

Ford Themes

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THEMES ABOUT THE FORD RECORD

Preliminary Outline

THEME 1: Gerald Ford has always been a strong and consistent supporter of Richard Nixon; it should not be surprising that 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 already been proven false by IRS.
- 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 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 \$467,000 in back taxes that the Joint Congressional Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation determined Nixon owed. (Nixon has still failed to pay the \$160,000 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 assisted Ford in the Douglas impeachment inquiry and who was at the time under investigation by the Justice Dept. 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 even higher 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, E
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 Siberman, 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. John Perello (NLRB)
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)
9. Abbot Washburn (FCC)

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 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 vetoes 55 bills in a 2 year tenure; 10 of those vetoes were overridden; no president has ever 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) overridden)

--bill to extend health revenue sharing programs, family planning programs, community health centers, National Health Service Corps programs and assistance to nurse training ('75) (overridden)

--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)

--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 contrive 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 remove major constraints on political activities of federal employees imposed by Hatch Act.

(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, over 50 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), proposing rescissions after Congress has already indicated its intent for certain funds by rejecting his deferral proposals, and overlooking withholdings of budget authority in the hope the Comptroller General might be unable to find the withholdings and report them to Congress.

(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 ended 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 Dept 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 when 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 the Cabinet Depts and independent agencies from an effective role.

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

- 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 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 he assumed office, the staff size was ; when he left, it was 540 at a cost of \$

2. Ford

Although Ford initially pledged to lessen and decentralize the power of the White House staff and to 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 has 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: Not only has Ford failed to reduce the size of the White House staff, it was 540 when he assumed office, it is now . Ford has also increased the number of senior White House staff (those making more than \$), the number of outside consultants employed by the White House (at a cost increase of \$), the size of his Office of Communications (by), and the size of his Domestic Council.

(E) Wanton Squandering of Taxpayers' Money

1. Nixon

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 spends \$14 million a year to maintain 300 military golf courses in 19 foreign countries and U.S.

(4) Army spent \$200 million to purchase 14,000 amphibious trucks, which turned out to sink.

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 Administration

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

6. Federal Reserve Board

Recently built a bomb shelter for its staff, cost of \$7 million

7. Unnecessary grants

a. FAA - \$57,800 to study the body measurements of airline stewardesses.

b. National Science Foundation - \$46,100 to study the effect of scantily clad women on the behavior of Chicago's male drivers

c. NASA, NSF - nearly \$500,000 to determine under what conditions rats, monkeys and humans bite and clench their jaws.

d. National Institute on Alcohol Abuse-- \$102,000 to determine the effects of alcohol on aggressive behavior in sunfish.

e. Selective Service - \$98,029 to study the all-Volunteer Army concept in certain foreign countries two years after this country adopted the All-Volunteer Army.

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 justifications 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.

a. Nixon

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

8. A Sydney Herlong Jr., former member of House of Representatives to Securities and Exchange Commission
9. Walter Ploeser, former member U.S. House of Representatives, Ambassador to Costa Rica.
10. Catherine May Bedell, former member of House of Representatives, Ambassador to Costa Rica
11. Thomas S. Kleppe, former Representative from N. Dakota, as Administrator of Small Business Administration and Administrator of Federal Railroad Administration
12. Charlotte T. Reid, former member of House of Representatives to Federal Communications Commission
13. William L. Springer, former member of House of Representatives to Federal Power Commission
14. A. Linwood Holton, former governor of Virginia, to Assistant Secretary of State

b. Ford

1. Jack Eckerd, defeated for U.S. Senate in Florida, to Administrator, GSA
2. Peter Dominick, defeated for U.S. Senate in Colorado, to Ambassador to Switzerland
3. Richard Roudebush, defeated for U.S. Senate in Indiana, to Veterans Administration Administrator
4. Marlow Cook, defeated for U.S. Senate in Kentucky, to Director of Legal Services Corporation
5. Thomas Kleppe, defeated for U.S. Senate in North Dakota, to Secretary of Interior
6. Earl Ruth, defeated for re-election to House of Representatives to governor of American Samoa
7. Wilmer David Mizell, defeated for re-election to House of Representatives to Secretary of Commerce
8. William Scherle, defeated for re-election to House of Representatives to Assistant Secretary of Agriculture

9. LaMar Baker, defeated for re-election to House of Representatives, to consultant, Dept. of Transportation.
 10. Dan Kuykendall, defeated for re-election to House of Representatives, as adviser to Dept. of Transportation
 11. Tom Curtis, defeated for election to U.S. Senate in Missouri, to chairman, Federal Elections Commission
 12. Donald G. Brotzman, defeated for re-election to House of Representatives, to Assistant Secretary of Army
 13. Victor V. Vesey, defeated for re-election to House of Representatives, to Assistant Secretary of Army
 14. John Dellenback, defeated for re-election to House of Representatives, to Assistant Secretary of Army
 15. Vernon W. Thompson, defeated for re-election to House of Representatives, to Commissioner, Federal Elections Commission
 16. Thomas Meskill, former governor of Connecticut, to judge, U.S. Court of Appeals
 17. Stanley Hathaway, former governor of Wyoming, to Secretary of Interior
 18. Wallace Bennett, former U.S. Senator, to Board of Directors, Overseas Private Investment Corporation.
3. Appointments of Individuals Having Serious Conflicts-of-Interest
- a. Nixon
 1. Willie Mae Rogers, director of Good House-keeping 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. David Packard, chief executive officer of the Hewlett-Packard Co., one of the nation's largest defense contractors, to Deputy Secretary of Defense
5. Robert L. Johnson, vice president, McDonnell-Douglas Aircraft Corp., as Assistant Secretary of the Army
6. Reginald N. Whitman, Great Northern Railway official, as Federal Rail Administrator
7. Dr. J. Richard Lucas, chairman of Virginia Polytechnic Institute's Department of Mining Engineerings (which has close ties to the coal industry) to Director, Bureau of Mines (withdrawn)
8. Edward B. Miller, Chicago management lawyer, as chairman of the National Labor Relations Board.
9. Earl L. Butz, director of four corporate food producing chains, as Secretary of Agriculture
10. William J. Casey, former corporate director and prominent securities investor, as chairman of SEC
11. 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, as Director, Corporation for Public Broadcasting
4. Thomas Longshore, private utility executive, to TVA Board (rejected by Commerce 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. Vetoed the '74 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 is the consortium would be Bechtel Co., whose directors include former Nixon-Ford officials George Shultz and Casper Weinberger)

THEME 2: DESPITE THE CLAIMS OF GERALD FORD, THE RECORD IS CLEAR THAT HE HAS NOT RESTORED CREDIBILITY, INTEGRITY, OR OPENNESS TO THE WHITE HOUSE.

A. Failure to restore credibility: Ford has repeatedly misled the American people about his positions on key issues.

1. Pardon of Nixon

- a) 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.
- b) In granting a 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.

2. Pardon of other Watergate Defendants

- a) After the Nixon pardon, Ford's acting press secretary said that Ford had authorized him to say that pardons for all of the other Watergate defendants were under consideration.
- b) When the public outrage at that statement became apparent, Ford sent word that there had been a "misunderstanding," and pardons were not under consideration. It has since become clear that Ford was considering pardons.

3. Presidential Candidacy

- a) 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.

b) When he announced his candidacy in July of '75, Ford made no mention of his previous statements.

4. Financial Assistance to New York City

a) Ford repeatedly stated from May '75 through mid-November '75 that he opposed and ^{will} veto any bill designed to prevent a default by New York City.

b) When Ford asked Congress to approve Federal loans to NYC (Nov. 26), he confirmed that he had always intended to seek such assistance but first wanted to force New York State and New York City to increase taxes and layoff employees.

5. Tax Cut Extension - 1975

Tax Increase - 1974 -

a) 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

b) Ford agreed to and signed a tax cut extension of only \$8 billion for the first 6 months of '76, with no corresponding reductions in spending.

6. Common Situs Picketing

a) 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.

b) Ford vetoed the bill, stating that it had failed to gain the support of all parties to the common situs problem. Ford failed to mention that Reagan was urging a veto.

7. Anti-trust Bill (Parens Patriae)

- a) 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).
- b) Ford informed the Congress in March '76 that he did not support parens patriae and would veto such a bill. He said he had not been aware of the bill until March of '76. He did not state that the Business Roundtable, and many of his key fundraisers, had personally spoken to him about their opposition to the bill.

8. Meeting with Alexander Solzhenitsyn

- a) When Solzhenitsyn visited U.S. in mid-1975, the Ford White House said Ford did not have time to meet with Solzhenitsyn. The Ford White House subsequently admitted that the real reason for the refusal to meet Solzhenitsyn was Kissinger's belief that the Soviet Union would be offended by a meeting.
- b) Because of American public opinion, Ford was forced to invite Solzhenitsyn and to admit that he did have time for such a meeting. (Solzhenitsyn declined the belated invitation).

9. Panama Canal

- a) While campaigning in the Texas Primary, Ford said U.S. would never give us its defense or operational rights to the Canal; the purpose of the statement was to counter Reagan's charges.
- b) Ford subsequently admitted 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.

10. Criminal Codification Code - S.1

- a) In his Crime Message of 1975, Ford urged Congress to pass the Criminal Codification Code (S.1) with relatively minor amendments. For most of the 94th Congress, Ford's Justice Department has been pushing for passage of S.1.
- b) Because of the intense opposition that has emerged to S.1, Ford has recently ignored his earlier position and stated in his campaign literature that he opposes enactment of S.1.

11. Replacement of Moynihan as Ambassador to UN

- a) Ford repeatedly stated publicly that he fully supported Moynihan's actions as U.N. Ambassador and did not want him to leave that position.
- b) At the same time, Ford, along with Kissinger, privately claimed that Moynihan's strident defense of Israel was harmful to American diplomacy and did not have Administration support. Because of these private statements, made to such persons as James Reston, Moynihan felt he had no alternative but resignation.

B. Failure to restore integrity: In trying to secure and maintain political support, Ford has abandoned the public interest and concentrated instead on the pursuit of Republican voters, Republican delegates and Republican campaign contributors.

- 1. Appointments made immediately prior to certain primaries or as a result of promises made during those primaries: (While directing the Ford campaign, Callaway admitted publicly that the Ford campaign organization 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 believed the offers were clearly designed to keep him from seeking the nomination).

a) 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).

b) 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)

c) 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)

d) 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.")

e) 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)

f) 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. Announcement of grants or other promises 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) New Hampshire

Promised to keep open the Portsmouth Navy Yard

b) Florida

- Promised \$15 million mass transit grant for Miami, \$33 million defense contract for Orlnado 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.

c) North Carolina

Promised to prevent building of dam on the New River.

3. Favors granted to gain uncommitted delegates:

- 1) Richard Rosenbaum, New York Republican chairman, sought for months to obtain additional federal aid for New York and other uncommitted Norhteastern states. He now claims Ford has agreed to give additional aid to mass transit in Buffalo and to keep open part of the Griffis Air Force Base in Utica-Rome.
- 2) Edwin Schwenk, Suffolk County Republican leader, switched to Ford after Ford personally agreed to review the fiscal problems of the southwest Suffolk Sewer District.

4. Reversals of Policy to Meet Reaqan Challenge: Ford was shameless in reversing long-held positions to counter attacks from Reagan.

- a) Panama Canal - Ford stated in Texas primary, to counter the effectiveness of Reagan'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 has 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.
- 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 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) African Policy - Ford agreed to Kissinger's trip to Africa in spring of '76 and cleared the texts of Kissinger's remarks. Those texts supported "self-determination" in Rhodesia and South Africa (which is to say eventual black

majority rule). When news of Kissinger's delivering those texts reached Texas in the middle of the primary campaign, and were criticized by Reagan, Ford acted as if he had never heard of Kissinger or Africa. Although Ford did not directly disavow Kissinger's statements, he did not endorse them; he did not publicly meet with Kissinger upon his return; and he did nothing to implement the policy enunciated by Kissinger.

- f) 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, '76, 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 two weeks to appoint the new commissioners (though all but the chairmen were re-appointees).
- 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 claim of integrity.

Examples:

- a) Placing of Rogers Morton on White House payroll, solely to serve as liaison with Ford's campaign committee.
- b) Allowing Richard Cherey, 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 Cherey 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 position papers for Ford's campaign committee
- 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 foreign policy.
- 3) Use of Cabinet officials without proper 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 government employees, to Ford's campaign committee
- g) Recent doubling of size of staff of White House Office of Communciations, 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.
- 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.
- j) Providing favors or other entertainment to uncommitted delegates while charging the cost for such to the government (A charge to this effect has been made by an FEC attorney to the Attorney General). Examples:
 - a) Invitations to White House State dinner for Queen Elizabeth
 - b) Invitations to view Operation Sail from the USS Forrestal

Failure to Restore Openness

Despite his repeated assertions, Ford has not brought openness to the Federal government; to the contrary, his actions have repeatedly been designed to limit 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 or 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.

2. Failure to Support Financial Disclosure for Executive Branch

- a) Ford has repeatedly refused the request of Common Cause to sign an Executive Order requiring major Federal officials to make an annual financial disclosure.
- b) Ford has introduced a financial disclosure bill as part of his Watergate Reform Act package. However, his lobbyists are now trying to keep the House of Representatives from acting on the bill.

3. 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 '76, Ford invoked "executive privilege" on behalf of AT & T, so that AT & 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.

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. (Ford had earlier successfully suppressed the report of the Rockefeller Commission on Intelligence on CIA).

- 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 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: Ford has not made such legislation a priority (despite his professed desire for "openness"); he has not urged its enactment; and he has allowed Administration appointees to lobby for a weaker bill.
- b) When the sunshine legislation was recently considered 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 FRB 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 tell 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 '75, 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 Hoever) 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,"

Hoever

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 come 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: Ford was one of Nixon's top 4 roll-call vote supporters in 3 of the 5 Nixon years; in 1973, he was 2nd; 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

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 detentions.

(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

(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 - demanded 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 him 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 in history (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

GOP support

- (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 record 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) removing all remaining acreage limitations on rice, cotton and peanuts
- (5) 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 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 attractive 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 like 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 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 by either vetoing major appropriations bills, or attempting to impound 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 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)
- (c) When Nixon took office* —

FACTS:

- (a) The fact that the unemployment rate has been cut ignores the fact that the unemployment rate, which is actually 7.8%, 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%; for teenagers 18%; for black teenagers 34%; 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

- (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 efficiency with which it is being spent. Ford understandably makes no claim as to increased efficiency in 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) Since World War II, our relations with Japan have never been weaker. There is great resentment and embarrassment in Japan over Lockheed's bribing of Japanese officials. But more importantly, there is intense bitterness toward Ford's refusal for so long to provide the Japanese Parliament with the information requested about the Lockheed bribes.
- (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 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, PLC 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 over-turned)
- (7) Vetoed bill to make certain that rights-of-ways in National Wildlife Refuge System are most protective of environmental needs.

Recast as questions

LIGHTS ACTION CAMERA SESSION OF SATURDAY PREPARATION FOR DEBATE

1. Question of Character - Addressed to Governor Carter
 - Governor Carter it is very difficult to find where you stand. Examples:
 - a. You as Governor in 1973 supported and signed a bill in the Georgia Legislature which allowed abortion by anyone who wanted an abortion during the first six months of pregnancy. How does this square with what seemed to be a movement in your discussion with the Bishops toward acceptance of some form of constitutional amendment to ban abortion.
 - b. Inconsistencies might be questioned on your statements about ethnic purity and about support for civil rights.
 - c. Position that he might reorganize the federal government plus his avowed support for spending programs in the Democratic Platform which would bankrupt the budget.
 - d. Seeming equivocal statements for and against the Vietnam War at various times.
 - e. Avowed position as an efficiency expert ^{but} ~~and~~ as one who refused ^S to put price tags on his expensive ^{Democratic} ~~products~~ ^{proposals}.
 - f. Support for strong national defense, but his call for \$5-7 billion cut in the Defense budget without specifying exactly where those cuts would take place.
 - g. Stance and speech at the Democratic Convention as a populist as ^{compared} ~~opposed~~ to meetings with big businessmen in Atlanta and luncheon with fat-cats at 21 Club ^{and} in Los Angeles.
 - h. Stance as a Christian, born-again moralist as against his and his wife's admitting in September that their sons had smoked marijuana, not for ^a brief period but for continued period and that

they as mother and father were unable to dissuade them from using the drug. Also, his support for decriminalization of marijuana possession.

i. His declaration in favor of openness ⁱⁿ and government ^{and} sunshine laws as compared to refusal to disclose his 1970 contributors list. The seeming disavowal of the existence of such a list and the on-the-record statements of campaign finance officials that the list exists, was computerized, and Governor Carter was fully conversant ^{with} ~~of~~ the contents thereof.

j. His promising of expensive social programs supported by left-wing liberal Democrats and labor unions as against his later statement that of course he would put none of them into effect until after the budget was balanced several years hence.

