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

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Ford

"Equal Rights  
Amendment"  
President Ford  
Committee  
2/24/76

"The President has directed the heads of departments and agencies to insure that all persons have an opportunity to compete on a fair and equal basis for employment and advancement in the Federal government."

Carter

"Jimmy Carter's  
Presentation to the  
Platform Committee  
of the Democratic  
Party"  
Undated

"...[W]e should enable the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to function more effectively and expeditiously in employment discrimination complaints. Its backlog is a major problem in enforcing laws guaranteeing non-discrimination in employment."

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EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

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Carter (continued)

New York Times  
5/5/76

"I believe in insuring that all Americans should have not only equal opportunity, but should also have compensatory opportunity if, through my influence or yours, they have been deprived of the opportunity of fully using their talents."

"You can provide equality of opportunity by law, but quite often, that is not adequate."

Even if applicants for a job were equally qualified, Carter said, if there had been an "identifiable" pattern of past discrimination against blacks, it would be legitimate and proper to give preference to an applicant from the harmed minority."

"Jimmy Carter's  
Presentation to the  
Platform Committee  
of the Democratic  
Party"  
Undated

"...[M]ore assertive steps are necessary to end discrimination against women. Today, in spite of the Equal Pay Act of 1963, the earnings gap between men and women is great. ... I support actions necessary to close this gap. I also support the need for flexible hours for full-time employees and additional employment of part-time persons, both of which will greatly aid women in their access to the market place."

"...[M]others who wish to enter or rejoin the work force after a long period of absence, should be given access to counseling and training programs to help them resume their careers."

"In addition, we must assure that ... laws prohibiting sex discrimination in credit, employment, advancement, education, housing and other endeavors are strengthened and strictly enforced..."

"Carter: Why This  
Democrat Should Be  
Our Next President"  
Campaign literature  
Undated

"In many ways, older Americans have been treated as second class citizens. The government must adopt an active and aggressive policy to secure continued increases in Social Security payments, provide quality health care to those who need it, and eradicate employment discrimination against those older persons who want to continue working."

Time  
3/8/76

On inauguration day (for governor 1970) in Atlanta, Carter announced that "the time for racial discrimination is over. No poor rural white or black person should ever have to bear the additional burden of being deprived of the opportunity of an education, a job or simple justice." Time Magazine also reported that Carter appointed blacks to posts at every level of state government.

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EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

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Ford

"Equal Rights  
Amendment"  
President Ford  
Committee  
2/24/76

"President Ford strongly supports the Equal Rights Amendment. He has called for its ratification by the requisite number of states in numerous speeches and addresses."

"The President has opened and will continue to open new doors to women, and pledges to continue to eliminate barriers which still exist for women's full participation in our society."

Carter

"Jimmy Carter's  
Presentation to the  
Platform Committee  
of the Democratic  
Party"  
Undated

"I am a strong supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). ... In addition we must assure that (a) laws prohibiting sex discrimination in credit, employment, advancement, education, housing and other endeavors are strengthened and strictly enforced; (b) strong efforts are made to pass federal legislation and guidelines to eliminate sex discrimination in health and disability insurance plans; (c) social security laws are revised to eliminate sex-related discrimination; (d) women have equal access to health care systems and voluntary family planning programs..."

Atlanta Journal  
and Constitution  
3/7/76

Based on direct quotes from Carter, the Atlanta Journal and Constitution reported that Carter advocates adoption of the equal rights amendment for women, but notes that even if the measure fails it has brought women together for the first time in effective organizations which will continue. "These networks of women working together for a common cause will inevitably bring about needed legal reforms; in fact, they are already producing such reforms," Carter says.

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FAIR HOUSING

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Ford

Washington Post  
4/14/76

The Post reported that Mr. Ford pledged to enforce open housing laws and other federal statutes that have increased housing opportunities for blacks and other minorities, at times drastically changing the ethnic makeup of urban neighborhoods.

President Ford  
Committee  
"Equal Rights  
Amendment"  
2/24/76

"Since becoming President, the legislation President Ford has signed include[s]: Housing and Community Development Act which includes a section prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex in housing and mortgage credit lending."

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FAIR HOUSING

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Carter

"Jimmy Carter's  
Presentation to the  
Platform Committee  
of the Democratic  
Party"  
Undated

"I strongly support federal legislation to prohibit the practice of red-lining [whereby certain neighborhoods are effectively blacklisted from receiving monies to build new housing or repair inadequate existing housing by federally-sponsored savings and loan institutions and the FHA. I believe that our platform should reflect a strong commitment to enforcement of the Open Housing Act of 1968 and the Community Development Act of 1974."

Los Angeles Times  
4/10/76

The Times reported that when Carter was asked about low-income scattersite housing in the suburbs by a New York Daily News reporter, Carter stated, "I see nothing wrong with the ethnic purity being maintained. I would not force a racial integration of a neighborhood by government action. But I would not permit discrimination against a family moving into the neighborhood."

Later in a telegram to Vernon Jordan, executive director of the National Urban League, Carter said that he was "totally committed to a policy of open housing for all citizens."

"As President, I would fight for the fullest implementation of the existing civil rights and open housing legislation, just as vigorously as I did as governor of Georgia."

"I recognize the desire of many members of various ethnic groups to live in neighborhoods predominantly occupied by those of a similar culture and social heritage. I would not favor the federal government initiating action aimed at forcing a particular ethnic or economic mix in such a neighborhood."

Los Angeles Times  
4/11/76

Carter has publicly apologized for what he said had been "an unfortunate choice of words." He said that he meant "ethnic character, ethnic heritage."

Jimmy Carter attempted to clarify his controversial "ethnic purity" remarks on housing in response to demands by Atlanta's mayor, Maynard Jackson. Carter answered several questions posed by the mayor:

Q: If a black family seeks to buy a house in an ethnic community which does not want them, should the federal government support and use its resources to support their right to purchase such a house?

CARTER: "Yes. The Housing Act of 1968 guarantees a black family that it may purchase a home in any neighborhood. I support this act and will see that it is effectively and fully enforced."

Q: Would you put the moral force of the President behind encouraging local communities to open housing areas to all those who wished to live there?

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FAIR HOUSING

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Carter (continued)

CARTER: "As I have mentioned, the Housing Act of 1968 requires that all Americans be permitted to live where they choose, without discrimination. While I cannot require communities to do that which I have no legal authority to do, I will not hesitate to make clear my conviction that all Americans should be made to feel welcome in all localities."

Q: Do you believe that property owners in an area have a right to determine who will be able to buy or rent in their area?

CARTER: "Under the law of the land, as embodied in the Housing Act of 1968, it is the family wishing to purchase or rent a home which has the right to do so where it chooses and can afford. Others cannot make that choice for the family."

Q: Would you encourage economic heterogeneity and racial integration by using federal initiatives whether or not federal funds are involved?

CARTER: "While I do not believe the government should mandate a particular ethnic or economic mix, I have always favored an open, integrated society, where false barriers did not separate person from person. This is a view I hold regardless of whether federal funds are involved or not. I fully support developments such as the Bedford-Pine community in downtown Atlanta, which is planned as a community to which people of all economic, racial and religious backgrounds will freely move and live. It is an exciting concept which will help break down the barriers which I have mentioned."

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VOTING RIGHTS

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Ford

Congressional  
Quarterly  
7/26/75

On August 6, 1975, President Ford signed the Voting Rights Act Extension Act which extended in select states bans on discriminatory laws which tend to discourage registration and voting by minorities and extended coverage to include language minorities. The week before the bill was signed, Congressional Quarterly reported the President's position on the bill. In a letter to Rep. Mansfield, Ford said his first priority was the act's extension and that to accomplish that goal he would accept a five-year extension, as his administration had recommended, or a ten-year extension, as provided in the House bill. But he also urged that the Senate make the act's protections apply to all the states, a position he had advocated in the House in both 1965 and 1970.

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VOTING RIGHTS

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Carter

"Jimmy Carter's  
Presentation to the  
Platform Committee  
of the Democratic  
Party"  
Undated

"I believe that the various Civil Rights Acts, including the Voting Rights Act, have had a tremendously positive effect on the South and the nation. They have opened up our society for the benefit of all. The guarantees of equal participation in the political process provided in the Voting Rights Act should be extended to all parts of the nation where minority representation and participation are inadequate, without in any way slackening enforcement in those areas already covered by the Act."

"I also support postcard registration for voting to broaden the opportunities for participation in our political process."

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CRIME, JUSTICE AND PERSONAL LIBERTIES

Deterring Violent Crime/Gun Control/Drugs/Abortion  
Administration of Justice/Criminal Code Revision

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The rising tide of violent crime over the last decade has forced virtually all candidates for public office to address this problem.

At the same time, public trust in the machinery of justice has been shaken by revelations of the use of law enforcement agencies for political purposes.

Common Cause has outlined the positions of Presidential candidates on crime, justice, and personal liberties in the following categories:

- Views on various methods of deterring violent crime, such as capital punishment, mandatory sentencing, and penal reform;
- Views on the regulation or prohibition of firearms, under the heading gun control;
- Views on drugs, both marijuana and "hard" drugs;
- Views on abortion;
- Views on how to ensure the non-partisan administration of justice by both the courts and the Department of Justice;
- Views on criminal code revision efforts, particularly S. 1-- a controversial bill to thoroughly revise the federal criminal code, currently pending in the Senate.

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DETECTING VIOLENT CRIME

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Ford

State of the Union  
Fact Sheet  
1/19/76

Ford favors mandatory minimum sentences in crimes involving handguns, in serious crimes like drug trafficking, kidnapping, hijacking, and for repeat offenders who commit violent crimes.

Ford Remarks at Fort  
Wayne, Ind. forum  
5/2/76

Ford has sent to Congress a mandatory sentencing bill for narcotics dealers. Under this bill, sentences are 3 years for a first offense, 6 for the second, with no parole permitted.

Press Release  
Vol. 1, No. 6  
(undated)

Ford favors the death penalty for the crimes of sabotage, espionage, treason, and murder. The maximum penalty should not be applied if there is duress, impaired mental capacity, or similar extenuating circumstances.

Christian Science  
Monitor  
June 15, 1976

Mr. Ford pins his hope of crime prevention on the example of "positive, swift, and just punishment." He believes "certainty of punishment prevents crime."

Carter

New York Times  
Magazine  
12/14/75

In response to a question about crime from a Florida voter, Carter replied, "I honestly believe - and you may not like my answer - that one of the best ways to cut down on crime is to cut down on unemployment . . . Your own son, if out in the street and unable to find work, might turn to crime."

Carter Press Release  
4/12/76

"My position on the death penalty was spelled out as Governor. It is retained for a few aggravated crimes like murder committed by an inmate with a life sentence. The penalty must be assessed by a jury and must be reviewed in each case by a three judge panel of the State Supreme Court. Since there has not been an execution since 1967 in the United States, the death penalty actually means ineligibility for parole consideration."

Interview with Cronkite  
CBS Evening News  
11/18/75

Carter says that controlling crime is a "tough question." He said, "I don't think that incarceration in prison is the answer. I've never seen a rehabilitated

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DETECTING VIOLENT CRIME

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Carter (continued)

result from long incarceration in prison. I think a streamlining of the -- of the court procedures, or an abbreviation of the trial procedure, assure punishment of a briefer period of time, administrative officers for the courts, an emphasis on prevention of crime in areas where crime is so rampant with not building jail houses, but having more concentrations of police officers; better lighting would help. But the overall, only solution that I can see to the crime problem, and it would be substantive, is the reduction of unemployment."

Press Release  
12/3/75

Carter claims credit for a "comprehensive judicial reform package" in Georgia.

Carter Position  
Paper (undated)

. . . [T]he federal government can provide a model for the states by revising our system of sentencing, eliminating much of the discretion given to judges and probation officers, insuring greater certainty in sentencing and confinement, and insuring a higher percentage of serious criminals being imprisoned.

We should upgrade the rehabilitation programs available to criminals while in prison.

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GUN CONTROL

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Ford

Press Release  
3/2/76

Ford favors prohibitions on the manufacture or sale of "Saturday-night" specials.

Christian Science  
Monitor  
June 15, 1976

At the same time, Ford is "unalterably opposed to the registration of gun owners and the registration of guns."

State of the Union  
Fact Sheet  
1/19/76

Ford proposes mandatory sentences for offenses involving use of a handgun, banning the import and sale of cheap handguns, strengthening current laws regarding the sale of handguns (no specific measures specified), and increasing the number of federal firearms investigators.

Boston Globe  
1/22/76

Ford has proposed a new crime control program to regulate the flow of handguns in eleven major cities. The details of the program have not been released.

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GUN CONTROL

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Carter

New York Times  
12/26/75

Carter favors registration of hand guns.

Press Release from  
National Council to  
Control Handguns  
2/26/76

Carter also favors banning of "Saturday Night Specials" and prohibition of gun ownership by anyone convicted of a crime involving a gun and by those not mentally competent. He opposes other restrictions on manufacture and possession.

L.A. Times  
2/21/76

Carter reiterated that he favored registration of handguns; prohibition of the sale of cheap handguns, the so-called Saturday night specials; no confiscation of guns now owned by people; no registration of rifles.

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DRUGS

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Ford

Washington Post  
Editorial 1/2/76

Ford endorsed the findings of the Domestic Council Task Force on Drug Abuse and promised to put its recommendations into effect. Included in that report, although not explicitly mentioned by Ford, is a proposal that possession of marijuana be decriminalized and that federal efforts be directed toward stemming the heroin traffic.

State of the Union  
Fact Sheet  
1/19/76

In his State of the Union address, Ford again endorsed the Task Force's report, stating that his budget includes funds for improved law enforcement, community treatment centers, regulation of diversion of legally produced drugs, increased employment for ex-addicts. Ford also advocates securing international cooperation to end the drug traffic.

Washington Post  
4/28/76

Ford favors mandatory minimum prison sentences and preventive detention for traffickers in "hard drugs."

DRUGS

Carter

Washington Star  
1/19/76

In response to a poll by NORML, Carter stated that he favored decriminalization of possession of small amounts of marijuana. Civil fines would be imposed instead. Carter does, however, favor retaining criminal penalties for sale or distribution.

Washington Post  
3/20/76

Carter says any change in marijuana laws should be done by the states; the federal government should stay out of the matter. Carter says decriminalization of marijuana use should be for the states to decide.

Carter Position  
Paper (undated)

"I support stiff penalties for drug pushers and expanded rehabilitation programs for drug addicts."

Baltimore Sun  
3/29/76

Carter would impose criminal sentences only on large traffickers in marijuana, not on the occasional user.

ABORTION

Ford

New York Times  
2/3/76

Ford criticized the Supreme Court as going "too far" in striking down state abortion laws. Ford, however, opposes a Constitutional amendment to overturn that decision.

He describes his position as "moderate." He opposes abortion "on demand" but believes that it is justified in cases of rape or where the life of the woman was at stake.

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Ford said that he would "of course, uphold the law as interpreted by the Supreme Court." But he also said that he favored a Constitutional amendment leaving to the states the task of redefining limits on abortion.

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Carter Press Release  
4/12/76

I think abortion is wrong. I don't think government should do anything to encourage abortion. I think abortion is the result of a failure of measures designed to prevent unwanted pregnancies and to induce the mother to carry the unwanted child through to delivery. I think we

"I think abortion is wrong. I don't think government should do anything to encourage abortion. I think abortion is the result of a failure of measures designed to prevent unwanted pregnancies and to induce the mother to carry the unwanted child through to delivery. I think we

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ABORTION

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Carter (continued)

ought to do everything to have better education, family planning, contraceptives, if desired. I don't favor a constitutional amendment to give to the states local option on the abortion issue. If, within the confines of the Supreme Court ruling, we could work out legislation with better family planning and adoption procedures, then I would favor it. I don't have any particular law to put forward."

Aurora Beacon News  
2/8/76

Carter opposes abortion but also opposes constitutional right-to-life amendments, as well as measures designed to assure local control over abortion. He said the Supreme Court's ruling is the law, and that as President he would support it. However, Carter outlined a four-point program of federal assistance to expand birth control information efforts, family planning clinics, new adoption procedures, and access to contraceptives.

Washington Star  
1/25/76

As Governor of Georgia, Carter signed a bill that allowed abortion after the 13th week if it was necessary to save the mother's life or if the pregnancy was the result of rape. It does not allow abortion in the last 13 weeks under these conditions, however.

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ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

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Ford

State of the Union  
Fact Sheet  
1/19/76

Ford would increase criminal justice manpower, namely prosecutors and judges. He also proposes the construction of four new federal prisons "to relieve existing overcrowding and provide humane places of incarceration for Federal offenders."