~~Following~~ ^{He did this} on the day of a meeting with big businessmen in Atlanta, including the chief executive officer of AT&T, which now faces a Senate fight to take away its monopoly power, IBM, and General Motors.

k. His stance as a strong, positive leader as compared to his reluctance to comment upon specific legislation ^{pending} in the Congress.

l. His attack on Ford deficits ^{as compared to} plus his endorsement ^{in order to} for the benefit of ~~gaining~~ political support from Democratic pressure groups, of costly programs which would more than double that deficit.

m. His evasiveness in indicating that there are a number of important issues. ~~He himself would not favor a position as espoused by certain groups, but would in no way stand in their way.~~ ^{not oppose} For example: 14B Right to Work, ^{possible} constitutional amendment on abortion, common site ^{as} picketing,

Proposition 14 in California, where he has been on all sides of the issue, ~~an issue affecting farm labors.~~

n. His criticism of Ford's deficits while at the same time criticizing the vetoes which ^{kept} that deficit from growing in the face of irresponsible Congressional spending proposals.

o. His criticism of Ford's 55 vetoes while he himself vetoed more than 3 times that many ^{bill}s in Georgia while Governor.

p. His claim to be a can-do, tough executive against his claim that he could also ~~work~~ effectively, in a conciliatory way, with the Congress. His own acknowledgement is that his worst personal fault is stubbornness and rigidity.

q. His claim that he is a poor country farm boy while in fact his net worth is greater than that of President Ford's.

r. His proposal in his Democratic Convention acceptance speech to reform a tax code which he ^{called} ~~regarded as~~ a disgrace to the human race, yet his utilization of that tax code in this election year to take advantage of a [?](\$40,000) tax loophole at the expense of the Federal Treasury, which he laughingly referred to as a good reason to reform the tax code.

s. His claim that he was a courageous defender of civil rights in Georgia whereas in fact, while a member of the school board of Sumter County, he joined in a policy of paying sick leave to white teachers but not to blacks, and voted ⁱⁿ proposal to give only white teachers a pay raise rather than both blacks and whites. He also voted to approve starting dates for white and black schools so black students would be free to pick cotton. Newspaper accounts further indicate that during his 6-year tenure on the Board he made no recorded attempt to implement the Supreme Court order to end segregation which was issued two years before he joined the Board.

t. His statement in 1971 before the House Ways and Means Comm. against bypassing the state ~~and~~ in distribution of revenue ^{sharing} funds, ^{against} his 1976 proposal to do exactly that-- to bypass the states and go directly from the federal government to the city in the dispersal of federal revenue sharing funds.

u. His stance of toughness on law enforcement, but his statement to Walter Cronkite that he thought the way to control crime was, "I don't think that ^{incarceration in prison} ~~of prisoners~~ is the answer. The only solution that I can see to the crime problem would be to reduce unemployment."

20. His reversal on ~~the~~ peaceful use of nuclear energy. In March 1975, in Savannah he said that the most promising source of new energy ^{was} ~~is~~ the breeder reactor and suggested increased research efforts in that area. Yet 6 months later, in his position paper on energy, he said that use of breeder reactors would not be economically feasible and asked that emphasis on this project should be severely reduced and converted to a long-term, possibly multi-national effort.

21. His opposition to the growth of nuclear weapons and his support of the trident missile system.

22. His reassurances to businessmen at 21 Club, and at other meetings that he would be favorable to a free enterprise climate as compared to his ^{statement that} ~~news-directors-statement~~ "I can almost guarantee you that my appointments to regulatory agencies will meet with Ralph Nader's approval."

Recast as
questions

27. While the Governor of Georgia, his proposal to the General Assembly to pass a resolution urging Congress to approve a constitutional amendment on bussing and his subsequent opposition to such a constitutional amendment.
24. Governor Carter's proposal during the New Hampshire primary that the deduction of interest rates for home mortgages should be removed and his subsequent disavowal of that proposal.
25. ^{claim that} the proposition of when he was Governor he eliminated 278 state agencies, a claim which has not been fully supported, and ^{h(i)} a comparable claim ^{that} as president he would reduce ^{some} the 1900 federal agencies which have not yet been identified.
26. his statement that he did not favor a constitutional amendment to prohibit court ordered bussing because it would, "~~XXXXXX~~ unnecessarily create disharmony." While he was Governor however, he did advocate a constitutional amendment against bussing, "if it becomes evident that favorable action by the state legislature were not forthcoming. He said in 1972, " I would support a one-day absence from school which could be legally sanctioned as an expression of our feelings against bussing." Governor Carter often points to the Atlanta school desegregation plan described by [↑] former NAACP official as desegregating the schools at the administrative level, and claims that he had a role in shaping the plan, but according to Lonnie King, who ^{was} ~~is~~ president of the Atlanta NAACP when the plan was worked out, this was not the case. King says Carter attended one meeting of interested parties and that he told the meeting he would support the efforts of the 3 groups but that was the end of his contribution.

Recast as
questions.

27. His posture has a tough anti-drug man while Governor and his present statement that he ~~now~~ favors the decriminalization of marijuana.
28. The inconsistency of his position of strengthening the American family as against his endorsement of gay rights.
29. His pledge to balance the budget within his first term and to keep down spending programs as against his pledge that the federal government should pay a higher cost of public education than the current 11% (now 7%) ~~at our best estimate.~~
30. Despite his pledge to consolidate the bureaucracy and streamline administration his call for separate Department of Education) adding yet another ^{ies} new agency to those already existing. ~~And a separate Department of Consumer Advocacy,~~
31. His claim that he would respect the independence of the Federal Reserve Board as contrasted to another statement that he would bring the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board under the authority of the President.
32. His statement that the United States should not intervene militarily ~~or where covert means~~ ^{with and unnecessarily} in the affairs of other countries while at the same time supporting President Ford's use of military forces to rescue the crew The Mayaguez.
33. His emphasis upon hiring blacks in government and other positions, ^{while not speaking up against reverse} the reverse side of which is discrimination against qualified whites ^{who} ~~that~~ might otherwise fill those jobs.
34. His statement in Indiana that the Vietnam War was a racist war ~~and~~ ^{(he} said bombing of Vietnam would not have taken place had the inhabitants been white) against his earlier avowed support of that war.

(over)

10 a. His opposition to old discredited policies — especially the Vietnam war — and his reliance on advisers such as Henry Owen, Dean Rusk, Cyrus Vance, and Zbigniew Brzezinski, who were active in carrying out those policies and that war.

Recast as questions.

25. His early support of Spiro Agnew in the move to remove him from office, against his later criticism of Agnew and the Nixon Administration.

26. His position first to favor, then ~~not to favor~~ ^{expression of possible support of} the B-1 bomber system.

Economy

1. Governor you have indicated that you would cut wasteful programs. Specifically which programs would you cut and how much would be saved by such reductions?

2. You have indicated that you hope to achieve a fiscal dividend of \$60 billion dollars by 1980. How do you hope to achieve that, and through what programs would you seek a growth rate greater than 4% in order to achieve that dividend?

3. If you fail to achieve the necessary growth rate to lead to those revenues do you intend to scuttle ^{the} your social programs which you have proposed? Which of your programs would you first cut?

~~xxxxxxx~~

4. You have suggested a number of new social programs including health care, jobs, programs, and welfare reform. Specifically what priorities would you have in implementing these programs?

5. You have stated that you are in favor of comprehensive national health insurance? How much would ^{this} social program cost and how do you intend to pay for it?

6. It has been estimated by the Republicans that if a comprehensive national health insurance program were in force it would cost each taxpayer a 20% average increase in ~~their~~ ^{his} taxes and a total of \$70 billion. Would you favor a tax increase in order to pay for national health insurance and would one be necessary?

7. What role do you see ^{for} private carriers in a national health insurance program? You have talked about the necessity of

Recast as
questions.

phasing-in a national health insurance program. Can you tell me precisely what the first phase would be, ~~and~~ how much it would cost, and when you hope to implement it?

8. Wouldn't you want to start with the catastrophic coverage as ~~a~~ suggested by Senator Ribicoff and Senator Long?

9. What are your specific views on the Kennedy-Corman health insurance bill and the Long-Ribicoff health insurance bill?

Specialists argue that much of the current inflation in the health insurance industry is due to the fact that the government has been involved in health care, such as through Medicaid and Medicare. Wouldn't national health insurance simply inject the government further and lead to further inflation on an even broader scale.

10. In view of your criticism of the Medicaid program, what specific steps would you take to correct that problem?

11. In view of the Medicaid problems, why do you feel that the government should get into the ~~health~~ the health care system to an even greater extent than it now is in it?

12. You have complained about the fact that there are 300 government health programs administered by some 78 agencies. If this is the case, how do you propose to reorganize the health care delivery system of the federal government?

13. You seem to suggest a large consolidation of health-related agencies. Wouldn't this simply create a super-agency which would be as unmanageable as HEW and the one which you created, the Department of Human Resources, in the state of Georgia.

Recast as
questions

15. You have stated that you would phase-in national insurance according to ~~priority of~~ need. What do you see as the greatest need at this point, ^{what?} ~~which~~ should be phased-in and dealt with first?
16. Which health research items would you give top priority to in the allocation of budget funds?
17. You have stated that you favor an immediate federal takeover of the local share of welfare, with a phased reduction of the state's share. How much would such a program cost and how would those costs square with your desire to have a balanced budget?
18. Wouldn't this place an ever-increasing load on the federal government [?] ~~at a time when it appears unable to even be current?~~ ~~keep current?~~
19. You have proposed a uniform system of cash payments. Does this mean that such programs as housing, subsidies and food stamps would be ended? How and when?
20. The Democratic Platform states that a reformed income-maintenance system should provide an income floor both for the working poor and the poor ^{not in} ~~and~~ the labor market. Isn't this a guaranteed ^{annual} ~~national~~ income? How does this differ from the McGovern plan? Do you favor a guaranteed ^{annual} ~~national~~ income?
21. How do you avoid the problem, in developing a uniform system, of the disparities between large industrial states and small southern states in the amount of welfare benefits ~~of~~ which they pay. Isn't it unrealistic in light of current budgetary constraints to expect your plan to provide any financial assistance to hard pressed industrial states?

- 22-21. How can we afford to meet, at the federal level, the level of benefits now being paid by New York, which is at \$ ____ . Would your system simply create a new federal bureaucracy?
- 23-22. How do you expect to pay ^{for} a welfare reform program when most people feel that their taxes should not go toward paying people on welfare who can work?
- 24-23. Do you favor a guaranteed public job for those who are able to work, who are currently on welfare?
How much would such a program cost?
- 25-24. How does your welfare reform program differ from that proposed by President Nixon several years ago?
- 26-25. Do you support the ^Long tax-credit proposal and the WIN program [?] to be people that are on welfare to work?
- 27-26. How does your program take account of the working poor who are not on welfare, but who would come out worse ^{under your program} than those on welfare. ~~under your program?~~
- 28-27. You have recently been quoted in NEW YORK MAGAZINE as indicating that the federal government should take over ^{all} the state's share of welfare costs. How can this be afforded and how much would it cost?
- 29-28. Would you agree to federal financing of child care so that mothers on welfare would be able to work? If so, how much would such a program cost?
- 30-29. Do you support the Mondale ^{child-care} bill which has a \$15 billion price tag?
- 31-30. How do you have a welfare system which does not force the father out of the home without having guaranteed an annual income?

EDUCATION

1. Test scores have indicated that our children are now doing more poorly than in the past ^{with} ~~on~~ basic reading, ~~and~~ ^{and math} writing skills. What would you do to arrest such a decline? This has come at a time when the federal government has ~~blanketed~~ ^{heavily} been involved in financially supporting education.
2. You have indicated that the federal government is now ^{providing} ~~spending~~ an insufficient percentage of ~~the~~ total education costs. What share do you think is an appropriate share, how much would it cost to get to that share, and can this be afforded within the context of achieving a balanced budget?
3. Do you support the Perkins education bill which has a price tag of some \$15 billion?
4. An increasing number of Americans are finding it difficult to pay for the costs of higher education. What relief, if any, would you provide to such parents so that higher education can become more available?
5. Private colleges are in ^{bad} ~~increasing~~ financial straits. Is there anything that can be done to help them?
6. What is your position on aid to parochial schools?
7. Many analysts feel that the involvement of the federal government ^{has not been helpful} ~~in~~ the field of education. Do you feel that delivery of education ought to be more decentralized?
8. Do you favor a separate Department of Education and how does this square with your desire ^{not} ~~to~~ have more federal programs?
9. You obviously don't agree with those who state that there is very ^{little} ~~correlation~~ between the level of federal support to education and the quality of education. What are your views in this regard?

10. Do you favor HEW's requirement that TITLE IX Sex Discrimination be applied to private and other colleges?

11. President Ford proposed a consolidation of ~~education~~ programs and funding which the Democratic Congress rejected. Isn't President Ford's program closer to your idea?

12. ~~As~~ you are aware of a law suit ~~was~~ brought by a Mr. DeFunis contending that he had been discriminated against in ~~admissions~~ ^{law-school} because blacks were favored despite the fact that objectively they had less ^{academic} qualifications. What is your view on such problems and to what extent do ^{do} affirmative action in the education field discriminate against whites? Are white ethnic groups being discriminated against in admission standards? If there is such discrimination, what would you do about this?

13. How would you assess the impact of busing on our society? Has it been favorable or unfavorable? Has it ~~lead~~ to better education or not?

14. What are your views on busing? If you are opposed to mandatory busing, why do you not favor a constitutional amendment to ban school busing?

15. Do you favor President Ford's approach that legislation ought to be introduced to limit the length of time that any busing plan can be in effect?

16. You have often talked about the applicability of the Atlanta plan. Does it have any real application to other areas?

17. While you were Governor you proposed a resolution by which the Georgia legislature would go on record as asking Congress to pass a constiutional amendment banning busing, yet you now oppose such a constitutional amendment. Why have you changed your mind?

18. Given the current situation in Louisville and Boston, what as President would you do to help the situation there?

19. The Republican Platform calls for a constitutional amendment to permit non-sectarian prayers in the public schools. Do you support such an amendment? If not, why?

Would you support the efforts of those who seek such an amendment? ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

20. Would you favor a voucher system for education under which all parents, regardless of where they wish to send their children, would be entitled to a certain allotment to purchase that education?

The American Federation of Teachers says that a voucher system would destroy the American system of education. Do you agree with that?

21. What is your view about the role of the federal government, if any, in equalizing fiscal disparities between school districts in terms of the per-capita expenditure for children within school districts?

22. How would you generally address the current financial problems of parochial schools and private schools?

23. There are now a number of categorical education programs which the Republicans have suggested should be consolidated into one block grant for education. Do you support such a concept? Is such a proposal in line with your own suggestions?

24. There has been a recent report indicating that the emphasis on vocational education has had a detrimental affect on general education and basic math, writing and reading skills. What is your view in this regard, when you have stated that you favor expanding vocational opportunities?

25. What type of education do you feel should be emphasized?
Aren't we educating our children for jobs that often do not exist?