Carter

Carter Platform  
Committee Presentation

"All federal judges and prosecutors should be appointed strictly on the basis of merit without any consideration of political aspects or influence. Independent blue ribbon judicial selection committees should be utilized to provide recommendations to the President when vacancies occur, from which the President must make a selection."

Press Release  
(undated)

Carter favors appointing administrative officers to insure reduction in court dockets and trial delays.

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CRIMINAL CODE REVISION

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Ford

Ford Radio Speech  
Portland Oregon  
5/22/76

Ford finds some sections of S. 1 "unacceptable". He says, "There are some provisions in it that I think have to be modified, and maybe several that ought to be eliminated, and there are some that we want in it that aren't in it now." Mr. Ford has not specified which portions of the bill he opposes.

Carter

Carter Position  
Paper (undated)

"Federal criminal laws have not been codified and their development has been haphazard; an attempt to reform them is laudable.

"Unfortunately, the proposed "Criminal Justice Codification, Revision, and Reform Act of 1975" goes beyond what is needed and threatens to disrupt civil liberties guaranteed by the Constitution. The basic problem is the vagueness in the manner that many of the crimes are defined. For this reason, I oppose the bill."

Carter further criticizes S.1 for the "just following orders" defense and for making it illegal to release misclassified documents.

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INTEGRITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN GOVERNMENT

Abuses of Government Powers/Anti-Corruption Enforcement  
Government Secrecy/Special Interest Lobbying/Conflicts of Interest  
Campaign Finance Reform

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Recent public opinion polls show that government integrity and accountability are among the top concerns of the American people -- ranking with inflation, jobs, crime and energy.

To examine candidate positions on this issue, Common Cause has included their views on six subjects commonly associated with integrity and accountability in government:

- Abuse of Government Powers. Included here are candidate proposals for checking such abuses of power as the political use of the Internal Revenue Service, spying by the FBI on political opponents and journalists, and illegal domestic CIA activities.

- Anti-Corruption Enforcement. Under this heading are candidate proposals for making the Justice Department less vulnerable to political pressure and for strengthening government capacity to enforce anti-corruption measures.

- Government Secrecy. This category contains candidate positions on open meetings, the classification system and freedom of information. It focuses particularly on the Senate-passed "sunshine law" which would require open meetings in several executive agencies.

- Special Interest Lobbying. The main issue here is the candidates' positions on a proposed new lobby disclosure law. This legislation would require individual lobbyists and lobbying organizations to publicly report how much they spend and what they do to influence government decisions.

- Conflicts of Interest. Included here are candidate views on stringent regulations dealing with conflict of interest in the executive branch, together with their views on proposed enforcement procedures. Present practice has been sharply criticized, and reforms have been proposed, including public financial disclosure by government officials, limits on post-government employment in regulated industries and stronger enforcement.

- Campaign Finance Reform. This category includes candidate positions on the 1974 campaign finance act, the public financing of Congressional campaigns and enforcement by an independent commission. (The 1974 reforms upheld by the Supreme Court in January include: limits on contributions, the partial public financing of Presidential campaigns, disclosure of contributors, and an independent enforcement commission if Presidentially appointed.)

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ABUSE OF GOVERNMENT POWERS

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Ford

Ford message  
to Congress,  
2/18/76

On February 18, 1976, Ford issued an executive order which established a new chain of command and operational guidelines for the nation's intelligence agencies. He believes the order "will eliminate abuses and questionable activities on the part of the foreign intelligence agencies while at the same time permitting them to get on with their vital work of gathering and assessing information."

Executive Order  
on U.S. Foreign  
Intelligence .  
Activities  
2/18/76

The executive order:

--Gives the National Security Council responsibility for overall policy direction of national intelligence activities.

--Establishes a new Committee on Foreign Intelligence to manage the intelligence community. The Committee is chaired by the Director of the CIA and has jurisdiction over the budgets of intelligence agencies.

--Renames the Forty Committee as the Operations Advisory Group and expands its membership to include the Attorney General and Director of OMB. The Group authorizes secret intelligence projects.

--Creates a three-member Intelligence Oversight Board to monitor the performance of intelligence agencies and report periodically to the President and Attorney General on its findings.

--Sets limits on the physical and electronic surveillance of American citizens and on the collection and dissemination of information about them.

--Prohibits such practices as burglaries, drug tests on unsuspecting humans, and illegal uses of tax return information.

--Clarifies the responsibilities of executive agencies involved in foreign intelligence activities and prescribes rules of operation for them.

Ford message  
to Congress,  
2/18/76

In addition to the executive order, Ford has proposed legislation dealing with intelligence activities. His proposals would:

--Make "it a crime to assassinate or attempt to conspire to assassinate a foreign official in peace time."

--"Create a special procedure for seeking a judicial warrant authorizing the use of electronic surveillance in the United States for foreign intelligence purposes."

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ABUSE OF GOVERNMENT POWERS

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Ford (continued)

--Permit the opening of U.S. mail for intelligence purposes "under proper judicial safeguards."

Ford also urged Congress to "centralize the responsibility for oversight of the foreign intelligence community" into one joint committee. He said this would reduce "the risks of disclosure" and "facilitate the efforts of the Administration to keep Congress fully informed of foreign intelligence activities."

Washington Post,  
3/24/76

The Ford administration has proposed legislation that would require court warrants for domestic electronic surveillances for national security purposes. Under the legislation, warrants for wiretaps would be issued if the government could convince a judge that the target of the tap worked for a foreign government or was acting "pursuant to the direction of a foreign power" and was engaged or aiding someone engaged in "clandestine intelligence activities, sabotage, or terrorist activities." The taps could not last over 90 days, at which time they would have to be re-authorized by another court warrant.

Interview with  
Northern Illinois  
Newspaper Assoc.,  
3/12/76

When asked whether he believed the President has the right to break the law under certain circumstances, Ford replied: "I don't agree with it. I know of no experience that I have had that would bring about any violation by me of either the Constitution or the law, and I certainly don't contemplate violating either one."

Carter

Jimmy Carter,  
Code of Ethics  
Undated

Carter proposes that "requests to the IRS for income tax returns by anyone, from the President down, should be recorded. Access to this essentially private information should be strictly circumscribed."

"Maximum personal privacy for private citizens should be guaranteed."

Time,  
3/8/76

Time reports that Carter does not want to break up the CIA or curtail covert operations. However, he pledges to enforce corrective action against those who engage in illegal activities. "I will know what is going on and if there is any wrong doing, I will find out about it. I will tell the American people about it and will see to it that those responsible are punished."

Jimmy Carter,  
Code of Ethics  
Undated

"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."

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ANTI-CORRUPTION ENFORCEMENT

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Ford

Boston Globe  
7/20/76

Ford supports the creation of a permanent special prosecutor's office to handle any criminal charges against top government officials. The special prosecutor would be appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, for a three-year term and could be removed "only for extraordinary improprieties."

FEAA Newsletter,  
Feb. 1976

Ford has authorized the creation of a new Public Integrity Section within the Criminal Division of the Justice Department to handle all federal offenses involving official or institutional corruption.

Carter

Carter Statement  
to Democratic Plat-  
form Committee,  
undated

"The Attorney General of this nation must be removed from politics and given the full prerogatives, independence and authority of his or her own office, plus those allotted temporarily to the Special Prosecutor during the Watergate scandals. The Attorney General should be appointed without respect to political considerations and should be removed from office only for cause. The Attorney General and all his or her assistants should be barred from all political activity."

Washington Post,  
1/12/76

Under Carter's plan, the Attorney General would have a term of five to seven years. Congressional leaders would have to join with the President in removing an Attorney General before his term expired.

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GOVERNMENT SECRECY

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Ford

St. Petersburg  
Times, 2/22/76

"Ford has said: "Basically, I agree with the philosophy of the Sunshine Bill." The bill, which has passed both houses of Congress, would require certain federal agencies to open their meetings to the public. He added, however, that "there may be some meetings held by agencies or departments in the federal government where there would have to be confidentiality maintained."

"To summarize, I'd simply say that any meetings, generally, I think, should be open to the public. But I think there has to be some safeguard where you're discussing classified information that involves our national security."

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GOVERNMENT SECRECY

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Carter

Jimmy Carter,  
Code of Ethics,  
undated

Carter proposes the adoption of a broad open-meetings law which would cover both Congress and certain executive agencies. "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."

He also believes there should be "broad public access, consonant with the right of personal privacy,....to government files. Maximum security declassification must be implemented."

If elected, Carter has promised to "propose to the Congress that the members of my Cabinet appear regularly before both Houses, preferably in joint session, to answer questions from senators and representatives. I will also request that these sessions be available for live broadcast."

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SPECIAL INTEREST LOBBYING

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Ford

Common Cause has found no statement on this issue by President Ford.

Department of Justice,  
Hearings on Lobby Reform  
Legislation, before the  
Senate Committee on Gov't  
Operations  
May 15, 1975

In testimony before the Committee, Deputy Attorney General Harold R. Tyler, Jr. stated that "The Department of Justice supports an improved, strengthened and clarified lobbying law...We...have strong apprehensions about...extension of the Lobbying Act's coverage to include Executive Branch activity, the provisions...which require logging of outside contacts by persons of Grade GS-15 or above in the Executive Branch, and certain aspects of both bills relating to tax-exempt and charitable organizations."

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SPECIAL INTEREST LOBBYING

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Carter

Jimmy Carter,  
Code of Ethics  
Undated

Carter supports implementation of a new lobby disclosure law. "The activities of lobbyists must be more thoroughly revealed and controlled, both within Congress and the Executive Department agencies. The new lobbying law should apply to those executive agencies and departments which are not now covered as well as to the Congress. Quarterly reports of expenditures by all lobbyists who spend more than \$250 in lobbying in any three month period should be required. The act should include any lobbying expenditures aimed at influencing legislation or executive decisions and should cover those who lobby directly, solicit others to lobby, or employ lobbyists in their behalf."

Carter also proposes that "all requests for special government consideration by private or corporate interests should be made public, and decisions should be made only on the basis of merit."

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CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

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Ford

St. Petersburg  
Times, 2/22/76

Ford has indicated that he would sign a new law requiring financial disclosure by federal officials. "I would personally approve of such a requirement by law," Ford said.

"I certainly believe in full disclosure. I've evidenced it by the very full disclosure of my financial situation."

Carter

Jimmy Carter,  
Code of Ethics  
Undated

Carter supports public financial disclosure by government officials. "Complete revelation of all business and financial involvements of all major officials should be required, and none should be continued which constitute a possible conflict with the public interest. I have released an audit of my personal finances and will do so annually throughout my term of office. I will insist that the same requirement apply to the Vice President and to those appointed to major policy-making positions in my Administration. As President, I will seek legislation to make such disclosure mandatory.

"Everyone who serves in a position of policy-making ought to reveal to the public his or her financial holdings, where his or her riches are invested, and

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CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

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Carter (continued)

where his or her special interests are so that no conflict with the public interest will exist."

"Absolutely no gifts of value should ever again be permitted to a public official. A report of all minor personal gifts should be made public."

Carter also supports restrictions on the interchange of personnel between regulatory agencies and the industries they regulate. "The sweetheart arrangement between regulatory agencies and the regulated industries must be broken up, and the revolving door between them should be closed. Federal legislation should restrict the employment of any member of a regulatory agency by the industry being regulated."

Carter, Why Not  
the Best?

"Regulatory agencies must not be managed by representatives of the industry being regulated, and no personnel transfers between agency and the industry should be made within a period of four full years."

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CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

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Ford

Presidential  
Document,  
Vol. 10  
No. 42, p. 1285  
10/15/74

When Ford signed the new campaign finance bill into law in October 1974, he stated his reservations about the provisions for public financing of Presidential campaigns and about possible constitutional problems with contribution and expenditure limitations. Nevertheless, he stated that "big money influence has come to play an unseemingly role in our electoral process. This bill will help to right that wrong."

At that time, Ford also stated his opposition to public financing of congressional campaigns.

Ford message  
to Congress,  
Congressional  
Record, 2/17/76

In view of the Supreme Court decision that the Federal Election Commission was improperly constituted by providing for Congressional appointment of its members, Ford asked Congress to move quickly to provide the FEC with members appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

"The American people can and should expect that our elections in this Bicentennial Year, as well as other years, will be free of abuse. And they know that the Federal Election Commission is the single most effective unit for meeting that challenge."

Noting his interest in amending the current law, Ford asked Congress to extend the FEC's life only through the 1976 elections so that "a full-scale review and reform of the election laws" would begin in 1977.

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CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

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CARTER

Jimmy Carter,  
Code of Ethics,  
Undated

Carter believes that "public financing of campaigns should be extended to members of Congress." The present law provides only for the partial public financing of Presidential campaigns.

"Fines for illegal campaign contributions have often been minimal. They should be at least equal to the amount of the illegal donation."

# # #

INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS AND NATIONAL SECURITY

Overview/Arms Control and Nuclear Proliferation/Problems of Developing Nations/Military Intervention and Covert Actions/Military Spending and Assistance/Detente/Middle East/Panama Canal

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It is an American tradition that conduct of the nation's foreign policy is largely the responsibility of the President. Congress, even in recent years, has played a secondary role. Foreign policy, national security and defense spending intermesh to such an extent that on major international problems they cannot be separated.

To gain insight into the Presidential candidates' view on international problems and national security, Common Cause has outlined their positions on the following topics:

Overview - In major speeches, the candidates have sometimes offered a broad picture of their approach to foreign policy, relating one aspect to another.

Arms Control, Nuclear Proliferation - The fate of the world may depend on effective control of the arms race, yet no subject is more tangled up in technicalities and national rivalries.

Problems of Developing Nations - Industrial countries and the developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America have confronted each other on a number of issues in recent years. Growing nationalism, economic and population problems are likely to produce even greater pressures for changes in U.S.-Third World relationships.

Military Intervention and Covert Actions - The Vietnam War and revelations of covert CIA actions against foreign governments and political figures have made the extent to which the United States should be involved in the political affairs of other nations a major campaign issue.

Military Spending and Assistance - The size of the defense budget, the new weapons that should or should not be developed, the amount of military assistance the United States should provide to friendly nations generate considerable controversy. The issue is linked at the local level to jobs in defense plants and shipyards.

Detente - It is a campaign cliché that detente should be a two-way street. The candidates argue about the extent to which the United States has given more than it got in return from the Soviet Union.

Middle East - Support of Israel's right to exist in peace is voiced by both candidates, but they differ on how as President they would move toward a peace settlement.

Panama Canal - Negotiations over the status of the canal continue, as does the controversy over the United States' negotiating stance.

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INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS & NATIONAL SECURITY: Overview

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Ford

State of the Union  
message,  
1/19/76

"Today, the state of our foreign policy is sound and strong.  
\* We are at peace -- and I will do all in my power to keep it that way.  
\* Our military forces are capable and ready; our military power is without equal. And I intend to keep it that way.  
\* Our principal alliances, with the industrial democracies of the Atlantic Community and Japan, have never been more solid.  
\* A further agreement to limit the strategic arms race may be achieved.  
\* We have an improving relationship with China, the world's most populous nation.  
\* The key elements for peace among the nations of the Middle East now exist.

"We should be proud of what the United States has accomplished....I say it is time we quit downgrading ourselves as a nation....The American people want strong and effective international and defense policies.

"In our Constitutional system, these policies should reflect consultation and accommodation between the President and Congress. But in the final analysis, as the framers of our Constitution knew from hard experience, the foreign relations of the United States can be conducted effectively only if there is strong central direction that allows flexibility of action. That responsibility clearly rests with the President.

"I pledge to the American people policies which seek a secure, just and peaceful world. I pledge to the Congress to work with you to that end."

New York Times,  
2/14/76

At a news conference in Orlando, Fla., Ford said his foreign policy would "keep our powder dry and not put our finger on the nuclear trigger."

Ford speech to  
Chicago Council on  
Foreign Relations,  
3/12/76

"Peace through strength has been my constant goal as your President" as well as in his Congressional career, Ford said. Maintaining a posture of unquestioned strength will permit the U.S. to "work to reduce confrontations and avoid nuclear catastrophe, but we must also be prepared to meet challengers wherever and whenever they occur."

Later in the speech Ford said, "I have warned Castro's Cuba and its Soviet sponsors against any further armed adventurism in either continent," Africa or Latin America.

In answer to a question, Ford said that if any of the NATO countries were controlled by Communist political forces NATO would be weakened. He said that relations with the People's Republic of China were developing constructively and "right on course" as prescribed in the 1972 Shanghai Communiqué.