CITIES:

1. You have indicated a commitment to help rebuild our central cities. Could you outline your program? How much would your program cost?
2. The Democratic Platform indicates a massive commitment to rebuilding our cities. Wouldn't the cost of such an effort be enormous?
3. You have recently indicated that you favor aid to New York City but during the primaries you ^{were} opposed to such aid. Why have you changed your position and how much should the federal government spend to bail out New York City?
4. Would you in any way modify or reform the current financial package for New York City?
5. Would you support a similar effort to bail out other cities if they got in similar financial straits?
6. Many cities are being required to reduce their services because of fiscal constraints. Do ^{you} favor the federal government assisting them in providing such serv ices?
7. Should municipal employees such as fireman, garbagemen, policemen, ^{fireman} public school teachers ~~and the like~~, have ^{the} a right to organize bargain collectively, and to strike?

8. Cities must look to the property tax for their principle^{al} source of income, ~~yet~~^{this} ~~that~~ is becoming an exhausted revenue base. What can the federal government do to alleviate the property tax burden to provide alternative sources of revenue to the cities?
9. What would you do to strengthen neighborhood institutions ~~in~~ and neighborhoods in general.

HOUSING

1. Middle income families ~~now can~~^{can} increasingly ~~not~~ afford new housing. What would you do to aid them?
2. You made a remark during the Pennsylvania primary regarding the ethnic purity of neighborhoods. What did you mean by that? How does it square with your commitment to civil rights? Do you believe in the right of open housing?
3. Do you believe that public housing should be put in the suburbs and in other white areas?
4. YOU have talked about the need for interest subsidies, to assist Americans ^to own their own homes. What levels ~~would~~^{of} such subsidies ~~be~~^{should} provided and what would be the cost to the taxpayers of such subsidies?
5. You have been critical of the \$180 billion of income transfer payments that are made by the federal government. Which income transfer programs would you eliminate and at what ~~cost to~~ savings?

6. The average cost of a new home is now \$46,000, a price which outprices new housing for many Americans. What do you propose to do to help Americans afford new housing?

CRIME:

- as you told Walter Cronkite,*
1. Do you feel that unemployment is the principal cause of crime?
 2. What do you propose that the federal government ~~can~~ do to help reduce the crime rate?
 3. Do you favor S-1, the codification of the criminal code with its related provisions?
 4. What is your position on gun control?
 5. What specific steps would you take to end the traffic ~~and~~ ⁱⁿ narcotics?
 6. Is there anything that the federal government can do to reduce alcohol abuse, which has ^{again} become one of our more serious problems? *especially among young people?*
 7. Would you make any changes ⁱⁿ sentencing procedures?
 8. What reforms do you suggest in the penal reform area?
 9. Recent studies have indicated a very marginal benefit from rehabilitation programs for criminals. What does this indicate with respect to emphasis on rehabilitation?
 10. ~~Growing~~ Juvenile crime is growing at the most rapid rate of any type of crime. What can be done to stop the growth in such crime? ~~It~~

11. There have been many recent revelations regarding break-ins ^{and other abuses} by the FBI and ⁱⁿ ~~by~~ FBI Director Kelly's role in ~~these~~ ^{recent} break-ins.

There also has been general criticism of the administration of the FBI. What would you do about this problem? If President would you fire Mr. Kelley?

12. Do you favor ^{re}opening the investigation of the assassination of President Kennedy? Why, or why not?

13. What is your opinion about the effectiveness of the LEAA program? What reforms, if any, would you make in that program?

14. How do you deal with white-collar crimes, including pay-offs by major corporations to get business abroad?

15. What priority do you put on dealing with white-collar crime?

16. Would you have pardoned President Nixon and would you have pardoned any of the lesser officials in the Nixon administration involved in Watergate?

17. Do you think that those people who have been put in jail, such as Mr. Liddy and Mr. Hunt, have paid disproportionately for their share in the Watergate affair?

18. You have stated that you felt Mr. Nixon showed his guilt when he accepted the pardon, yet you have offered pardons to draft evaders indicating that ~~that~~ ^{this} neither proves nor disproves whether they did anything wrong. How do you square this view?

19. What are your views on the death penalty? Do you feel it has a deterrent affect?

20. What can be done to avoid future Watergates, particularly in light of your wishes to restore an honest government?

21. You have talked about the need for an active President, but isn't this one of the problems that we had with Watergate and isn't one of the lessons of Watergate that we need a President who ~~is~~ ^{has} ~~less in the lead?~~ ^{power at his command.}

22. There have been many revelations in the last few months indicating that some of our ^{law-enforcement and security} agencies have ~~been~~ themselves violated the law. Yet none of their officials have been prosecuted. Would you favor the prosecution of any officials involved in such transgressions?

23. To avoid the problems which we have had with the CIA and the FBI, how would you insure that they properly fulfill their role and do not exceed it? It isn't sufficient to simply rely on the President to say that he will look after this ^{What is your} ~~or do we not need~~ ~~anything more~~ specific plan?

24. Do you favor an independent special prosecutor?

25. Isn't it unrealistic to expect that the Attorney General could be removed from the political process and given some independent status? ^{Would this not disqualify able people simply because they participated in the democratic process?}

26. What do you think should be done about the penetration of the Teamsters Union by organized crime and what kind of new protections are necessary to avoid such penetrations ^{of labor unions} and, as well, abuses of their pension funds.

TRANSPORTATION

1. What is your position on the transfer of funds from the highway trust funds to mass transit?

2. What is your view on the necessity for deregulating the motor-carrier industry and specifically your view on the Ford proposal for motor-carrier deregulation?

3. What is your position on the deregulation of the ~~aircraft~~^{airline} industry?
4. Do you favor the landing of the SST, even on a trial basis?
5. What can be done to upgrade the Merchant Marines? How much would such a program cost? Is their justification for the current subsidy to the Merchant Marines?
6. You have indicated that you would like to shift the emphasis in the construction of ships to private yards. What impact would this have on employment and on ~~Merchant Marine~~^{maritime} unions.
7. The labor movement has supported the requirement that a certain percentage of goods move in American vessels. What is your position on this?
8. What can be done to revitalize the Merchant Marines?
9. What is your position on the need to improve inland waterways?
- ~~10. What is your position on the present Mathis bill to reduce~~

AGRICULTURE

1. What is your position on the present Mathis bill to reduce acreage allotment) for ~~peanut farmers~~ and support levels for peanut farmers?
Do you favor further reductions than those in the Mathis bill?
2. Did you ever receive peanut subsidies?
3. There has been a good deal of confusion over your statement that there would be no embargoes. Do you support embargoes and under what circumstances?
4. Do you feel that the American farmer has been given appropriate support levels by the Republican administration? If not, what support levels would you favor and at what cost?
5. What is your view about the ~~move~~^{move} toward the target price system undertaken by the Republicans?

6. Do you favor the creation of reserves. [?] ~~Do~~ such reserves have ^{je} a pressing effect on farm prices and income?
7. What size reserves would you favor if you do favor such reserves? ~~No~~
8. How much would ^{it} ~~the~~ cost be to establish ^{to} ~~this~~ type of reserves you are talking about?
9. What programs would you undertake to help maintain family farms? [?] and ^W what would be the cost ^{cost?} of such programs?
10. What can be done to prevent further ^{abuses} ~~uses~~ by the grain companies and the ^{type of} ~~type of~~ scandals that have been demonstrated in the last ^{few} ~~few~~ years?
11. How do you solve the problem that farmers seem to get a decreasing share of the nation's wealth regardless of ^{increases in} ~~consumer~~ ^{supermarket} prices?

CIVIL RIGHTS:

(See questions on open housing, affirmative action quotas)

1. Is there any further need for further civil rights legislation or is there enough on the books now. [?]
2. What is your view on ^{equal application} ~~the~~ extension of the voting rights act ⁱⁿ through the rest of the country? ^{How would you change it?}

ELDERLY:

1. What, if any, improvements would you make in the Social Security Program? ~~How much would such programs cost?~~
2. There is a large deficit now in the Social Security Trust Fund. What steps can be taken to reduce this deficit. [?] ~~How much?~~
3. Wouldn't your national ^{health} insurance proposal, if financed by the employer-employee shared payroll tax on top of the already

3. cont'd)

burdensome social usecurity tax, impose an enormous burden on the American people and on the Social Security system?

4. What improvements, if any, would you make in the Medicare system?

5. Do you have a comprehensive program for Senior Citizens?

If so, what does this program consist of?

VETERANS

1. Would you keep the VA system separate from ~~National~~ health insurance so that it would continue to serve only veterans?

2. Do you feel that VA Hospitals are in proper condition and what would you do to improve their condition?

3. What specific steps would you take and what would the cost of these steps be to improve benefits for Vietnam War veterans?

4. Do you favor continuation of GI education benefits for both war veterans and those who served but were not in war service?

ARTS.

1. Do you favor additional funding by the federal government to support the arts? If so, what additional funding do you support?

2. Would you support a national endowment for the arts and humanities?

~~3. YOUR post~~

ENERGY

1. Your position on nuclear power is somewhat unclear. You came out in favor of the Oregon initiative but were quoted as stating that you could not favor the one in California. What is your position in this regard?
2. In 1975 you stated that a breeder reactor should be a first priority in the nuclear area and that we needed a crash program in this regard, whereas six months later you ^{said} ~~opposed~~ such a ~~crash~~ program for the breeder reactor. ^{should have low priority.} Why did you change your position on this and what is your current position?
3. ^{A synthetic} ~~Ethetic~~ fuels bill is now pending in Congress. What is your position on this bill? Why have you taken such a position?
4. Today, three years after the oil embargo, we are now importing a greater percentage of our oil than we were prior to that embargo. What specific steps will you take to arrest the growing dependence ^{foreign} on oil? Don't you believe it is necessary to decontrol oil prices in order to encourage exploration and decrease consumption?
5. Don't you feel it is necessary to decontrol gas prices in order to discourage consumption and encourage exploration?
6. President Ford submitted a comprehensive energy program which the Democratic Congress rejected and, as a result, energy production is dropping and we have no comprehensive energy program. What is your comprehensive energy program and how much would it cost?
7. What specific steps would you take to increase oil and gas supply? ^{and} would these steps not require loosening environmental requirements which currently have a restrictive effect on such developments?
8. You have talked about the need to shift toward an emphasis on coal production and ^{that} a crash coal program ^{could} be instituted without an adverse environmental impact. ⁹ Do you support prompt exploration

9. (cont'd)

and production of off-shore oil? Do you favor the creation of a federal corporation for such exploration and production?

10. Which of the two ^{gas} pipeline alternatives do you give support?
 ~~in the natural gas area?~~
 the one across Canada or the one through Alaska?

11. Which offers the least environmental harm and the greatest opportunity for production?

12. What is your position on horizontal and vertical divestiture in the oil industry? Do you feel there is sufficient competition in the oil industry? ~~and~~ how do you attempt to deal with the absence of competition if you feel there is such?

13. Should the federal government play a more active role in the relations between American oil companies or multi-national oil companies and OPEC nations?

If so, what type of role?

14. Do you support a reorganization of the federal government with respect to the energy area?

15. Do you feel that ~~the~~ ^a crash program to reduce our dependence on foreign oil can be ~~done~~ ^{undertaken} without substantial environmental damage?

16. You have stated that if you had to choose between environmental protection and growth, that you would choose environmental protection. Is this still your position and how does that relate to the energy area? Is this position consonant with your position to reduce unemployment?

17. What specific programs do you have for conservation of energy?

18. Do you favor mandatory federal standards on building performances, automobiles and the like, to force such conservation measures?

19. Would you provide federal tax incentives such as tax deductions for home insulation and the like?

SOCIAL ISSUES

1. There have been conflicting reports about your position on ~~a~~ abortion. You have stated that you are personally opposed to abortion and opposed federal funds for abortion. If this is the case, how do you oppose a constitutional amendment banning abortion?

2. You stated in Iowa that certain types of national legislation might be passed to limit abortions. What did you mean by that and what did you have in mind?

3. Subsequently, you have indicated, after your meeting with the Bishops, that certain types of constitutional amendments might be acceptable to you and that you would not block efforts to pass other types of constitutional amendments. What types of constitutional amendments did you have in mind which would be acceptable to you? Wouldn't any type of constitutional amendment prohibit women from having their free choice as to whether they want an abortion?

4. Do you favor President Ford's position that he would leave the matter of abortions to the states through a constitutional amendment?
5. As Governor, you signed a bill which would provide for an abortion within the first six months at the request of a woman to her doctor. Why did you support such a bill? Wouldn't a fetus at six months be a person and wouldn't this be permitting murder?
6. What is your position on criminal penalties for marijuana?
7. If your emphasis on morality and the family, isn't your position in favor of decriminalization of marijuana contradictory?
8. How long did it take for your own sons to finally discontinue the use of marijuana after they began?

ENVIRONMENT

1. Can we maintain a healthy environment and at the same time build our energy resources?
2. Would you favor extension of the deadline by which automobile companies must meet certain air pollution requirements?
3. Do you support President Ford's plan to expand government resources for our national parks?

Is this a priority item with you and what would ~~the cost of~~ your program to improve the parks ^{cost?} be?
4. What can the federal government do to prevent the injection of poisonous substances such as ^{Keopone} ~~keopone~~ and Mirex into our ~~government reorganization~~ ^{environment}?

Government Reorganization

1. ~~When~~ can the zero-based budgeting which you have suggested really be applied on the federal level without the creation of another massive Bureaucracy?
2. You have suggested that you would reduce the number of federal agencies. Can you name one? ~~You~~ name several federal agencies which you would abolish?
3. You have talked about reducing the number of federal agencies from 1900 to 200. Can this be realistically done?
4. Isn't it true that in Georgia ^{that} despite your reorganization, your state budget went up each year, as did the number of total state employees?
5. It is stated that you had a ^{\$ 13 million} greater surplus when you left office than when you started, but that at the same time the debt of the state went up by \$205 million. Can you explain this?
6. What is your position on the sunset law? Can this be realistically accomplished? Which programs do you feel ^{should} ~~could~~ be abolished through a sunset review?
7. ~~Do~~ Do you favor continued cost-of-living increases for federal employees?
8. The mail system seems to be deteriorating rapidly. What would you do to reform the post office? Would you put the postal service back in the federal government or leave it as it is outside the federal government? Would you allow for private competition with the postal service, and if not, why not?

9. You have talked about reducing the number of federal agencies and yet you have proposed a separate department of education and a separate department of consumer affairs. Aren't these contradictory to your other statements?

10. Should the federal government provide funds to support consumer litigation against corporations and others?

11. It has been said that you have a very small, ^{inexperienced,} ^{Georgia-} ~~insulated Atlanta-~~ based inner group. If you talk about an open government, how can this be accomplished when you have such a situation?

~~xxx~~ Isn't this just like the Nixon crowd?

12. Don't you feel that, as a Democrat, you will be less able to hold down Congressional spending than President Ford, ^{who is} ~~through his~~ not subject to the same pressure groups?

13. You have criticized President Ford's vetoes. Which bills would you not have vetoed and what would have been the additional cost to the taxpayers had you not vetoed such programs?

14. Do you favor new legislation to prohibit deferrals and recisions of amounts appropriated by Congress? [?] ~~the 1974~~
~~impoundment act which prevented impoundments?~~

SMALL BUSINESS

1. What would you do to assist small businesses and how much would such a program cost?

Why should people vote for you rather than Pres. Ford

LIGHTS, ACTION, CAMERA SESSION OF SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 6

PREPARATION FOR DEBATE:

- ✓ 1. You as Governor in 1973 supported and signed a bill in the Georgia Legislature which allowed abortion by anyone who wanted an abortion during the first six months of pregnancy. How does this square with what seemed to be a movement in your discussion with the Bishops toward acceptance of some form of constitutional amendment to ban abortion?
- ✓ 2. There seem to be inconsistencies with your statements about ethnic purity and your support of civil rights. How do you explain this?
- ✓ 3. You have taken the position that you would ~~reorganize the~~ *balance the budget of the* federal government. Why then do you support the spending programs in the Democratic Platform which would bankrupt the budget?
- ✓ 4. There have been, seemingly equivocal statements for and against the Vietnam War at various times. Where do you stand now?
- ✓ 5. You have taken the position as an efficiency expert. Why then do you refuse to put price tags on the expensive Democratic proposals.
- ✓ *news* 6. You have supported ~~strong national defense~~ *full employment*, but now are calling for a \$5-7 billion cut in the Defense budget. Will you specify exactly where those cuts would take place *and how you will avoid loss of jobs*.
- ✓ 7. Your stance and speech at the Democratic Convention was as a populist, as compared to meetings with big businessmen in Atlanta and luncheon with fat-cats at 21 Club and in Los Angeles. How do you explain this?

- ✓8. You have taken the stance as a Christian, born-again moralist. Now you and your wife admitted that your sons have smoked marijuana, not for a brief period but for a continued period, and that you as mother and father were unable to dissuade them from using the drug. Are you supporting the decriminalization of marijuana possession?
- ✓9. You have declared that you are in favor of openness in government and sunshine laws. However, you refused to disclose your 1970 contributors list. The seeming disavowal of the existence of such a list and the on-the-record statements of campaign finance officials that the list exists, was computerized, and you were fully conversant with the contents thereof. Do you continue to favor openness in government and sunshine laws?
- ✓10. You have promised expensive social programs supported by left-wing liberal Democrats and labor unions. Why did you later state that you would put none of them into effect until after the budget was balanced several years hence? You did this on the day of a meeting with big businessmen in Atlanta, including the chief executive officers of AT&T, which now faces a Senate fight to take away its monopoly power, IBM and General Motors. Did they have some influence with you?
- ✓11. You have taken a stance as a strong, positive leader. Why then do you have a reluctance to comment upon specific legislation pending in the Congress?
- ✓12. You have attacked Ford's deficits. Why do you endorse the costly programs which would more than double that deficit? Is it in order to gain political support from Democratic pressure groups?

- ✓13. You have been evasive when indicating that there are a number of important issues you yourself would not favor as espoused by certain groups. Why then do you say that you would not oppose, for example, the 14B Right to Work, possible constitutional amendment on abortion or common situs picketing?
- ✓14. Where do you stand on Proposition 14 in California?
- ✓15. You have criticized Ford's deficits. Why do you criticize the vetoes which kept the deficit from growing in the face of irresponsible Congressional spending proposals?
- ✓16. President Ford vetoed 55 bills. How can you criticize this when you vetoed three times that many bills in Georgia while Governor?
- which not veto* ✓17. You claim to be a can-do, tough executive. You also say that you could work effectively, in a conciliatory way with Congress. How can you do both? Isn't it true, by your own acknowledgement that your worst personal fault is stubbornness and rigidity?
- ✓18. You often claim that you are a poor country boy. Your net worth is greater than that of President Ford's. Do you continue to claim that you are a poor country boy?
- ✓19. Your proposal at the Democratic Convention in your acceptance speech to reform a tax code which you called "a disgrace to the human race," conflicts with your utilization of that tax code in this election year to take advantage of a \$40,000 tax loophole at the expense of the Federal Treasury. I believe you laughingly referred to this as a good reason to reform the tax code. Do you have any comment on this?

20. You claim that you are a courageous defender of civil rights in Georgia, whereas in fact, while a member of the school board of Sumter County, you joined in a policy of paying sick leave to white teachers but not to blacks; you voted for a proposal to give only white teachers a pay raise rather than both blacks and whites; you voted to approve starting dates for white and black schools so black students would be free to pick cotton. Newspaper accounts further indicate that during your 6-year tenure on the Board you made no recorded attempt to implement the Supreme Court order to end segregation which was issued two years before you joined the Board. Are your actions as stated here accurate?

✓ 21. In 1971 you appeared before the House Ways and Means Committee saying that you were against bypassing the state in distribution of revenue sharing funds. Why now, in 1976, are you exactly for that -- to bypass the states and go directly from the federal government to the city in the dispersal of federal revenue sharing funds.

✓ 22. You recently said to Walter Cronkite, "I don't think that incarceration in prison is the answer to control crime. The only solution that I can see to the crime problem would be to reduce unemployment." Why have you taken the stance of toughness on law enforcement if you feel this way?

✓ 23. In March 1975 you said that the most promising source of new energy was the breeder reactor and suggested increased research efforts in that area. Yet 6 months later, in your position paper on energy, you said that use of breeder reactors would not be economically feasible and you asked that emphasis on this project should be severely reduced and converted to a long-term, possibly multi-national effort. Why this reversal on peaceful uses of nuclear energy?

- ✓24. You oppose the growth of nuclear weapons. Why then do you support the Trident Missile System?
- ✓25. You reassured businessmen at 21 Club and at other meetings, that you favored a free enterprise climate. Why did you later make the statement "I can almost guarantee you that my appointments to regulatory agencies will meet with Ralph Nader's approval?"
- ✓26. While you were Governor of Georgia, you proposed to the General Assembly that they pass a resolution urging Congress to approve a constitutional amendment on busing. How do you explain your subsequent opposition to such a constitutional amendment?
- ✓27. During the New Hampshire primary you proposed a deduction of interest rates for home mortgages should be removed. Why did you later disavow this proposal?
- ✓28. You have claimed that as Governor of Georgia you eliminated 278 state agencies, a claim which has not been fully supported; you have also claimed that as President you would reduce some 1900 federal agencies which you have not identified. Could you make some identification on where this reduction would take place?
- ✓29. You have stated that you did not favor a constitutional amendment to prohibit court ordered busing because it would, "unnecessarily create disharmony." While Governor, however, you did advocate a constitutional amendment against busing, "if it becomes evident that favorable action by the state legislature were not forthcoming." You said in 1972, "I would support a one-day absence from school which could be legally sanctioned as an expression of our feelings against busing". You often point to the Atlanta school desegregation plan described by a former NAACP official as desegregating the schools at the administrative

29. (cont'd)

level and claim that you had a role in shaping the plan. According to Lonnie King, who was President of the Atlanta NAACP when the plan was worked out, this was not the case. King says that you attended one meeting of interested parties and that you told the meeting you would support the efforts of the three groups, but that was the end of your contribution. How do you stand today on the possibility of a constitutional amendment on busing?

- ✓30. While Governor your posture was as a tough anti-drug man. Isn't your current statement favoring the decriminilization of marijuana?
- ✓31. Is your position to strengthen the American family conflicting with your endorsement of gay rights?
- ✓32. You pledge to balance the budget within your first term and to keep down spending programs. How, then, can you propose that the federal government should pay a higher cost of public education than the current 11% (now 7%)?
- ✓33. You have called for separate Departments of Education and Consumer Advocacy, adding new agencies to those already existing. How do you plan to carry out your pledge to consolidate the bureaucracy and streamline administration when you are adding agencies?
- ✓34. You have indicated that you would bring the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board under the authority of the President. How do you explain your claim that you would respect the independence of the Federal Reserve Board?

35. You ~~have~~ stated that the United States should not intervene militarily and unnecessarily in the affairs of other countries. Why then did you support President Ford's use of military force to rescue the crew on the Mayaguez?

✓ 36. You have emphasized hiring blacks in government and other positions. We have not heard you mention reverse discrimination against qualified whites who might otherwise fill those jobs. What thoughts do you have about this?

✓ 37. In Indiana you stated that the Vietnam War was a racist war. You said the bombing of Vietnam would not have taken place had the inhabitants been white. Why did you support that war?

✓ 38. Your opposition to old discredited policies -- especially the Vietnam war -- is known. Why then do you rely on advisors such as Henry Owen, Dean Rusk, Cyrus Vance and Zbigniew Brzezinski, who were active in carrying out those policies and that war?

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

✓ 40. ~~Object~~ ^{Fiscal} prudence, pledge.

✓ 41. Votes

ECONOMY

1. Governor you have indicated that you would cut wasteful programs. Specifically which programs would you cut and how much would be saved by such reductions?
2. You have indicated that you hope to achieve a fiscal dividend of \$60 billion dollars by 1980. How do you hope to achieve that, and through what programs would you seek a growth rate greater than 4% in order to achieve that dividend?
3. If you fail to achieve the necessary growth rate to lead to those revenues do you intend to scuttle the social programs which you have proposed? Which of your programs would you first cut?
4. You have suggested a number of new social programs including health care, job programs, and welfare reform. Specifically what priorities would you have in implementing these programs?
5. You have stated that you are in favor of comprehensive national health insurance. How much would this program cost and how do you intend to pay for it?
6. It has been estimated by the Republicans that if a comprehensive national health insurance program were in force it would cost each taxpayer a 20% average increase in his taxes and a total of \$70 billion. Would you favor a tax increase in order to pay for national health insurance and would one be necessary?
7. What role do you see for private carriers in a national health insurance program? You have talked about the necessity of phasing-in a national health insurance program. Can you tell

me precisely what the first phase would be, how much it would cost, and when you hope to implement it?

8. Wouldn't you want to start with the catastrophic coverage as suggested by Senator Ribicoff and Senator Long?

9. What are your specific views on the Kennedy-Corman health insurance bill and the Long-Ribicoff health insurance bill?

10. Specialists argue that much of the current inflation in the health insurance industry is due to the fact that the government has been involved in health care, such as through Medicaid and Medicare. Wouldn't national health insurance simply inject the government further and lead to further inflation on an even broader scale?

11. In view of your criticism of the Medicaid program, what specific steps would you take to correct that problem?

12. In view of the Medicaid problems, why do you feel that the government should get into the health care system to an even greater extent than it now is?

13. You have complained about the fact that there are 300 government health programs administered by some 78 agencies. If this is the case, how do you propose to reorganize the health care delivery system of the federal government?

14. You seem to suggest a large consolidation of health-related agencies. Wouldn't this simply create a super-agency which would be as unmanageable as HEW and the one which you created, the Department of Human Resources, in the State of Georgia?

15. You have stated that you would phase-in national insurance according to priority of need. What do you see as

the greatest need at this point? What should be phased-in and dealt with first?

16. Which health research items would you give top priority in the allocation of budget funds?

17. You have stated that you favor an immediate federal takeover of the local share of welfare, with a phased reduction of the state's share. How much would such a program cost and how would those costs square with your desire to have a balanced budget?

18. Wouldn't this place an ever-increasing load on the federal government?

19. You have proposed a uniform system of cash payments. Does this mean that such programs as housing subsidies and food stamps would be ended? How and when?

20. The Democratic Platform states that a reformed income-maintenance system should provide an income floor both for the working poor and the poor not in the labor market. Isn't this a guaranteed annual income? How does this differ from the McGovern plan? Do you favor a guaranteed annual income?

21. How do you avoid the problem, in developing a uniform system, of the disparities between large industrial states and small southern states in the amount of welfare benefits which they pay. Isn't it unrealistic in light of current budgetary constraints to expect your plan to provide any financial assistance to hard-pressed industrial states?

22. How can we afford to meet, at the federal level, the level of benefits now being paid by New York, which is at \$ _____?

Would your system simply create a new federal bureaucracy?

23. How do you expect to pay for a welfare reform program when most people feel that their taxes should not go toward paying people on welfare who can work?

24. Do you favor a guaranteed public job for those who are able to work, who are currently on welfare? How much would such a program cost?

25. How does your welfare reform program differ from that proposed by President Nixon several years ago?

26. Do you support the Long tax-credit proposal and the WIN program?

27. How does your program take account of the working poor who are not on welfare, but who would come out worse under your program than those on welfare?

28. You have recently been quoted in NEW YORK MAGAZINE as indicating that the federal government should take over all the states' share of welfare costs. How can this be afforded and how much would it cost?

29. Would you agree to federal financing of child care so that mothers on welfare would be able to work? If so, how much would such a program cost?

30. Do you support the Mondale child care bill which has a \$15 billion price tag?

31. How do you have a welfare system which does not force the father out of the home without having guaranteed an annual income?

EDUCATION

1. Test scores have indicated that our children are now doing more poorly than in the past with basic reading, writing and math skills. What would you do to arrest such a decline? This has come at a time when the federal government has been heavily involved in financially supporting education.
2. You have indicated that the federal government is now providing an insufficient percentage of total education costs. What share do you think is an appropriate share, how much would it cost to get to that share, and can this be afforded within the context of achieving a balanced budget?
3. Do you support the Perkins education bill which has a price tag of some \$15 billion?
4. An increasing number of Americans are finding it difficult to pay for the costs of higher education. What relief, if any, would you provide to such parents so that higher education can become more available?
5. Private colleges are in bad financial straits. Is there anything that can be done to help them?
6. What is your position on aid to parochial schools?
7. Many analysts feel that the involvement of the federal government has not been helpful in the field of education. Do you feel that delivery of education ought to be more decentralized?
8. Do you favor a separate Department of Education and how does this square with your desire not to have more federal programs?

9. You obviously don't agree with those who state that there is very little correlation between the level of federal support to education and the quality of education. What are your views in this regard?
10. Do you favor HEW's requirement that Title IX Sex Discrimination be applied to private and other colleges?
11. President Ford proposed a consolidation of educational programs and funding which the Democratic Congress rejected. Isn't President Ford's program closer to your idea?
12. You are aware of a law suit brought by Mr. DeFunis contending that he had been discriminated against in law school admission because blacks were favored despite the fact that objectively they had less academic qualification. What is your view on such problems and to what extent does affirmative action in the education field discriminate against whites? Are white ethnic groups being discriminated against in admission standards? If there is such discrimination, what would you do about this?
13. How would you assess the impact of busing on our society? Has it been favorable or unfavorable? Has it led to better education or not?
14. What are your views on busing? If you are opposed to mandatory busing, why do you not favor a constitutional amendment to ban school busing?
15. Do you favor President Ford's approach that legislation ought to be introduced to limit the length of time that any busing plan can be in effect?

16. You have often talked about the applicability of the Atlanta plan. Does it have any real application to other areas?

17. While you were Governor you proposed a resolution by which the Georgia legislature would go on record as asking Congress to pass a constitutional amendment banning busing, yet you now oppose such a constitutional amendment. Why have you changed your mind?

18. Given the current situations in Louisville and Boston, what as President would you do to help the situations there?

19. The Republican Platform calls for a constitutional amendment to permit non-sectarian prayers in the public schools. Do you support such an amendment? If not, why? Would you support the efforts of those who seek such an amendment?

20. Would you favor a voucher system for education under which all parents, regardless of where they wished to send their children, would be entitled to a certain allotment to purchase that education? The American Federation of Teachers says that a voucher system would destroy the American system of education. Do you agree with that?

21. What is your view about the role of the federal government, if any, in equalizing fiscal disparities between school districts in terms of the per-capita expenditure for children within school districts?

22. How would you generally address the current financial problems of parochial schools and private schools?

23. There are now a number of categorical educational programs which the Republicans have suggested should be consolidated into one block grant for education. Do you support such a concept? Is such a proposal in line with your own suggestions?

24. There has been a recent report indicating that the emphasis on vocational education has had a detrimental affect on general education and basic math, writing and reading skills. What is your view in this regard, when you have stated that you favor expanding vocational opportunities?

25. What type of education do you feel should be emphasized? Aren't we educating our children for jobs that often do not exist?

CITIES:

1. You have indicated a commitment to help rebuild our central cities. Could you outline your program? How much would your program cost?

2. The Democratic Platform indicates a massive commitment to rebuilding our cities. Wouldn't the cost of such an effort be enormous?

3. You have recently indicated that you favor aid to New York City but during the primaries you were opposed to such aid. Why have you changed your position and how much should the federal government spend to bail out New York City?

4. Would you in any way modify or reform the current financial package for New York City?

5. Would you support a similar effort to bail out other cities if they got in similar financial straits?
6. Many cities are being required to reduce their services because of fiscal constraints. Do you favor the federal government assisting them in providing such services?
7. Should municipal employees such as firemen, garbagemen, policemen, and public school teachers, have the right to organize, bargain collectively, and to strike?
8. Cities must look to the property tax for their principal source of income. Yet this is becoming an exhausted revenue base. What can the federal government do to alleviate the property tax burden to provide alternative sources of revenue to the cities?
9. What would you do to strengthen neighborhood institutions and neighborhoods in general?