Carter

Speech to the Foreign Policy Association, New York, 6/23/76

"Under the Nixon-Ford administration, there has evolved a kind of secretive 'Lone Ranger' foreign policy -- a one-man policy of international adventure...A foreign policy based on secrecy inherently has had to be closely guarded and amoral, and we have had to forego openness, consultation and a constant adherence to fundamental principles and high moral standards."

Speech to the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, 3/15/76

Carter emphasized the need for open discussions of foreign policy options with Congress and the American people. "In every foreign venture that has failed -- whether it was Vietnam, Cambodia, Chile or Angola, or in the excesses of the CIA -- our Government forged ahead without consulting the American people and did things that were contrary to our basic character," he said.

"Foreign Policy Statement," undated

"Secretaries of State and Defense and other Cabinet officers should regularly appear before Congress, hopefully in televised sessions, to answer hard questions and to give straight answers."

"Foreign Policy Statement," undated

"In the near future it is likely that issues of war and peace will be more a function of economic and social problems than of the military security problems which have dominated international relations in the world since World War II."

Recommendations to Democratic Platform Committee, 6/76

"In the future we must turn our attention increasingly toward the common problems of food, energy, environment, scarce resources and trade. A stable world order cannot become a reality when people of many nations of the world suffer mass starvation or when there are no established arrangements to deal with population growth, energy, or environmental quality. Better mechanisms for consultation on these problems that effect everyone on this planet must be established and utilized."

Speech to the Foreign Policy Association, New York, 6/23/76

Carter calls for a re-ordering of foreign policy priorities: high-level unilateral negotiations with communist powers must take second place to re-establishing close working relationships with democratic allies. "The time has come for us to seek a working partnership between North America, Western Europe and Japan. Our three regions share economic, political and security concerns that make it logical that we should seek ever-increasing unity and understanding...As we do away with one-man diplomacy, we must once again use our entire foreign policy apparatus to reestablish continuing contacts at all levels."

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ARMS CONTROL/NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

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Ford

Press Conference on  
Air Force One leaving  
Helsinki,  
8/2/75

Ford reported progress toward a SALT II agreement in his talks with Brezhnev but hinted that the most difficult problems were still to be negotiated.

Asked if he thought the American people needed much convincing about SALT, Ford said he was "convinced the American people want their President, their government, to make responsible and safe agreements. On the other hand, I do not believe the American people want their President to give more than he gets." In the negotiations and compromises, "I can assure you we will not give more than we get," he said.

White House  
Press Conference,  
11/3/75

At this press conference Ford announced the replacement of Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger with Donald Rumsfeld and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's relinquishment of his position as National Security Affairs advisor to the President.

A questioner referred to Schlesinger's lack of enthusiasm for Kissinger's SALT policies and asked if there would now be an acceleration toward an agreement. Ford replied: "We expect to pursue, but not under any pressure, negotiations with the Soviet Union in strategic arms limitations. We have differences. But I think it is in the national interest for us to continue to work toward a SALT II agreement. We are under no time pressure to do so."

Ford speech to  
Chicago Council  
on Foreign Re-  
lations,  
3/12/76

Ford said details of SALT II are still being negotiated, "and I cannot say when or even whether this will be completed." If a good agreement can be reached, "it will keep a lid on strategic arms for the next 7 to 10 years. It will compel the Russians to cut back on their current strategic military capability," he said.

Full verification of the agreements reached, Ford warned, will necessitate the U.S. maintaining the finest intelligence capability in the world.

Chicago Tribune,  
5/29/76

Ford signed a treaty hailed by the Administration as a major breakthrough in the SALT negotiations. The treaty provides limits on underground nuclear explosions and for reciprocal inspection by Soviet and American scientists of each nation's testing sites. Critics argued that the substance of the treaty meant little in the progress toward a comprehensive SALT agreement, but White House officials emphasized that reaching the testing agreement has created a new atmosphere of cooperation which may push broader negotiations off dead center.

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ARMS CONTROL & NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

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Carter

AP Feature, Concord  
(N.H.) Monitor,  
1/27/76

Carter's ultimate goal is the elimination of all nuclear weapons. "The first step is a concerted effort to halt the spread of nuclear weapons. The second step is to begin to reduce the numbers of nuclear weapons held by the major powers..." He is a former nuclear submarine officer.

Speech to U.N. Conference on Nuclear Energy and World Order,  
5/13/76

Referring to the SALT negotiations, Carter said: "Unfortunately, the agreements reached to date have succeeded largely in changing the buildup in strategic arms from a "quantitative" to a "qualitative" arms race. It is time, in the SALT talks, that we complete the stage of agreeing on ceilings and get down to the centerpiece of SALT -- the actual negotiation of reductions in strategic forces and measures effectively halting the race in strategic weapons technology.... The longer effective arms reduction is postponed, the more likely it is that other nations will be encouraged to develop their own nuclear capability."

Carter suggested that the United States and the Soviet Union should immediately "conclude an agreement prohibiting all nuclear explosions for a period of five years, whether they be weapons tests or so-called "peaceful" nuclear explosions, and encourage all other countries to join...A comprehensive test ban would signal to the world the determination of the signatory states to call ahalt to the further development of nuclear weaponry."

Regarding the spread of nuclear power facilities to developing nations, Carter argues that "the danger is not so much in the spread of nuclear reactors themselves, for nuclear reactor fuel is not suitable for use directly in the production of nuclear weapons. The far greater danger lies in the spread of facilities for the enrichment of uranium and the reprocessing of nuclear reactor fuel -- because highly enriched uranium can be used to produce weapons and because plutonium, when separated from the remainder of spent fuel, can also be used to produce nuclear weapons." The United States should, he says:

1. "(F)ulfill its decade-old promise to put its peaceful nuclear facilities under international safeguards to demonstrate that we too are prepared to accept the same arrangements as the non-weapon states;"
2. "(C)all on all nations of the world to adopt a voluntary moratorium on the national purchase or sale of enrichment or processing plants;"
3. Carter argues that "we should also give the most serious consideration to the establishment of centralized multinational enrichment facilities involving developing countries' investment participation;" and
4. Proposes that the United States, in cooperation with other countries, assure the developing nations of an adequate supply of enriched uranium to eliminate their need for processing plants.

Speech to the Foreign Policy Association,  
New York, 6/23/76

"We and our allies must work together to limit the flow of arms into the developing world...I am particularly concerned by our nation's role as the world's leading arms salesman...Can we be both the world's leading champion of peace and the world's leading supplier of the weapons of war? If I become President I will work with our allies, some of whom are also selling arms, to increase the emphasis on peace and to reduce the commerce in weapons of war."

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MILITARY INTERVENTION & COVERT ACTIONS

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Ford

Ford campaign  
response to  
N.C. Common  
Cause,  
3/17/76

The President's program for intelligence agencies will give the U.S. a strong and effective capability to collect and analyze intelligence and to conduct necessary covert action in a constitutional and lawful manner "never aimed at our own citizens."

Ford Message to  
Congress on CIA,  
2/18/76

Ford's message to Congress and his preceding press conference did not use the word "covert" but in the message Ford said of his Executive Order issued the same day: "I believe it will eliminate abuses and questionable activities on the part of the (U.S.) foreign intelligence agencies" without hindering their legitimate activities.

He asked Congress for legislation authorizing electronic surveillance in the U.S. for foreign intelligence purposes, upon a judicial warrant, and the opening of U.S. mail sent to or from suspected foreign agents engaged in spying, sabotage or terrorism, if a federal judge consents. Ford also asked Congress to make it a crime to plan or carry out an assassination of a foreign official in peacetime.

Ford Executive Order  
on U.S. Foreign Intel-  
ligence Activities,  
2/18/76

Section 5 of the Executive Order, entitled "Restrictions on Intelligence Activities," said that measures employed to get information about other governments "must be conducted in a manner which preserves and respects our established concepts of privacy and our civil liberties."

It prohibited physical surveillance of U.S. citizens and resident aliens except for specified exceptions; prohibited the CIA from performing electronic surveillance within the U.S. and said other agencies must operate within procedures approved by the Attorney General; prohibited infiltration within the U.S. of organizations except those composed primarily of foreigners believed to be acting for a foreign power; and specified the conditions under which information on domestic activities of U.S. persons could be collected.

Anthony Lewis,  
New York Times,  
2/19/76

Except for the ban on foreign assassinations, Ford's Executive Order proposes no substantive limitations on the kinds of activities that U.S. intelligence agencies may engage in abroad.