HOUSING

1. Middle-income families increasingly cannot afford new housing. What would you do to aid them?
2. You made a remark during the Pennsylvania primary regarding the ethnic purity of neighborhoods. What did you mean by that? How does it square with your commitment to civil rights? Do you believe in the right of open housing?
3. Do you believe that public housing should be put in the suburbs and in other white areas?
4. You have talked about the need for interest subsidies, to assist Americans to own their own homes. What levels of such subsidies should be provided and what would be the cost to the taxpayers of such subsidies?

HOUSING (cont'd)

5. You have been critical of the \$180 billion of income transfer payments that are made by the federal government. Which income transfer programs would you eliminate and at what saving?

6. The average cost of a new home is now \$46,000, a price which outprices new housing for many Americans. What do you propose to do to help Americans afford new housing?

CRIME

1. Do you feel, as you told Walter Cronkite, that unemployment is the principal cause of crime?

2. What do you propose that the federal government do to help reduce the crime rate?

3. Do you favor S-1, the codification of the criminal code with its related provisions?

4. What is your position on gun control?

5. What specific steps would you take to end the traffic in narcotics?

6. Is there anything that the federal government can do to reduce alcohol abuse, which has again become one of our more serious problems, especially among young people?

7. Would you make any changes in sentencing procedures?

8. What reforms do you suggest in the penal reform area?

9. Recent studies have indicated a very marginal benefit from rehabilitation programs for criminals. What does this indicate with respect to emphasis on rehabilitation?

CRIME (cont'd)

10. Juvenile crime is growing at the most rapid rate of any type of crime. What can be done to stop the growth in such crime?

11. There have been many recent revelations regarding break-ins and other abuses by the FBI and in FBI Director Kelly's role in recent break-ins. There also has been general criticism of the administration of the FBI. What would you do about this problem? If President would you fire Mr. Kelly?

12. Do you favor reopening the investigation of the assassination of President Kennedy? Why, or why not?

13. What is your opinion about the effectiveness of the LEAA program? What reforms, if any, would you make in that program?

14. How do you deal with white-collar crimes, including pay-offs by major corporations to get business abroad?

15. What priority do you put on dealing with white-collar crime?

16. Would you have pardoned President Nixon and would you have pardoned any of the lesser officials in the Nixon administration involved in Watergate?

17. Do you think that those people who have been put in jail, such as Mr. Liddy and Mr. Hunt, have paid disproportionately for their share in the Watergate affair?

18. You have stated that you felt Mr. Nixon showed his guilt when he accepted the pardon, yet you have offered pardons to draft evaders indicating that this neither proves nor disproves whether they did anything wrong. How do you square this view?

CRIME (cont'd)

19. What are your views on the death penalty? Do you feel it has a deterrent affect?

20. What can be done to avoid future Watergates, particularly in light of your wishes to restor an honest government?

21. You have talked about the need for an active President, but isn't this one of the problems that we had with Watergate and isn't one of the lessons of Watergate that we need a President who has less power at his command.

22. There have been many revelations in the last few months indicating that some of our law-enforcement and security agencies have themselves violated the law. Yet none of their officials have been prosecuted. Would you favor the prosecution of any officials involved in such transgressions?

23. To avoid the problems which we have had with the CIA and the FBI, how would you insure that they properly fulfill their role and do not exceed it? It isn't sufficient to simply rely on the President to say that he will look after this. What is your specific plan?

24. Do you favor an independent special prosecutor?

25. Isn't it unrealistic to expect that the Attorney General could be removed from the political process and given some independent status? Would this not disqualify able people simply because they participated in the democratic process?

CRIME (cont'd)

26. What do you think should be done about the penetration of the Teamsters Union by organized crime and what kind of new protections are necessary to avoid such penetration of labor unions and, as well, abuses of their pension funds?

TRANSPORTATION

1. What is your position on the transfer of funds from the Highway Trust Fund to mass transit?
2. What is your view on the necessity for deregulating the motor-carrier industry and specifically your view on the Ford proposal for motor-carrier deregulation?
3. What is your position on the deregulation of the airline industry?
4. Do you favor the landing of the SST, even on a trial basis?
5. What can be done to upgrade the Merchant Marine? How much would such a program cost? Is their justification for the current subsidy to the Merchant Marine?
6. You have indicated that you would like to shift the emphasis in the construction of ships to private yards. What impact would this have on employment and on maritime unions.
7. The labor movement has supported the requirement that a certain percentage of goods move in American vessels. What is your position on this?
8. What can be done to revitalize the Merchant Marine?
9. What is your position on the need to improve inland waterways?

AGRICULTURE

1. What is your position on the present Mathis bill to reduce acreage allotments and support levels for peanut farmers? Do you favor further reductions than those in the Mathis bill?
2. Did you ever receive peanut subsidies?
3. There has been a good deal of confusion over your statement that there would be no embargoes. Do you support embargoes and under what circumstances?
4. Do you feel that the American farmer has been given appropriate support levels by the Republican administration? If not, what support levels would you favor and at what cost?
5. What is your view about the move toward the target price system undertaken by the Republicans?
6. Do you favor the creation of reserves? Would such reserves have a depressing effect on farm prices and income?
7. What size reserves would you favor if you do favor such reserves?
8. How much would it cost to establish the types of reserves you are talking about?
9. What programs would you undertake to help maintain family farms? What would such programs cost?
10. What can be done to prevent further abuses by the grain companies and the scandals that have been demonstrated in the last few years?
11. How do you solve the problem that farmers seem to get a decreasing share of the nation's wealth regardless of increases in supermarket prices?

CIVIL RIGHTS

(See questions on open housing, affirmative action quotas)

1. Is there any further need for further civil rights legislation or is there enough on the books now?
2. What is your view on equal application of the Voting Rights Act in the rest of the country? How would you change it?

ELDERLY

1. What, if any, improvements would you make in the Social Security program?
2. There is a large deficit now in the Social Security Trust Fund. What steps can be taken to reduce this deficit?
3. Wouldn't your national health insurance proposal, if financed by the employer-employee payroll tax on top of the already burdensome Social Security tax, impose an enormous burden on the American people and on the Social Security system?
4. What improvements, if any, would you make in the Medicare system?
5. Do you have a comprehensive program for Senior Citizens? If so, what does this program consist of?

VIETNAM - *Veterans*

1. Would you keep the VA system separate from national health insurance so that it would continue to serve only veterans?
2. Do you feel that VA Hospitals are in proper condition and what would you do to improve their condition?

VIETNAM (cont'd)

3. What specific steps would you take and what would the cost of these steps be to improve benefits for Vietnam War veterans?

4. Do you favor continuation of GI education benefits for both war veterans and those who served but were not in war service?

ARTS

1. Do you favor additional funding by the federal government to support the arts? If so, what additional funding do you support?

2. Would you support a national endowment for the arts and humanities?

ENERGY

1. Your position on nuclear power is somewhat unclear. You came out in favor of the Oregon initiative but were quoted as stating that you could not favor the one in California. What is your position in this regard?
2. In 1975 you stated that a breeder reactor should be a first priority in the nuclear area and that we needed a crash program in this regard, whereas six months later you said such a program should have low priority. Why did you change your position on this and what is your current position?
3. A synthetic fuels bill is now pending in Congress. What is your position on this bill? Why have you taken such a position?
4. Today, three years after the oil embargo, we are now importing a greater percentage of our oil than we were prior to that embargo. What specific steps will you take to arrest the growing dependence on foreign oil? Don't you believe it is necessary to decontrol oil prices in order to encourage exploration and decrease consumption?
5. Don't you feel it is necessary to decontrol gas prices in order to discourage consumption and encourage exploration?
6. President Ford submitted a comprehensive energy program which the Democratic Congress rejected and, as a result, energy production is dropping and we have no comprehensive energy program. What is your comprehensive energy program and how much would it cost?
7. What specific steps would you take to increase oil and gas supply? Would these steps not require loosening environmental requirements which currently have a restrictive effect on such development?

ENERGY (cont'd)

8. You have talked about the need to shift toward an emphasis on coal production and that a crash coal program could be instituted without an adverse environmental impact. How could this be done?
9. Do you support prompt exploration and production of off-shore oil? Do you favor the creation of a federal corporation for such exploration and production?
10. Which of the two gas pipeline alternatives do you support?
The one across Canada or the one through Alaska?
11. Which offers the least environmental harm and the greatest opportunity for production?
12. What is your position on horizontal and vertical divestiture in the oil industry? Do you feel there is sufficient competition in the oil industry? How do you attempt to deal with the absence of competition if you feel there is such?
13. Should the federal government play a more active role in the relations between American oil companies or multi-national oil companies and OPEC nations? If so, what type of role?
14. Do you support a reorganization of the federal government with respect to the energy area?
15. Do you feel that a crash program to reduce our dependence on foreign oil can be undertaken without substantial environmental damage?
16. You have stated that if you had to choose between environmental protection and growth, that you would choose environmental protection. Is this still your position and how does that relate to the energy area? Is this position consonant with your position to reduce unemployment?

ENERGY (cont'd)

17. What specific programs do you have for conservation of energy?

18. Do you favor mandatory federal standards on building performances, automobiles and the like, to force such conservation measures?

19. Would you provide federal tax incentives such as tax deductions for home insulation and the like?

SOCIAL ISSUES

1. There have been conflicting reports about your position on abortion. You have stated that you are personally opposed to abortion and opposed federal funds for abortion. If this is the case, how do you oppose a constitutional amendment banning abortion?

2. You stated in Iowa that certain types of national legislation might be passed to limit abortions. What did you mean by that and what did you have in mind?

3. Subsequently, you have indicated, after your meeting with the Bishops, that certain types of constitutional amendments might be acceptable to you and that you would not block efforts to pass other types of constitutional amendments. What types of constitutional amendments did you have in mind which would be acceptable to you? Wouldn't any type of constitutional amendment prohibit women from having their free choice as to whether they want an abortion?

SOCIAL ISSUES (cont'd)

4. Do you favor President Ford's position that he would leave the matter of abortions to the states through a constitutional amendment?
5. As Governor, you signed a bill which would provide for an abortion within the first six months at the request of a woman to her doctor. Why did you support such a bill? Wouldn't a fetus at six months be a person and wouldn't this be permitting murder?
6. What is your position on criminal penalties for marijuana?
7. With your emphasis on morality and the family, isn't your position in favor of decriminalization of marijuana contradictory?
8. How long did it take for your own sons to finally discontinue the use of marijuana after they began?

ENVIRONMENT

1. Can we maintain a healthy environment and at the same time build our energy resources?
2. Would you favor extension of the deadline by which automobile companies must meet certain air pollution requirements?
3. Do you support President Ford's plan to expand government resources for our national parks? Is this a priority item with you and what would your program to improve the parks cost?
4. What can the federal government do to prevent the injection of poisonous substances such as Kepone and Mirex into our environment?

GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION

1. Can the zero-based budgeting which you have suggested really be applied on the federal level without the creation of another massive bureaucracy?
2. You have suggested that you would reduce the number of federal agencies. Can you name several federal agencies which you would abolish?
3. You have talked about reducing the number of federal agencies from 1900 to 200. Can this be realistically done?
4. Isn't it true that in Georgia that, despite your reorganization, your state budget went up each year, as did the number of total state employees?
5. It is stated that you had a \$13 million greater surplus when you left office than when you started, but that at the same time the debt of the state went up by \$205 million. Can you explain this?
6. What is your position on the sunset law? Can this be realistically accomplished? Which programs do you feel should be abolished through a sunset review?
7. Do you favor continued cost-of-living increases for federal employees?
8. The mail system seems to be deteriorating rapidly. What would you do to reform the post office? Would you put the postal service back in the federal government or leave it as it is outside the federal government? Would you allow for private competition with the postal service, and if not, why not?

GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION (cont'd)

9. You have talked about reducing the number of federal agencies and yet you have proposed a separate Department of Education and a separate Department of Consumer Affairs. Aren't these contradictory to your other statements?
10. Should the federal government provide funds to support consumer litigation against corporations and others?
11. It has been said that you have a very small, inexperienced, insulated Georgia-based inner group. If you talk about an open government, how can this be accomplished when you have such a situation? Isn't this just like the Nixon crowd?
12. Don't you feel that, as a Democrat, you will be less able to hold down Congressional spending than President Ford, who is not subject to the same pressure groups?
13. You have criticized President Ford's vetoes. Which bills would you not have vetoed and what would have been the additional cost to the taxpayers had you not vetoed such programs?
14. Do you favor new legislation to prohibit deferrals and recisions of amounts appropriated by Congress?

SMALL BUSINESS

1. What would you do to assist small businesses and how much would such a program cost?

A LIST OF CHARGES AND RESPONSES
RELATING TO THE CARTER CANDIDACY DURING
THE 1976 PRIMARY CAMPAIGN
(MARCH -- JUNE)

(THIS LISTING DOES NOT INCLUDE CHARGES AND RESPONSES ON THE "ETHNIC PURITY" FLAP.)

- (1) MORTGAGE INTEREST TAX DEDUCTIONS (File 3x, 13u)
Carter was attacked in Florida for stating that he favors eliminating federal income tax deductions homeowners claim for interest paid on mortgages. Carter replied that his statement referred to a massive revision in the federal tax structure and that he would eliminate no deductions for middle-class homeowners unless it was more than made up elsewhere.
- (2) McGOVERN INFLUENCE (File 6n)
In March George Wallace accused Carter to being a "warmed-over McGovern," listing as proof former McGovernites in the Carter campaign, including Pat Caddell and Morris Dees, the latter a member of the Joan Little defense team.
(REPUBLICANS MIGHT TRY TO LAUNCH A SIMILAR ATTACK.)
- (3) FLORIDA TV CAMPAIGN (File 3k, 50r)
Concerning Carter campaign rustic TV advertisements in Florida, one viewer said that at first she had been favorably impressed by the ads, but their repetition induced doubts: "I'm just getting sick of seeing it. It's like they're trying to make him a Bobby Kennedy in an open-neck shirt. I'm just wondering if he has a peanut farm, how many peanuts does he really handle. I'm just wondering if he works in the fields at all." Similarly in a June column entitled "Carter Boyhood Not Really Poor," (SEE APPENDIX) Atlanta Constitution political editor Jim Merriner attempted to refute campaign propaganda about Carter's poor rural background.
- (4) SOLAR ENERGY SITE (File 8gg)
In March, Scoop Jackson accused Carter of promising the reward of a federal contract for solar energy research to Florida when he was in Florida and to Massachusetts when he was in Massachusetts.
- (5) WISCONSIN FARM PARITY (File 12e)
Udall attacked Carter in early April for supposedly telling Wisconsin dairy farmers that they might have to get by with 80% parity while Udall promised 90% parity. Carter replied that he had always avoided any specific figure, and he would support 90% or 83% or whatever per cent was needed to cover the cost of production.
- (6) REPEAL OF RIGHT-TO-WORK LEGISLATION (File 6bb, 15r)
After a breakfast with wealthy businessmen in Atlanta in early April, Carter was accused of shifting his stance on 14-b of the federal Taft-Hartley Act which he reportedly said he was in favor of repealing in earlier statements in Wisconsin. Carter replied that his stand was "misinterpreted" and "he had not advocated repeal, but if Congress passed it he would not veto it." Some anti-Carter laborites also attacked him because he did not support the repeal of a so-called "right-to-work" law in Georgia while he was governor.

(7) NORTH-SOUTH INDUSTRIAL FLIGHT (File 27c)

In late April in Pennsylvania, Henry Jackson accused Carter of regionalism because Carter did not support repeal of right-to-work legislation that encouraged a flight of industry from such states as Pennsylvania to the South. Carter responded that it was "absolutely ridiculous" to blame unemployment in Pennsylvania on a federal law passed in 1948 and that national corporations operating in the South now paid wages comparable to those in the North. Jackson questioned this and asked Carter, "How much do you pay in your plant?"