White House  
Press Conference,  
12/20/75

Ford described U.S. actions in Angola as "a legitimate covert operation where not one American military personnel was involved" and said it would be inappropriate to give any details about a "covert action case."

New York Times,  
3/13/76

Referring to the conflict in Angola during an Illinois press interview, Ford warned the Soviet Union and Cuba against "international adventurism" and said the United States had "all kinds of contingency plans for all kinds of potential action" by Moscow or Havana.

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MILITARY INTERVENTION & COVERT ACTIONS

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Carter

Speech to the Foreign  
Policy Association,  
New York, 6/23/76

"Democratic processes may in some countries bring to power parties or leaders whose ideologies are not shared by most Americans. We may not welcome these changes; we will certainly not encourage them. But we must respect the results of democratic elections and the right of countries to make their own free choice if we are to remain faithful to our own ideals. We must learn to live with diversity, and we can continue to cooperate, so long as such political parties respect the democratic process, uphold existing international commitments, and are not subservient to external political direction."

"Jimmy Carter on  
the CIA," position  
paper, undated

"We have learned that never again should our country become militarily involved in the internal affairs of another nation unless there is a direct and obvious threat to the security of the United States or its people...The CIA must operate within the law. The President must be willing to accept responsibility for the mistakes within the executive branch and to take specific steps to see that they do not recur. Intelligence is a service to allow foreign policy to be based on more complete information. The function of the intelligence agency should be to provide this service, not to overthrow governments or make foreign policy unilaterally or in secret."

UPI News Story,  
Lebanon (N.H.) Valley  
News, 1/7/76

"Our security is certainly not in danger in Angola, so I don't favor military involvement of this country in Angola at all."

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MILITARY SPENDING & MILITARY ASSISTANCE

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Ford

State of the Union  
Message,  
1/19/76

"Only from a position of strength can we negotiate a balanced agreement to limit the growth of nuclear arms. Only a balanced agreement will serve our interest and minimize the threat of nuclear confrontation."

Budget Message,  
1/21/76

"The amounts I seek will provide the national defense it now appears we need. We dare not do less. And if our efforts to secure international arms limitations falter, we will need to do more."

Wash. Star,  
3/13/76

Speaking at Wheaton College, Ill., Ford said:  
"This country is second to none in the capability that is required to protect our country. We do have the best trained, the best equipped, the best led, the most alert military force in the history of the United States."

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MILITARY SPENDING & MILITARY ASSISTANCE

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Ford (continued)

Ford speech  
to Chicago  
Council on  
Foreign Re-  
lations,  
3/12/76

In answer to a question, Ford said the U.S. had a declining capability in defense policy for 10 to 15 years, "spending a lesser and lesser amount in real dollars. I think the time has come that we must reverse that trend."

In the text of his speech Ford said he had submitted a "record peacetime defense budget request of \$112.7 billion" that represented an increase in real dollars of \$7.4 billion. That will improve the strength and readiness of the armed services "while trimming off all the fat that we can," he said, adding:

"Funds are included for 16 new Navy ships and continued modernization of the fleet, including nuclear-powered submarines and guided missile frigates. I will ask for more in the way of Navy shipbuilding if a current study shows we need a faster buildup. Work will continue on the Trident submarine, the B-1 strategic bomber, cruise missiles and ballistic missiles, a new combat fighter for the Army and for the Navy and the Air Force, and advance tanks, amphibious and infantry vehicles for the Army."

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Los Angeles  
Times, 4/11/76

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N.Y. Times,  
4/22/76

Speaking to the D.A.R., Ford denounced Reagan's charges that the U.S. had slipped behind Russia in military strength. The United States, Ford said, "is the single most powerful nation on earth -- indeed, in all history -- and we're going to keep it that way."

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Wall Street  
Journal, 5/5/76

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MILITARY SPENDING & MILITARY ASSISTANCE

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Ford (continued)

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Carter

Recommendations to  
Democratic Platform  
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MILITARY SPENDING & MILITARY ASSISTANCE

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Speech to the  
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"There is...a pressing need for us and our allies to undertake a review of NATO's forces and its strategies in light of the changing military environment. A comprehensive program to develop, procure and equip NATO with the more accurate air defense and anti-tank weapons made possible by the new technology is needed to increase NATO's defensive power. Agreement on stockpiles and on the prospective length of any potential conflict is necessary. We should also review the structure of NATO reserve forces so they can be committed to combat sooner."

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DETENTE

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Ford

White House  
Press Conference  
11/3/75

A reporter asked if the U.S. was getting as much out of detente as the Soviet Union is and Ford replied, after citing his strong national security record: "I believe that in our attempt to ease tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States, we have achieved a two-way street." He said he expected that policy to continue.

Year-end interview  
with selected  
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According to Ford, "Angola is an example of where I think detente has not worked the way it should work, and we strongly object to it." However, he said the framework of detente had worked well in SALT I and in the five-year grain agreement with the Soviet Union, and in the long run would help produce a settlement in the Middle East.

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DETENTE

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Ford (continued)

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"We must reiterate to the Soviets that an enduring American-Soviet detente cannot ignore the legitimate aspirations of other nations." Carter expressed his concern over the "long-range prospects for Rumanian and Yugoslavian independence" and the Soviet imposition on Poland "of a constitution that ratifies its status as a Soviet Satellite."

"We should make it clear that detente requires that the Soviets, as well as the United States, refrain from irresponsible intervention in other countries. The Russians have no more business in Angola than we have...We must likewise insist that the Soviet Union and other countries recognize the human rights of all citizens who live within their boundaries, whether they be blacks in Rhodesia, Asians in Uganda, or Jews in the Soviet Union."

Speech to the Foreign  
Policy Association,  
New York, 6/23/76

"We need to recognize also that in recent years our Western European allies have been deeply concerned, and justly so, by our unilateral dealings with the Soviet Union. To the maximum extent possible, our dealings with the communist powers should reflect the combined views of the democracies, and thereby avoid suspicions by our allies that we may be disregarding their interests."

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PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPING NATIONS

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Ford

Ford campaign document,  
"Foreign Aid," undated

In response to a question during the New Hampshire primary campaign, Ford said: "How do I feel about foreign aid?...I think the United States should have a responsible foreign aid program for two reasons: One, humanitarian. We ought to help people less well off than ourselves. Americans are generous, humane and we ought to help them. Secondly, I think we ought to in order to help ourselves in the implementation and execution of our foreign policy."

Boston Globe,  
3/11/76

In interviews during the Illinois primary campaign, Ford told reporters "the United States should have a meaningful presence in substantial parts of Africa. I don't believe we should stand idly by while the Soviet Union and Cuba seek control and dominate significant parts of Africa."

New York Times,  
5/26/76

Ford gave his backing to an \$85 million addition to his foreign aid bill to provide economic assistance to African nations. The original Administration bill contained no appropriations for Africa. An Administration memorandum on the aid supplement "is pursuant to Administration efforts to maintain peace and stability in Africa and to preclude foreign intervention, all of which is essential to American interests in that part of the world."

Carter

Speech to the  
Foreign Policy  
Association, 6/23/76

"We have all seen the growth of North-South tensions in world affairs, tensions that are often based on legitimate economic grievances... The democratic nations must respond to the challenge of human need on three levels. First, by widening the opportunities for genuine North-South consultations...Secondly, by assisting those nations that are in direst need...We can work to lower trade barriers and make a major effort to provide increased support to the international agencies that now make capital available to the Third World...It is also time for the Soviet Union, which donates only about one-tenth of one percent of its GNP to foreign aid -- and mostly for political ends -- to act more generously toward global economic development."

Carter calls for the establishment of a "World Development Budget" to coordinate development resources contributed by the United States, Europe, Japan and the OPEC countries.

Speech to the UN  
Conference on Nuclear  
Energy and World  
Order, 5/13/76

Carter proposes a "World Energy Conference" to pool international technological resources and, among other things, to "advise countries, particularly in the developing world, on the development of sound national energy policies... Many countries, particularly in the developing world, are being forced into a premature nuclear commitment because they do not have the knowledge and the means to explore other possibilities...More should be done to help the developing countries develop their oil, gas, and coal resources.

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PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPING NATIONS

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Carter (continued)

"Foreign Policy Statement," undated

There cannot be a stable world order "when people of many nations of the world suffer starvation" and there are no international arrangements to supply the world's food and energy needs.