(8) ATTACK ON KISSINGER FOREIGN POLICY (File 6dd)

In March James Reston wrote concerning Carter: "He proclaimed that 'our foreign policy today is in greater disarray than at any time in recent history.' Considering where we were with Presidents Johnson and Nixon in Vietnam, considering that the Republic is not now at war for the first time in 15 years, and that President Sadat has just kicked the Russians out of Cairo, this was at least a debatable, and maybe even a silly conclusion. Mr. Carter was more generous to other countries than he was to our own. He was savagely critical of Henry Kissinger's 'secrecy,' a popular view these days, though Mr. Kissinger has made more speeches defining American policy, testified before Congress more often, and held more press conferences with more reporters than any other Secretary of State or national security official since the end of the last war."

(9) ATTACK ON HUMPHREY (File 8z)

Apparently incensed by Hubert Humphrey's accusation that anti-Washington politicians might be guilty of "concealed racism," Carter gained the wrath of Udall and friends of Humphrey in late March by calling Humphrey "untruthful, too old and a man with a 'loser's image,'" according to a news story by Charles Mohr. According to Mohr, "Mr. Carter also seemed to call Mr. Humphrey's honesty into question by raising such subjects as the conviction of a former Humphrey campaign manager for accepting illegal campaign contributions and allegations that Mr. Humphrey had received large sums of money from the reclusive industrialist Howard R. Hughes."

(REPUBLICANS MIGHT TRY TO USE THIS AGAINST CARTER WITH SOME SENSITIVE HUMPHREY DEMOCRATS AND INDEPENDENTS)

(10) BUTZ CHARGE AGAINST CARTER (File 8u)

In late March, Sec. of Agriculture Earl Butz accused Carter of "growing fat off federal peanut subsidies." Concerning a cooperative program in which Carter participates, Butz said, "He simply lets his peanuts go to the cooperative. . . . He gets it indirectly like any other peanut farmer. It's very cleverly hidden." Carter responded through a spokesman, "I don't receive any peanut subsidies as Mr. Butz should know." A.P. writer Dick Pettys wrote on March 29 that Butz was wrong in his "getting rich" appraisal, but that Carter was incorrect in saying that he had not received any subsidies at all.

(11) NEW YORK CITY FEDERAL AID (File 8k)

In late March Udall attacked Carter for insensitivity on the New York City financial issue. Udall quoted Carter as saying that "it might be good for the city's financial management to be turned over to Federal courts for austere handling." Udall also quoted Carter as saying that Carter "didn't want to see a precedent of bailouts for the nation's cities."

- (12) CARTER REQUEST TO JULIAN BOND CONCERNING McGOVERN VP SELECTION (File 8w)
In March Carter denied the charge of both Julian Bond and George McGovern that Carter asked Bond to urge McGovern to pick Carter as his running mate in 1972 and that Carter began bad-mouthing McGovern after Shriver was tapped as the VP choice and refused to support the ticket. Bond and Carter both held to their conflicting stories about the incident.
(REPUBLICANS MIGHT USE THIS AS AN ATTACK ON CARTER'S "NOT TO TELL A LIE" PLEDGE AND ALSO IN AN ATTEMPT TO PORTRAY CARTER AS A VINDICTIVE, AMBITIOUS SCHEMER)
- (13) GEORGIA EDUCATORS (File 8mm)
In late March the Georgia Association of Educators (GAE) tabled a motion to endorse Carter for President because they felt that he had not been an "education" governor. Said one delegate, "I believe he would take the 'E' out of H.E.W. and put it in file 13."
- (14) JULIAN BOND RACIAL COMMENTS (File 4c, 53ee)
In mid-March Julian Bond said, "It's disturbing to see in Florida he could get 70% of the black vote and 50% of the antiblack vote." For pro-Carter article on race see Charles Mohr's "Spanning the Spectrum" (APPENDIX).
- (15) MEXICAN-AMERICAN CHARGES (File 3lhh)
In late April Paul Delaney in the New York Times reported that Mexican-American supporters of Carter in San Antonio were vexed at the national campaign headquarters' lack of concern for their efforts--including failure to reimburse them \$500. for translating and printing a bulletin into Spanish.
- (16) 1970 GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN (File 8yy, 62pp-tt)
Against charges that he ran a racist campaign in 1970--and a hypocritical one, at that--Carter replied, "In 1970 I was the only candidate in the entire group of maybe 15 or 20 running for lieutenant governor and governor of Georgia who meticulously campaigned in both the black and white communities of every city and town. I said that there is no place for racism, and that we should recognize the changing times that are upon us." For a detailed account of the anti-Carter charges see "'The Most Remarkable Piece of Fiction' Jimmy Carter Ever Read" by Phil Stanford (APPENDIX).
- (17) CARTER-MADDOX ALLIANCE (File 3cc)
In Florida in March, Scoop Jackson alluded to a political alliance between Lester Maddox and Jimmy Carter during Carter's Georgia political career. Columnist Bill Shipp in "The Pathetic Lie of Scoop Jackson" (APPENDIX) refutes this.
- (18) NATIONAL DEFENSE (File 3aa)
In Florida in early March, Scoop Jackson attacked Carter's defense-cut proposals as not in the country's best interests. Carter countered by calling Jackson's charges "ridiculous, bordering on the absurd" as he recounted his military (naval) service and willingness "to die for my country."
- (19) B-1 BOMBER (File 37n)
In May, columnist Mary McGrory chided Carter for announcing he would kill the controversial B-1 bomber program and then announcing in Omaha, headquarters of S.A.C., that he would continue research and development, because "it might be after I become President, I would change my mind."

- (20) VIETNAM POSITION RECORD (File 62i, 47g, 47m-n)
In a Mary McGroary column in late June, the question of Carter's supposedly elusive position record on Vietnam was raised. In other news articles, there were conflicting reports over whether Carter felt the Vietnam War was "racist" in nature. He denied it in San Francisco during the California primary, but before black audiences in Indianapolis and Louisville he said, "We didn't think it racist but it was" and that "Americans are more willing to tolerate the killing of brown and yellow people than of whites like the French and English." In Louisville he denounced "an unconscious attitude of racial discrimination in international affairs."
- (21) POSITION ON VIETNAM RESISTERS (File 62dd)
In a June article on the reaction of American war resisters in Canada to Carter's position on amnesty-pardon, Marlene Nadle wrote that they had been negatively "aroused by what they said was the hypocrisy of Carter's original pardon position. As they reminded me, Carter had always portrayed himself as a friend of the poor and the black soldiers who didn't have the money or knowledge to go to Canada. Then he gave his initial pardon only to the most privileged, to the white middle-class draft resisters. Deserters, those with less than honorable discharges, nonregistrants--in short, those most likely to be poor and black--would not be eligible for his 'blanket pardon.'"
- (22) AMBIGUOUS ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT RHETORIC (File 50s, 52q, 28p, 37m, 62h)
In late May Carter foes demanded to know who Carter was specifically referring to when he complained that the "stop Carter" movement was supported by forces attempting "to maintain at all costs their own entrenched, unresponsive, bankrupt, irresponsible political power." In Indianapolis in April, Ronald Reagan attacked Carter's "anti-Washington" stance as being misleading. Reagan called himself the only true "anti-Washington and anti-big government candidate," and said of Carter: "Every time he becomes more specific on an issue, he becomes more big government. He says he's for national health insurance and that's more big government--more Washington." In early May in Maryland, Jerry Brown attacked Carter's anti-establishment pose as hypocritical and charged that Carter was "himself seeking endorsements of big labor leaders, of old-time organizations, and of Maryland state officials." Against charges that he ran an anti-Washington campaign, Carter has said that "he has been running against some of the abuses and mismanagement in government, rather than against Washington per se" and that he wants "to make the federal government in Washington more efficient and better able to save the people, especially the underprivileged."
- (23) GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION (File 36f, 39m, 49t, 39y)
On May 6, Jerry Brown attacked Carter's government reorganization scheme by noting that both his father and Ronald Reagan had reorganized California government and "there wasn't a dime's worth of difference." He added, "Reorganization will not produce significant savings that will produce accelerated revenues" and that "shuffling the boxes on the organization chart is not substitute for a President who is strong enough to say 'no' to the bureaucracy." (CONSERVATIVE REPUBLICANS MIGHT USE THIS CHARGE). Attacking Jerry Brown's assertion that the problem with government "is not the boxes but the people who are in them," Carter stated on May 12, "That is wrong," and said that his experience in Georgia had taught him that the people in government "yearn for a chance to throw off the burden of red tape, confusion, duplication, political manipulation and lack of goals and direction. . . . I know that it is possible for an irrational, ill-planned, inhuman system to grind down, discourage and virtually incapacitate the most dedicated and competent public servant."

- (24) REDUCTION IN FEDERAL AGENCIES (File 39k, 39y)
Udall supporters in Maryland in early May rhetorically taunted Carter to name even 17 or the 1700 agencies he reportedly said he could abolish. On May 12 Carter responded that "the process (reorganization) will require at least a year. It will require the combined wisdom of the President and his staff, the Congress and professional civil servants as well as the talents and advice of business, labor, consumer groups, and the legal community. I cannot tell you how it will look at the end because no single person is competent to do so."
- (25) HIRING OF RICHARD HARDEN (File 60e)
In late June Pres. Ford's Georgia campaign chairman said that Carter's hiring of the former commissioner of the Georgia Human Resources Department to work in his presidential campaign was Carter's "absolute seal of approval" on the "organizational nightmare" in the state's social services agency.
- (26) ROBERT SHRUM FLAP (File 31e, 3211, 32nn, 40n)
Accusing Carter of "a degree of manipulation and deception" he had not previously encountered in any campaign, Robert Shrum, a former McGovern speechwriter, left the Carter campaign after only two weeks in early May (SEE APPENDIX FOR FULL ACCOUNT OF SHRUM'S CHARGES). Carter consequently called Shrum a "superlative writer, and I think he felt when he came to work for us that because of his superlative speech-writing ability I would just accept his speeches and parrot them to the public."
- (27) CARTER-NIXON PARALLEL (File 50f, 50s, 39i)
Alan Baron, a McGovern staff member whom McGovern dismissed for actively engaging in the "stop Carter" movement, complained in late May, "A lot of our people see Carter as a positive evil, surrounded by a staff committed to no ideals, like Haldeman and Ehrlichman." See also William Safire column, "Richard Redux" (APPENDIX).
- (28) PLAINS LAND SALE SCHEME (File 32z, 34v, 35f, 36m)
On May 7, the Atlanta Constitution identified a Carter brother-in-law as one of the principal stockholders in a land promotion scheme to sell for \$5 each 3 million sq. inch plots of land near the Carter warehouse. Carter said the scheme was "misleading" and "designed to bilk the public." He added, "I absolutely deplore this gross commercialization. I had no prior knowledge of this plan, and I find the whole idea detestable."
- (29) UDALL'S MORMONISM (File 42f, 431)
On May 17 the Carter campaign refused to repudiate a suggestion by a Carter supporter that Morris Udall was tainted by anti-black dogmas of the Mormon Church (even though Udall left the Church as a youth because of these dogmas) and retaliated by charging that Udall and his supporters had previously questioned Carter's own religious beliefs, integrity, and commitment to racial justice. When reporters who had covered Udall's campaign questioned this, Jody Powell said, "I'm not sure that he [Udall] personally said anything about his [Carter's] religious beliefs but it's been a fairly consistent theme" of Udall campaign workers in New Hampshire and elsewhere.

- (30) SOUTHERN BAPTIST RELIGION (File 32ggg, 53e, 53m-n, 53gg, 54e, 541)
Time magazine, May 10, 1976: "Some critics suggest that if he were elected, Carter's religious life might intrude on his acts as President: the objection echoes the fears that were raised about John F. Kennedy's Catholicism. Like Kennedy, Carter vows a strict separation of church and state, and denies that there is any conflict between the two. Says he: 'The Bible says, 'Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's.' It doesn't say you have to be two people.' On the contrary, he maintains that his religious convictions 'will make me a better President.'" See also Charles Mohr's news story, "Carter Gets an Ovation After Assuring Jews in Jersey on His Religious Views" (APPENDIX) and "Carter and Baptists" by Morris B. Abram (APPENDIX).
- (31) EVASIVENESS ON ISSUES (File 49a, 54q)
From a news story by Martha Angle in the Washington Star, May 27: "In Michigan, Udall for the first time used an 'attack' ad on television, an animated cartoon portraying an alternately smiling and serious Carter while an announcer's voice recounted the inconsistencies of the Georgian's statements on a series of issues. . . . According to John Gabusi, director of the Udall campaign, a poll taken in Ohio the weekend before the Michigan primary showed support for Carter in the Toledo area--where voters had been seeing Detroit television programming, including the 'two-face' commercial--was running 20 points below Carter's running strength statewide." Carter's Oregon state coordinator called the charge of "fuzziness" AN EXAMPLE OF "THE BIG LIE" TECHNIQUE" IN THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST CARTER. An important pro-Carter statement on this issue is Carl Rowan's article, "Jimmy Carter Isn't So Fuzzy on the Issues" (APPENDIX).

A P P E N D I X

POLITICS AND PEOPLE

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

Carter Boyhood Not Really Poor

It is entirely predictable that if Jimmy Carter becomes president the country will magnify the romantic fable, now being spun by the Carter campaign, that he is a salt-of-the-earth farmer who fulfills the American dream that a poor boy can grow up to be president.

It is predictable because exactly the same thing was done with Presidents Harry Truman and Lyndon Johnson. Like Carter, they had rural boyhoods.

When Truman died we were treated to obituaries relating how he grew up with the Missouri soil between his toes but later walked with kings and prime ministers. And so forth.

Actually, Carter, Truman and Johnson all emerged from what was the upper middle class of their time and place.

They were poor by today's standards, but not by theirs.

The Carters suffered the privations of the Depression, but they were the reigning family of the Plains, Ga. area, accustomed to deferential treatment from blacks and whites alike. Earl Carter, the candidate's father, served in the General Assembly.

"I'm a farmer," the way Carter introduces himself to campaign crowds, is interesting, coming from a man who has devoted most of his adult life to getting out of Plains.

He states that he turned a profit of only \$200 in his first year of trying to run the family agribusiness after resigning from the Navy. But the puer profit would seem misleading because "Miz Lillian," Carter's mother, said the business actually had an uncollected \$90,000 owed to it that year.

Carter often says he will be the first farmer since Jefferson to occupy the White House. What about Andrew Jackson, William Henry Harrison, Dwight Eisenhower or Lyndon Johnson, who also "farmed"? Or imagine Teddy Roosevelt, the rich New Yorker who voted out West during his twenties, running for president in 1904 on the slogan, "I'm a Dakota rancher."

In Truman's case, he was the son of a prosperous farmer, mule trader and local Democratic party functionary. Despite these advantages, at the age of 33 Truman was a failure at everything except playing poker and the piano.

As a boy Truman desired a career as a professional musician, which would have been an impossible ambition in the Midwestern pioneer family of folklore living off blackberries, squirrels and catfish.

As for Johnson, who made the poor mid-Texas "caliche soil" a totem of his career, both his parents came from established, well-connected families. Lyndon's father and grandfather both served in the state legislature.

Lyndon had a network of successful relatives who secretly looked after him even when he was supposedly tramping through California as a hobo in the 1920s.

In the 20th century we have had a president who really was poor, who really did climb his way out of the lower middle class into the White House—but it is embarrassing to assign him his place in our cherished rags-to-riches mythology. His name is Richard Nixon.



MERRINER

Carter Shows Rare Skill in Courting And Gaining a National Constituency

By CHARLES MOHR

Special to The New York Times

COLUMBUS, Ohio, June 4— evening as a serious candidate for President of the United States. Early in the 1976 Presidential campaign some politicians and journalists expressed surprise or wonder that opinion polls showed that conservatives seemed to see Jimmy Carter as a conservative and liberals to see him as a liberal. There may be more political mastery than mystery in that fact. All politicians running for national office must address a national constituency of complex and widely diverse parts.

Their audiences often vary remarkably, and most candidates do speak with at least different nuances to different crowds. But no one seems to be more skillful than Mr. Carter in evoking — and maintaining — the loyalties of a wide spectrum of American voters. Two occasions in his campaign this week provided an interesting example.

Praises King

In Los Angeles yesterday the former Georgia Governor gave one of the most moving speeches on the American racial dilemma heard in a long time. Speaking to a predominantly black audience in Watts, near the so-called Charcoal Alley neighborhood once burned out in slum riots, Mr. Carter dedicated a new psychiatric ward of the Martin Luther King Jr. Hospital and paid an extended tribute to the late Dr. King.

"Martin Luther King Jr.," Mr. Carter said in his soft, rounded voice, "was the conscience of his generation. He was the doctor to a sick society.

"He was the man, more than any other in his generation, who gazed upon the great wall of racial segregation and saw that it could be destroyed by the power of love. I sometimes think that a Southerner of my generation can most fully understand the meaning and impact of Martin Luther King's life."

Dual Awareness

"He and I grew up in the same South," he continued, "both from Georgia, he the son of a clergyman, I the son of a farmer. We both knew, from opposite sides, the invisible wall of segregation. The official rule then was 'separate but equal,' but he and I knew we were neither—not separate, not equal."

Mr. Carter went on to describe the "slow and painful" change that began in the 1950's, saying, "Little towns like mine were almost torn apart by fear and resentment."

"I could not be standing here if it had not been for Martin Luther King Jr.," he said. "For all our progress, we still live in a land held back by oppression and injustice. We still have a far way to go."

Ideal America Waits

"The America we long for is not there yet, but is still out there, somewhere ahead of us, waiting for us to find her," Mr. Carter said.

A moderator read a telegram from the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr. that said, in part, "Jimmy, I was with you when you started your long journey. I am with you now. . . . I have a dream too . . . that a Southerner, Jimmy Carter, is going to be President of the United States. . . . I love you and ask all Americans to love you."

An almost physical wave of love seemed to pass from the black listeners to Mr. Carter. David Cunningham, a young black City Councilman, said amid chuckles, "Governor Carter, you can indeed unify this country. . . . We have liberated the South. We need to liberate the North a little bit."

There was a neighborly attitude, too, the next day when a shirt-sleeved Mr. Carter spoke to 200 people at the prosperous 800-acre orange farm of Bill Irwin near Fresno, Calif.

Friendship and Decency

Mr. Irwin grows 1.4 million pounds of oranges a year, and they are picked by nonunionized farm laborers supplied. Mr. Irwin said, by a nearby packing house.

Mr. Carter spoke of the bond of mutual help and friendship between farmers, but did not speak of the sick society to which Dr. King had doctored. He spoke, as he usually does, of the decency, compassion and goodness of the American people.

Of farmers, Mr. Carter, a successful grower of seed peanuts, said, "We have within us a basic inter-relationship that is not in conflict between conservatism and liberalism."

The first question asked Mr. Carter after his speech was what should be done about the struggle between growers and the United Farm Workers of America union and, of late, between that union and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters over the teamsters' attempts to organize the same farms.

Wants States to Decide

"Under our system of government," Mr. Carter said, "there is a very special advantage that is seldom pointed out by news-

'The most remarkable piece of fiction' Jimmy Carter ever read

Why, of all the Carter coverage, did only Steven Brill's article in Harper's create a furor — and has the furor obscured important questions raised in the article?

by PHIL STANFORD

From the beginning, Steven Brill's article "Jimmy Carter's Pathetic Lies" (*Harper's*, March 1976) has been an event unto itself. Reporters covering the campaign recall hearing as far back as November 1975 that "something big" on Carter was in the works at *Harper's*. On January 19, almost a month before the magazine was scheduled to go on sale, a piece in *The New York Times* by Christopher Lydon (CARTER NOW A TARGET) listed several current attacks on Carter and reported that "the most searching criticism is yet to come in the March issue of *Harper's*." On January 30, according to a chronology released by *Harper's*, Carter's press secretary, Jody Powell, asked for and was sent a copy of the Brill article. On February 2, Powell issued a detailed twenty-two-page rebuttal. The next day Jimmy Carter said on television that the article was "the most remarkable piece of fiction I've ever read."

Harper's began distributing advance copies during the first week of February, and a number of newspapers, whether they got the text from *Harper's* or from Carter's

staff, ran portions of the text and commentaries on the article. One of the early birds was the *Washington Star's* columnist Jack W. Germond, who on February 4 called the Brill article "but the latest round in what has become a liberal assault on Carter perhaps unmatched in harshness and intensity in any presidential campaign of the postwar period." Germond happens to like Carter. Alexander Cockburn, who writes a column called "Press Clips" for *The Village Voice* and doesn't like Carter, found it "well-researched." "It is, in fact, a devastating piece of work," said Cockburn. The February 16 issue of *Time* magazine (which went on sale February 9) devoted most of its press section to an attack on the article and the author, whom it called (quoting an unnamed "Washington-based political correspondent") "a hit man . . . the liberal enforcer." All of this, it should be noted, was going on before the March issue of *Harper's* ever made it to the newsstands.

In the May issue of *Harper's*, editor Lewis Lapham, in his column, "The Easy Chair," defended the article and the author and attacked Jody Powell (for releasing the article in violation of his word of honor) and *Time*. *Time's* "malicious broadside" against Brill, said Lapham, was part of a high-level plot to promote Carter's candidacy. He was a little weak on proof, but he was sure that the plot involved an ad with Jimmy Carter's picture on it that *Time* had used to promote its own coverage of the political campaign. It looked, Lapham wrote, "very much like an ad for Jimmy Carter." Lapham also fingered Christopher Lydon as the unnamed Washington-based political correspondent who called Brill a hit man. Lydon does not exactly deny having said this, but, in a telegram to Lapham, said that *Time* "did not report my views on [Brill] or his work." *Time's* managing editor, Henry Anatole Grunwald, shot off an angry letter to *Harper's*, calling "Lapham's general description of how this [Brill] story was supposedly handled at *Time* . . . so absurd as to defy comment," and saying that "*Time* has not endorsed Carter or any other candidate." Lapham has promised to respond in the July issue of his magazine.

At first glance, the attention the Brill article has received

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Let's elect
JIMMY CARTER
President

is a bit puzzling. It is neither the best nor even the hardest-hitting piece that has been written about Carter during the current campaign. It wasn't even the first to criticize him. Syndicated columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak wrote their first unfavorable piece on Carter in January; so did columnists Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway of *The Village Voice*. Brill's, however, was the first lengthy, nationally circulated article critical of Jimmy Carter. This was due largely to Brill's own good political sense. Brill, who is a contributing editor of *New York* magazine, first proposed the article to his boss, Clay Felker. Felker turned him down because he felt that by the time the article

appeared, Carter would no longer be a viable candidate. So Brill took the idea to *Harper's*.

Lapham came up with the title. It is hard to think of one more sensational than "Jimmy Carter's Pathetic Lies." This, too, contributed to the furor. However, there is some question about whether the piece was as fierce as the title. Brill's article is curiously ambivalent. At one point Brill says flatly, "Carter was a good governor." At another, "Jimmy Carter has many qualities that could make him a good president." Congressman Elliot Levitas of Georgia, a Carter supporter, has said that he often uses Brill's article in campaign speeches for Carter.

A third reason for the unusual amount of attention the article received was the Carter camp's response to it. As reporters who have covered the Carter campaign know, Carter's press office has been abnormally sensitive to any criticism. However, the vehemence of the response to the Brill article was extraordinary. Why did Powell choose to lambaste Brill's article but ignore, for example, the two lengthy articles by George Lardner, Jr., in *The Washington Post* (February 28 and March 7), which came to many of the same conclusions? Of course, the Brill article appeared first. But that does not account for the lack of a response in the second case; if one is wrong, so, presumably, is the other. The reason, I think, is that, as the Carter camp quickly realized, Brill was much easier to hit.

For one thing, he relied on unverifiable quotations to prove points. By my count, ten of the thirty-eight points raised in Powell's rebuttal concern alleged misquotation — of Carter, of Gerald Rafshoon, Carter's media director, and of officials in the Georgia state government. Since Brill didn't make a tape recording, and since the only witness to Brill's interviews with Carter was Carter's press secretary, it is impossible to know for certain who's right and who's wrong. Sometimes one must rely on quotations that may later be contested; however, it is clear that Brill would have been wiser to make his arguments with facts on the record more often than he did.

Occasionally, Brill overinterpreted facts. For example, he wrote that in 1972 Carter had "urged" that George Wallace be the Democratic vice-presidential nominee. The record — in this case an article in *The Atlanta Journal* — shows that Carter said that a Humphrey-Wallace ticket "would be acceptable to him and . . . 'would do well in the South.'" This may well be a politician's way of encouraging such a ticket, but Carter did not in fact "urge" the Democrats to nominate Wallace. Brill does much the same thing with a statement Carter made in 1971 on the Calley case. Brill says that Carter "urged Georgians to protest William Calley's conviction." What actually happened was that, in response to a great deal of pressure to declare his support for Calley, Carter proclaimed an "American Fighting Men's Day" and asked Georgians to drive with their headlights on to show their "complete support for our servicemen, concern for our country, and rededication to the principles which have made America great." Carter's statement is ambiguous; by carefully choosing his words he satisfied Calley's supporters without alienating those who considered Calley guilty of murder. In what seems to be his

eagerness to nail Carter — on Wallace and on the Calley matter — Brill missed this central aspect of Carter's approach to politics.

Brill also weakened his case by failing to distinguish between matters of greater and lesser importance. The best example of this was his handling of a remark Carter made in a speech to high school students. "If you have any questions or advice for me," said Carter, "please write. Just put 'Jimmy Carter, Plains, Georgia' on the envelope, and I'll get it. I open every letter myself and read them all." Brill used this statement as a key to the question of Carter's candor. "It's easy to believe," wrote Brill, "that he really does, as he told the high-school students, open his own mail. I did, until his press secretary told me the next day that the mail sent to Plains, Georgia is forwarded to the Atlanta headquarters."

The effect of this and other anecdotes like it is to make the entire piece seem an exercise in nit-picking. At least, it makes this charge plausible. In its response, Carter's staff pointed to the letter incident as "typical of the weighty issues raised by this article." After a few more such examples, it was possible for them to say, when they came to the question of dirty tricks during the 1970 campaign, that it was "another piece of trivia." It wasn't, of course.



Naturally, this recital of errors — unverifiable quotations, overinterpretation, and misplaced emphasis — gives a distorted picture of Brill's article. The article raised a number of substantial issues and contained a good deal of important information. Some of the criticism directed at the piece, particularly the rebuttal prepared by Jody Powell, has been downright deceptive. One of the few reporters who attempted to analyse the charges and rebuttals impartially was Phil Gailey of the Washington bureau of *The Miami Herald*. (See *JIMMY CARTER'S CREDIBILITY GAP — IS IT REAL OR FABRICATED?*, February 23, 1976.) Gailey found several statements in the Carter response that he considered false or misleading. One of these concerned a speech Carter had delivered in 1972 for a "George Wallace Appreciation Day" in Red Level, Alabama. Brill had suggested that the speech was missing from the Georgia archives because Carter had not wanted to have it on the record. Powell responded that no transcript had been made of the speech, but that, in fact, clippings from *The Dothan (Alabama) Eagle* showed that Carter's only reason for making the speech was "wishing Wallace a speedy recovery" from his wounds. Carter's press secretary said further that the event was held only to raise money to pay for Wallace's medical expenses. Gailey got a copy of the article Powell cited and quoted from it: "Although Carter stayed away from specifically endorsing Wallace, he emphasized forcibly many of the stands the Alabama governor has taken in his bid for the Democratic Presidential nomination." By checking with the sponsors of the Appreciation Day, Gailey also found out that all proceeds went to Wallace's presidential campaign.

Perhaps the most striking example, however, involves a letter Brill found in the Georgia archives, addressed from

Carter to a Mrs. Dempsey in Alabama. The letter says in part: "I have never had anything but the highest praise for Governor Wallace. . . . I think you will find that . . . George Wallace and I are in agreement on most issues." The response from the Carter camp is significant: "The letter to Mrs. Dempsey," said Powell, "was written by a staffer, never seen by Governor Carter, and did not accurately express his views. Several hundred letters each day often were answered from the Governor's office by staffers; inevitably a few of these staff responses were not exactly what the Governor would have written. Had the writer of the article asked, he would have been told of the three-letter-initial code used to identify staff letters." Gailey checked — and discovered that the unnamed staffer was Jody Powell. "Some Carter supporters," wrote Gailey, apparently expressing his own feelings as well, "fear that the response may have done more to further cloud Carter's credibility than it has to help set the record straight." My own opinion is that Jody Powell did more to prove Brill's thesis than Brill did.

It is obviously impossible to consider in this space every point of disagreement between Brill and Carter. Brill's article was 6,000 words long; Powell's reply was about the same length. Brill did indeed raise a number of substantial questions. None of them, it happens, was original with Brill; in fact, most of them date from the 1970 campaign. Saying this should not detract from Brill's role in bringing the issues to national attention. But it should make it easier to see that the questions must be considered on their own merits.

As I see it, there are five major areas (all touched on by Brill) in which Carter's record needs a thorough examination. In some cases, reporters have already begun that examination, and I will try to mention some of the better efforts as I go along.

□ *Carter's tactics in his 1970 gubernatorial campaign.* Did Jimmy Carter, as some have charged ever since that campaign, pander to the segregationists in order to get elected? Anyone who wants to understand this aspect of the 1970 campaign should read Bill Shipp's four-part series entitled "How He Won It," which *The Atlanta Constitution* ran immediately after the general election (November 8-11, 1970). Shipp, who had excellent connections inside the Carter organization, made a very strong case that Carter consciously exploited the race issue. Paul R. Wieck's article for *The New Republic* ("Long-Shot Jimmy Carter," April 12, 1975), which was one of the first magazine-length pieces to be done on Carter after he announced his candidacy, did a good job of summarizing the tactics Carter used. A highly favorable article in *Time* magazine (March 8, 1976) cited Carter's courting of the Wallace vote and his cozying up to segregationists and found the 1970 gubernatorial campaign "the most questionable aspect of Carter's career." The difference between *Time* and many other publications is the way they choose to interpret the facts. Stan Cloud, who has done most of the magazine's writing on Carter, says he finds Carter's tactics during the 1970 campaign "something about which honest men can disagree." Cloud says he thinks Carter was "within acceptable

limits," and his reporting reflects this. The 1970 campaign is significant today chiefly because of what it may indicate about how far Carter is willing to go to get himself elected.

□ *Allegations that the Carter campaign used "dirty tricks" during the 1970 campaign.* There are two specific charges: first, that Carter's campaign printed and distributed leaflets showing Carter's chief opponent Carl Sanders with a couple of black basketball players pouring champagne over his head at a victory celebration. The second is that the Carter organization developed and financed radio advertisements for C. B. King, a black attorney who was also a candidate for the Democratic nomination. The object of this stratagem, presumably, was to draw votes away from Sanders; who was considered the liberal candidate in the race. These charges comprised perhaps the strongest section of Brill's piece for *Harper's*. Actually, neither of them is new; both were made by Carter's opponent Carl Sanders during the 1970 race. What Brill did was to find substantiation for them in the testimony of Ray Abernathy, a former vice-president of the Rafshoon Advertising Agency, which handled Carter's campaign. Abernathy's story has since been corroborated by Dorothy Wood, another former vice-president of the agency. George Lardner, Jr., of *The Washington Post*, appears to deserve credit for discovering Wood. (See JIMMY CARTER — PROMISES . . . PROMISES, March 7, 1976.) One of the best jobs of investigating the charge about the radio ads was done by Clark Hallas of the *Detroit News* (March 7, 1976).

 Carter has repeatedly denied having had any knowledge of the "dirty tricks"; he says he has asked his campaign aides and they deny any involvement in them. There is a considerable amount of evidence that Carter's campaign staff did, indeed, engage in "dirty tricks." If this is so, either Carter is lying or his top aides are lying to him.

□ *Reorganization.* Carter says that this was his greatest accomplishment as governor. "As governor," says one of his campaign brochures, "Jimmy Carter pushed through a hard-nosed reorganization of the state's overgrown bureaucracy. He eliminated 278 of the 300 agencies and slashed administrative costs by 50 percent. At the same time he vastly increased state services to the poor, deprived, and afflicted, while leaving a surplus of \$116,182,343.37 in the state treasury."