Speech to the Foreign Policy Association, New York, 6/23/76

"I might add, on the subject of foreign aid, that while we are a generous nation we are not a foolish nation, and our people will expect recipient nations to undertake needed reforms to promote their own development. Moreover, all nations must recognize that the North-South relationship is not made easier by one-sided self-righteousness, by the exercise of automatic majorities in world bodies, nor by intolerance for the views or the very existence of other nations."

Carter response to Iowa Democratic Party Poll, 1976

"Emergency food aid should not be used as a diplomatic tool. However, in trade discussion, like with the Russians, we should strive to some diplomatic concessions in return."

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THE MIDDLE EAST

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Ford

Congressional Quarterly,  
9/6/75

President Ford hailed the Sinai agreement as an "historic" achievement and a "constructive contribution" to peace in the Middle East. He told Congress there would be "serious repercussions" if it did not approve the stationing of U.S. civilians as monitors in the Sinai.

White House Press Conference,  
9/16/75

The military hardware that the U.S. has supplied to Israel over the years protects the survival of that country but the secret agreement made in connection with the Sinai arrangement does not indicate a security treaty is in the works, Ford said.

Ford speech to Chicago Council on Foreign Relations,  
3/12/76

In answer to a question, Ford said he was optimistic that the difficult problems in the Middle East could be worked out with the help of the United States, "bearing in mind that this country is dedicated to the security and survival of the government of Israel, that this country believes that we have to work with some of the Arab nations to convince them of our good faith, and they can trust us."

Asked about restrictions Congress had placed on his foreign policies, Ford cited the Jackson amendment to the Trade Act as "a bad mistake." He said "the net result" of the amendment "was a slowdown in Soviet Jewish emigration to Israel."

Chicago Tribune,  
1/30/76

White House press secretary Ron Nessen acknowledged that the President's new budget calls for \$500 million less military aid to Israel in fiscal 1977 than the \$1.5 billion provided this year. He said Ford believed his program "is fully adequate to meet Israel's future security requirements."

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THE MIDDLE EAST

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Ford (continued)

Congressional  
Quarterly,  
11/29/75

Ford announced Nov. 20 that he was issuing regulations to prevent U.S. businessmen from complying with foreign boycotts based on racial or religious discrimination. He also directed that all assignments of U.S. personnel to posts abroad be made on merit and not on the exclusionary policies of host countries.

N.Y. Times,  
3/18/76

After a private meeting with the President, a group of American Jewish leaders said that despite their protests Ford intended to recommend lifting the military embargo against Egypt. They said he assured them that nothing more than the sale of six C-130 military transport planes was contemplated now.

The sources also said that Ford flatly denied a statement in Edward Sheehan's article in Foreign Policy magazine, based on briefings by Kissinger's staff in part, that asserted that the President had told President Sadat that the U.S. favored the return to Egypt of all the land seized by Israel in the 1967 war.

N.Y. Times  
3/9/76

In a radio interview Ford said six C-130s would not upset the military balance between Egypt and Israel and that because Egypt had cut off military relations with Russia, the U.S. should take a responsible look at Egypt's military needs.

Carter

Address on the  
Middle East,  
6/6/76

Carter believes that Secretary Kissinger's step-by-step approach to Middle East negotiations has reached the end of its usefulness. "Only face-to-face communications (between the Israelis and the Arab states) can build a trust and insure the accommodations that will be needed. By insisting on these kinds of talks, by demonstrating the seriousness of our commitment to peace, we can use our influence to prepare all sides for the best way out of this tragic conflict."

"I favor early movement toward discussion of the outline of an eventual overall settlement.... A limited settlement, as we have seen in the past, still leaves unresolved the underlying threat to Israel."

Congressional  
Quarterly, 11/29/75

Carter is against any U.S. military involvement in the Middle East and favors improved relations with the Arab states as well as with Israel.

Address on the  
Middle East, 6/6/76

"Israel has never sought American soldiers and in all of the many discussions I have had with top Israeli leaders...I have never heard an Israeli leader say they might some day need American troops...They seek only the tools for their own defense. We should continue to supply, in the full amount necessary, economic and mili-

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THE MIDDLE EAST

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Carter (continued)

tary aid so that Israel can pursue peace from a position of strength and power....We should continue to aid Israel's economy, which has been strained to the utmost by the burdens of defense."

"I said two months ago that I do not favor supplying offensive weapons to Egypt, and I still hold to that view. We should help Egypt obtain housing and jobs and health care for its people, not such offensive weapons as tanks and attack planes and missiles."

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PANAMA

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Ford

Issue paper from  
President Ford  
Committee, received  
3/17/76

The paper quotes Secretary Kissinger as saying in March 1975 that a new treaty with Panama is needed that will make the U.S. and Panama "partners in the operation of the canal" while protecting the essential national interests of both.

The paper says the Administration will consult closely with Congress on the treaty and that "The President has no intention of proposing to the Congress any agreement with Panama that would not protect our vital interests."

Ford reply to  
question in Fort  
Lauderdale, Florida  
2/13/76

Ford said the treaty negotiations "are dead-locked. I can assure you that I will not do anything that will jeopardize the defense of the canal or the operations of the canal."

Washington  
Post, 4/15/76

At a press conference in Dallas April 10, Ford said: "I can simply say -- and say it emphatically -- that the United States will never give up its defense rights to the Panama Canal and will never give up its operational rights as far as Panama is concerned."

After Congressmen asserted that this statement was contrary to secret testimony Ambassador Bunker gave on U.S. negotiation objectives, White House Press Secretary Nessen said that if the President had spoken in more detail, he would have referred to 1974 principles agreed to by the U.S. and Panama that would give Panama operational rights over the canal when the new treaty under negotiation terminates.

New York  
Times, 4/23/76

In an interview with Texas reporters, the transcript of which was released in Indianapolis, Ford said a halt to negotiations with Panama would provoke "bloody warfare" and "turn all of South and Latin America against the United States."

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PANAMA

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Ford (continued)

Baltimore  
Sun, 5/3/76

Speaking in Fort Wayne, Ind., the President promised that the U.S. will have "absolute control" over the canal during its "economic life," which he estimated at about 50 more years.

Carter

"Panama Canal,"  
statement, 5/14/76

"I am not in favor of relinquishing actual control of the Panama Canal or its use to any other nation. However, I think there are several things that can be done to eliminate the feeling among Panamanians that they were excluded in 1903. I would certainly be willing to renegotiate the payment terms on the Canal, and I would be willing to remove the word 'perpetuity' from the present agreement."

# # #

In preparing these profiles, Common Cause compiled issue materials released directly by the candidates and records of their positions as reported by major news media. Common Cause has communicated with each Presidential campaign seeking cooperation in this project. In addition, members of Common Cause in relevant states have monitored Presidential candidates' positions as reported by local media or stated in local campaign literature prepared by the candidates. All positions ascribed to the candidates are attributed by source and date, and all source materials are available for media use in the Common Cause Washington office. The profiles do not purport to be inclusive, but contain information gathered by Common Cause thus far in the campaign.

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MILITARY SPENDING & MILITARY ASSISTANCE

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Policy Association,  
New York, 6/23/76

"We need to recognize also that in recent years our Western European allies have been deeply concerned, and justly so, by our unilateral dealings with the Soviet Union. To the maximum extent possible, our dealings with the communist powers should reflect the combined views of the democracies, and thereby avoid suspicions by our allies that we may be disregarding their interests."

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PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPING NATIONS

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Ford

Ford campaign document,  
"Foreign Aid," undated

In response to a question during the New Hampshire primary campaign, Ford said: "How do I feel about foreign aid?...I think the United States should have a responsible foreign aid program for two reasons: One, humanitarian. We ought to help people less well off than ourselves. Americans are generous, humane and we ought to help them. Secondly, I think we ought to in order to help ourselves in the implementation and execution of our foreign policy."

Boston Globe,  
3/11/76

In interviews during the Illinois primary campaign, Ford told reporters "the United States should have a meaningful presence in substantial parts of Africa. I don't believe we should stand idly by while the Soviet Union and Cuba seek control and dominate significant parts of Africa."

New York Times,  
5/26/76

Ford gave his backing to an \$85 million addition to his foreign aid bill to provide economic assistance to African nations. The original Administration bill contained no appropriations for Africa. An Administration memorandum on the aid supplement "is pursuant to Administration efforts to maintain peace and stability in Africa and to preclude foreign intervention, all of which is essential to American interests in that part of the world."

Carter

Speech to the  
Foreign Policy  
Association, 6/23/76

"We have all seen the growth of North-South tensions in world affairs, tensions that are often based on legitimate economic grievances... The democratic nations must respond to the challenge of human need on three levels. First, by widening the opportunities for genuine North-South consultations...Secondly, by assisting those nations that are in direst need...We can work to lower trade barriers and make a major effort to provide increased support to the international agencies that now make capital available to the Third World...It is also time for the Soviet Union, which donates only about one-tenth of one percent of its GNP to foreign aid -- and mostly for political ends -- to act more generously toward global economic development."

Carter calls for the establishment of a "World Development Budget" to coordinate development resources contributed by the United States, Europe, Japan and the OPEC countries.

Speech to the UN  
Conference on Nuclear  
Energy and World  
Order, 5/13/76

Carter proposes a "World Energy Conference" to pool international technological resources and, among other things, to "advise countries, particularly in the developing world, on the development of sound national energy policies... Many countries, particularly in the developing world, are being forced into a premature nuclear commitment because they do not have the knowledge and the means to explore other possibilities...More should be done to help the developing countries develop their oil, gas, and coal resources.

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PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPING NATIONS

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Carter (continued)

"Foreign Policy Statement," undated

There cannot be a stable world order "when people of many nations of the world suffer starvation" and there are no international arrangements to supply the world's food and energy needs.

Speech to the Foreign Policy Association, New York, 6/23/76

"I might add, on the subject of foreign aid, that while we are a generous nation we are not a foolish nation, and our people will expect recipient nations to undertake needed reforms to promote their own development. Moreover, all nations must recognize that the North-South relationship is not made easier by one-sided self-righteousness, by the exercise of automatic majorities in world bodies, nor by intolerance for the views or the very existence of other nations."

Carter response to Iowa Democratic Party Poll, 1976

"Emergency food aid should not be used as a diplomatic tool. However, in trade discussion, like with the Russians, we should strive to some diplomatic concessions in return."

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THE MIDDLE EAST

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Ford

Congressional Quarterly,  
9/6/75

President Ford hailed the Sinai agreement as an "historic" achievement and a "constructive contribution" to peace in the Middle East. He told Congress there would be "serious repercussions" if it did not approve the stationing of U.S. civilians as monitors in the Sinai.

White House Press Conference,  
9/16/75

The military hardware that the U.S. has supplied to Israel over the years protects the survival of that country but the secret agreement made in connection with the Sinai arrangement does not indicate a security treaty is in the works, Ford said.

Ford speech to Chicago Council on Foreign Relations,  
3/12/76

In answer to a question, Ford said he was optimistic that the difficult problems in the Middle East could be worked out with the help of the United States, "bearing in mind that this country is dedicated to the security and survival of the government of Israel, that this country believes that we have to work with some of the Arab nations to convince them of our good faith, and they can trust us."

Asked about restrictions Congress had placed on his foreign policies, Ford cited the Jackson amendment to the Trade Act as "a bad mistake." He said "the net result" of the amendment "was a slowdown in Soviet Jewish emigration to Israel."

Chicago Tribune,  
1/30/76

White House press secretary Ron Nessen acknowledged that the President's new budget calls for \$500 million less military aid to Israel in fiscal 1977 than the \$1.5 billion provided this year. He said Ford believed his program "is fully adequate to meet Israel's future security requirements."

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THE MIDDLE EAST

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Ford (continued)

Congressional  
Quarterly,  
11/29/75

Ford announced Nov. 20 that he was issuing regulations to prevent U.S. businessmen from complying with foreign boycotts based on racial or religious discrimination. He also directed that all assignments of U.S. personnel to posts abroad be made on merit and not on the exclusionary policies of host countries.

N.Y. Times,  
3/18/76

After a private meeting with the President, a group of American Jewish leaders said that despite their protests Ford intended to recommend lifting the military embargo against Egypt. They said he assured them that nothing more than the sale of six C-130 military transport planes was contemplated now.

The sources also said that Ford flatly denied a statement in Edward Sheehan's article in Foreign Policy magazine, based on briefings by Kissinger's staff in part, that asserted that the President had told President Sadat that the U.S. favored the return to Egypt of all the land seized by Israel in the 1967 war.

N.Y. Times  
3/9/76

In a radio interview Ford said six C-130s would not upset the military balance between Egypt and Israel and that because Egypt had cut off military relations with Russia, the U.S. should take a responsible look at Egypt's military needs.

Carter

Address on the  
Middle East,  
6/6/76

Carter believes that Secretary Kissinger's step-by-step approach to Middle East negotiations has reached the end of its usefulness. "Only face-to-face communications (between the Israelis and the Arab states) can build a trust and insure the accommodations that will be needed. By insisting on these kinds of talks, by demonstrating the seriousness of our commitment to peace, we can use our influence to prepare all sides for the best way out of this tragic conflict."

"I favor early movement toward discussion of the outline of an eventual overall settlement.... A limited settlement, as we have seen in the past, still leaves unresolved the underlying threat to Israel."

Congressional  
Quarterly, 11/29/75

Carter is against any U.S. military involvement in the Middle East and favors improved relations with the Arab states as well as with Israel.

Address on the  
Middle East, 6/6/76

"Israel has never sought American soldiers and in all of the many discussions I have had with top Israeli leaders...I have never heard an Israeli leader say they might some day need American troops...They seek only the tools for their own defense. We should continue to supply, in the full amount necessary, economic and mili-

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THE MIDDLE EAST

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Carter (continued)

tary aid so that Israel can pursue peace from a position of strength and power....We should continue to aid Israel's economy, which has been strained to the utmost by the burdens of defense."

"I said two months ago that I do not favor supplying offensive weapons to Egypt, and I still hold to that view. We should help Egypt obtain housing and jobs and health care for its people, not such offensive weapons as tanks and attack planes and missiles."

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PANAMA

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Ford

Issue paper from  
President Ford  
Committee, received  
3/17/76

The paper quotes Secretary Kissinger as saying in March 1975 that a new treaty with Panama is needed that will make the U.S. and Panama "partners in the operation of the canal" while protecting the essential national interests of both.

The paper says the Administration will consult closely with Congress on the treaty and that "The President has no intention of proposing to the Congress any agreement with Panama that would not protect our vital interests."

Ford reply to  
question in Fort  
Lauderdale, Florida  
2/13/76

Ford said the treaty negotiations "are dead-locked. I can assure you that I will not do anything that will jeopardize the defense of the canal or the operations of the canal."

Washington  
Post, 4/15/76

At a press conference in Dallas April 10, Ford said: "I can simply say -- and say it emphatically -- that the United States will never give up its defense rights to the Panama Canal and will never give up its operational rights as far as Panama is concerned."

After Congressmen asserted that this statement was contrary to secret testimony Ambassador Bunker gave on U.S. negotiation objectives, White House Press Secretary Nessen said that if the President had spoken in more detail, he would have referred to 1974 principles agreed to by the U.S. and Panama that would give Panama operational rights over the canal when the new treaty under negotiation terminates.

New York  
Times, 4/23/76

In an interview with Texas reporters, the transcript of which was released in Indianapolis, Ford said a halt to negotiations with Panama would provoke "bloody warfare" and "turn all of South and Latin America against the United States."

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PANAMA

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Ford (continued)

Baltimore  
Sun, 5/3/76

Speaking in Fort Wayne, Ind., the President promised that the U.S. will have "absolute control" over the canal during its "economic life," which he estimated at about 50 more years.

Carter

"Panama Canal,"  
statement, 5/14/76

"I am not in favor of relinquishing actual control of the Panama Canal or its use to any other nation. However, I think there are several things that can be done to eliminate the feeling among Panamanians that they were excluded in 1903. I would certainly be willing to renegotiate the payment terms on the Canal, and I would be willing to remove the word 'perpetuity' from the present agreement."

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In preparing these profiles, Common Cause compiled issue materials released directly by the candidates and records of their positions as reported by major news media. Common Cause has communicated with each Presidential campaign seeking cooperation in this project. In addition, members of Common Cause in relevant states have monitored Presidential candidates' positions as reported by local media or stated in local campaign literature prepared by the candidates. All positions ascribed to the candidates are attributed by source and date, and all source materials are available for media use in the Common Cause Washington office. The profiles do not purport to be inclusive, but contain information gathered by Common Cause thus far in the campaign.