The best article on reorganization is Neal R. Peirce's report, "Structural Reform of Bureaucracy Grows Rapidly," for the *National Journal* (April 4, 1975). Peirce, who is an expert on state and local government, makes it plain that reorganization is primarily a management tool for gaining control of burgeoning bureaucracies. It is, first of all, not unique; since 1965, twenty states, including Georgia, have undergone reorganization. Reorganization is accomplished by regrouping existing agencies under a smaller number of department heads; this supposedly increases their accountability to the chief executive. Reorganization does not eliminate government employees, because that is not what it is intended to do; it abolishes agencies in name only.

Carter's claim to have abolished 278 of 300 state agencies must be understood in that light.

Carter claims to have improved services through reorganization. Certainly, in some instances — notably, mental health care and environmental protection — there were improvements. It is hard to establish, however, what, if any, relationship these and other changes had to reorganization. Carter's other claims — to have achieved a 50 percent savings in administrative costs and to have left a budget surplus of \$116 million — are somewhat easier to reckon with. When I asked Carter's news director for something to substantiate the 50-percent savings, he said that "no such statistics are available." No one in the Georgia state government has such statistics, either. As for the \$116-million surplus: Carter did indeed leave office with a surplus of \$116 million — \$13 million more than when he took office. Supposing that this figure is meaningful — and this is not self-evident because the surplus depends on revenues, which depend on the state of the economy — it must also be stated that during Carter's term in office the state debt increased \$205 million. The best newspaper articles on reorganization I have seen are by George Lardner, Jr., of *The Washington Post*, (CARTER'S CLAIM OF CUTTING BUREAUCRACY DISPUTED, February 28, 1976) and Dick Pettys, of the Associated Press Atlanta bureau (February 16, 1976). Pettys's two-part A.P. story appeared on February 18 in *The New York Times* under the headline CARTER'S CAMPAIGN PROGRAM CONTRASTED WITH HIS RECORD ON THE ISSUES WHILE HE WAS THE GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA.

□ *Carter's 1970 campaign contributions.* Carter has never released a list of the people who contributed to his gubernatorial campaign. The question first came up during the 1970 campaign, at least partly because Carter was accusing Sanders of accepting large corporate contributions. At a press conference a reporter asked Carter if he had received any large corporate contributions; Carter acknowledged that he had, but refused to say how much they amounted to or whom they were from. It is true, as Carter points out, that the Georgia law in effect at the time did not require disclosure; but it is also a fact that Carter has made openness in government a campaign issue. Brill mentioned the 1970 contributions in his article; it is one of the few allegations to which the Carter campaign did not respond. More recently, when Carter was asked on NBC's *Tomorrow* show about the contribution list, he said that because there was no disclosure law in Georgia "nobody ever made a report of contributors and we didn't maintain those records." I checked with two accountants who worked for Carter's campaign in 1970 and both told me that the campaign organization kept records of all contributions. One of them, Richard Harden, a C.P.A. whom Carter later appointed to an important position in his administration, said that the contribution lists were kept by computer, and that Carter's campaign managers received a monthly print-out of all contributors.

Because of this contradiction, the contribution lists take on a special significance. However, the 1970 contributions may well be the visible tip of a larger issue. That is, of course, whether Carter has ties to special interests, especially Lockheed Aircraft and Coca-Cola, both major indus-

trial residents of Georgia. So far, only Cockburn and Ridgeway of *The Village Voice* (April 5, 1976) and Nicholas Horrocks of *The New York Times* (CARTER, AS GOVERNOR, GOT FREE RIDES ON PLANES OF LOCKHEED AND COCA COLA, April 1, 1976), have shown any interest in the subject. If there is nothing to it, the matter should be laid to rest; the list of contributors from the 1970 election might help do that.

□ Finally, *Issues*. A common complaint among the press is that Carter is running on personality, not on issues. If this is so, it is not hard to see why this is possible. In a five-page feature on Carter — "Carter on the Rise" (March 8, 1976) — *Newsweek* managed to spend only two paragraphs on the candidate's stands on specific issues. This is all too typical. There have been several excellent analyses of Carter's current stands on a few issues, notably Cockburn and Ridgeway's careful article, "Energy and Politicians" for *The New York Review of Books* (April 15, 1976), Hobart Rowen's articles on economics for *The Washington Post* (see particularly CARVING AN ECONOMIC PLATFORM, April 12, 1976), and Ken Bode's "Why Carter's Big with Blacks," (*The New Republic*, April 10, 1976). Perhaps the best summary of Carter's overall political philosophy is a piece by James P. Gannon in *The Wall Street Journal*, April 4, 1976. Gannon is one of the few reporters who has figured out that, as the headline on the article indicates, CARTER, DESPITE IMAGE OF 'OUTSIDER,' FAVORS DO-MORE GOVERNMENT. However, most coverage had offered little more than capsule summaries of Carter's position papers or of statements he has made in press conferences or interviews.

What is particularly necessary in Carter's case is an analysis of how Carter's stands on issues have changed over the course of the past few years. My own study of Carter's record, which is far from complete, shows that since Carter started running for president, he has changed his positions in significant ways on amnesty, capital punishment, money policy, busing, nuclear power, farm subsidies, cuts in the military budget, foreign policy (notably the Vietnam war), and revenue sharing. Only by discovering these changes and coming to grips with the reasons behind them can the press finally fulfill its duty to answer the question: who is Jimmy Carter?

This was, of course, the question that Steven Brill set out to answer. For a number of reasons, he achieved only a limited success. To the extent that his article became a media event, it may have even impeded this effort, by diverting the discussion to irrelevancies. Again, to the extent that this occurred, the responsibility must be shared by Brill for being careless, by *Harper's* for adding the sensational title, and by certain members of the press for treating it as a political sideshow. There is really no point in blaming the Carter organization for its part in promoting the article as a media event; politicians are not responsible for what the press does.

Brill's article served a purpose by raising certain important questions before a national audience; then the questions got lost in a flurry of public name-calling that often passes for journalism. Most of the questions still need answering.



Top: Georgia governor-elect Jimmy Carter celebrates his 1970 election victory

Center: Governor Jimmy Carter and outgoing governor Lesley M. Maddox at the inauguration ceremonies in Atlanta

Bottom: Carter, 1971, signing law his government reorganization

Bill Shipp

The Pathetic Lie of Scoop Jackson

On one of those summery afternoons last week, an old watcher of politicians worked up a sweat in his yard, then settled back with a cold beer to watch the evening news. Lo and behold, Sen. Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson, candidate for president, popped on the screen in 21-inch living color. The old pol watcher suddenly knew what was wrong with Scoop.



The Senator from Washington was lying — not the little white fibs of say Jimmy Carter or Mo Udall. But he was smiling and telling a whopper of Hitleresque proportion. He was describing the political alliance between Jimmy Carter and Lester Maddox. He was saying how close they had been and how they had worked and plotted together.

In his first month as governor in 1971, Jimmy Carter summoned Lt. Gov. Lester Maddox to his office. It was the first of only two times the men would meet privately in the governor's office during the next four years.

As Maddox recalls, he walked into the office, shook hands with Carter and pledged to help the new governor if he could. After all, Maddox himself

had vacated the office only a few days earlier and he might be able to show the new man around.

But Carter was in a stern mood and declared (again according to Maddox): "I didn't call you here to find out whether you plan to support me or not. I called you to tell you that if you ever oppose me on any issue I will fight you with the full resources at my command."

"I was shocked," says Maddox who is hardly ever shocked. "Why, my daddy never talked to me like that... And I told him, if you do (fight me), I will fight back. And, of course, I did."

They fought and fought and fought for four long years. And they're still fighting.

The following year, Maddox recalled, Carter again summoned him to his office. "We had a bowl of soup and he asked for my help with his reorganization plan. I told him I would help him, if I thought it was legal."

Maddox apparently didn't think it was legal. He tried his best to blow the whole plan out of the Capitol.

"Well, you know how he finally got his reorganization through," said Maddox the other day. "He traded it out for the salary increases (for the legislature, the governor and the lieutenant governor who happened to be Maddox at the time.) And George Busbee introduced the bill for the raises."

Jackson suggested in his televised perfidy that Maddox went to New Hampshire at the behest of Carter to

attack the Georgian and thus drum up support among liberals.

Says Maddox: "I tried to hold a press conference in New Hampshire. And Jody Powell (Carter's press aide) and a bunch came in and tried to disrupt it. I told them if they didn't have proper media credentials to get out."

Maddox also recalled the time during the 1970 election campaign when he stood on the platform with Carter and listened to Carter's compliments.

"He tried to use me publicly just like he used George Wallace. If he hadn't fooled the people of Georgia, he never would have been governor. And if he hadn't been elected governor, he couldn't run for President. Now he's trying to fool the people everywhere," declared Old Pickrick.

We could let Maddox spout off much more about the alleged duplicity of Jimmy Carter. We could let him call him, as he did many times, a "liar" and "hypocrite." But that is beside the point. The real point is that a major candidate for president, Henry M. Jackson, is describing in detail to liberal south Florida voters a fictitious alliance, a non-existent friendship between Jimmy Carter and Lester Maddox.

Carter and Maddox dislike each other personally and despise most of what each other stands for.

Any candidate who says otherwise is a liar. We have had enough of those in the White House already.

Carter Aide Quits in Protest

POST A 6 513

By Jules Witcover

Washington Post Staff Writer

Robert Shrum, a former McGovern speechwriter who joined the speechwriting team of Jimmy Carter only two weeks ago, has quit in protest, accusing Carter of "a degree of manipulation and deception" he had not previously encountered in any campaign.

Shrum, in an interview yesterday, charged that Carter resisted attempts to bring more specificity to his speeches and position on issues out of fear of making a damaging mistake, and that he was motivated solely by what would help him politically.

"You say you wish to keep your options open," Shrum wrote in his letter of resignation to Carter made available by Shrum yesterday. "Within reason that is understandable. But an election is the only option the people have. After carefully reflecting on what I have seen and heard here, I do not know what you would do as President.

"I share the perception that simple measures will not answer our problems; but it seems to me that your issues strategy is not a response to that complexity, but an attempt to conceal your true positions. I am not sure what you truly believe in other than yourself.

"I have examined my reactions closely. I have attempted to justify a different conclusion. But I cannot rationalize one. Therefore I must resign."

Advised of Shrum's statement, Jody Powell, Carter's press secretary, said most of the issues about which Shrum expressed concern had been discussed with him at length before his resignation. In fact, Powell said, Shrum had "apologized for being childish" about raising some of the questions.

"I think what he is doing now is childish and hurtful," Powell said. "I don't question his sincerity . . . He, like anyone else, has said things about people, and things that would be embarrassing if quoted back to him."

Powell insisted that Shrum was not on the payroll during his nine-day stint with the Carter campaign and also denied Shrum's claim that he was to be paid \$23,000.

In Terre Haute, Ind., Carter, visibly angry when pressed by reporters, said,

"Shrum has never been on my payroll. I don't feel inclined to comment on this young man's statement."

But he added that Shrum "obviously wrote the letter for the news media. . . . I'm not a liar and I don't make any statements in private contrary to those I make in public."

Shrum, 32, was staff director of Sen. George McGovern's Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs before joining the Carter campaign. A former speechwriter for John V. Lindsay when he was mayor of New York, and for Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D-Maine), Shrum said, he agreed to talk about his resignation because of his strong feelings about Carter.

He decided to quit, Shrum said, "because the candidate and the campaign seemed to me to be the opposite once I was there from what they seemed to be before I was there, and what I took to be perceived about them by the public.

"What made it hard," he said, "was to listen to the stump speech—I will never lie to you, I will never mislead you," said with fervor and passion—and seeing people believe."

Specifically, Shrum charged in the resignation letter that he was told that Carter, after having publicly pledged to reduce the defense budget 5 to 7 per cent, actually "might favor a substantial increase." He also complained that Carter had said he could not support automatic eligibility for black-lung benefits for miners after 30 years as "too radical" because there was no political quid pro quo involved.

Shrum said Carter told him on a campaign plane trip that this and other mine safety provisions "are too controversial and expensive." He said Carter added: "It would offend the operators. And why should I do this for Arnold Miller (head of the United Mine Workers) if he won't come and endorse me? . . . I don't think the benefits should be automatic. They chose to be miners."

Shrum also protested in his letter that Carter had said concerning a demand from trucking executives, potential campaign contributors, for changes in trucking regulations: "I want to give them enough reassu-

rance to satisfy them, but give them as little as I have to."

Shrum said Carter proposed to tell the truckers "that I oppose the diversion of the highway trust fund to mass transit" though an aide reminded him "you're already on record as favoring it."

A discussion about specificity on issues, Shrum said, came after polls by Patrick Caddell of the Carter staff showed that a perception of Carter as fuzzy was "his single most serious problem." Shrum said, "There was a question of concern within the campaign that if it ever reached a question of Carter's honesty or integrity, it would be more difficult to deal with."

It became clear, Shrum said, that Carter only wanted "the minimum necessary appearance of specificity" on issues.

In preparation of his economic policy statement released with some fanfare several days before the Pennsylvania primary, for example, Carter emphasized that care be taken that the statement not "commit me too much."

Shrum quoted Carter as saying: "We have to be cautious. We don't want to offend anybody . . . I don't want any more statements on the Middle East or Lebanon. (Sen. Henry M.) Jackson has all the Jews anyway. It doesn't matter how far I go. I don't get over 4% of the Jewish vote anyway, so forget it. We get the Christians." Shrum added that he did not believe Carter intended this latter remark as anti-Semitic, but rather as a comment of political pragmatism.

The speechwriter in the interview painted Carter as a hard-nosed political operative. Shrum recalled one conversation he said he heard in which Carter's issues chief, Stu Eisenstadt, told Carter a certain Southern political leader would endorse him in return for "one last thing." Carter was said to have replied that the leader "can kiss my . . . and you tell him that. I'm through calling him." The endorsement ultimately came, Shrum said.

Shrum said Carter often used mild profanity in talking privately with the staff.

Concerning the defense budget, Shrum said Carter aides in Atlanta told him that although Carter contin-

ued to say in general the defense budget could be cut, he had ordered no references to specific military cuts because an adviser, Paul Nitze, former deputy secretary of defense, had told Carter the military budget might have to be raised \$20 billion or \$30 billion.

Shrum said he protested, and in a speech in New Kensington, Pa., the Sunday night before the primary, Carter did give a speech that "wasn't specific but he was tough." Later, Shrum said, after he had quit, Carter aides called him, referred to the speech and said it was "Jimmy's way of showing you where he stood."

Concerning Carter's pledge to reorganize the federal bureaucracy by reducing 1,900 agencies to 200, Shrum said, he asked: "Don't we have any examples we can use?" In reply, he said, he was given a magazine article that listed "a number of silly, minor federal enterprises" that could be scrapped, including something called the Tea Board. Shrum said he decided it was better to say nothing.

Comparing Carter to McGovern, Shrum said: "If someone asked George McGovern to be for the Vietnam war, he'd say no. I think if somebody told Jimmy Carter there should be 4,000 agencies rather than 2,000, and it would help him get elected, he'd say, 'Fine.'"

Last Tuesday, the day of the Pennsylvania primary, Shrum said, he wrote Carter's victory statement. "I decided it was good, and that I didn't believe it," he said, and that was when he resigned.

Panel Won't Bar Lotion Containers

United Press International

The Consumer Product Safety Commission said yesterday it will not forbid aftershave lotion and similar cosmetics from being packaged in bottles shaped like cars or other toys.

The agency had been petitioned to do so on grounds that children playing with such containers might drink the contents or spill them, creating a fire hazard if the liquid were flammable. Cosmetics in such containers have been marketed chiefly by Avon.

Richard Redux

By William Safire

WASHINGTON—Those who still defiantly wear Richard Nixon tie clasps—a slim bar terminating in a trained Presidential seal—can find much to admire in the campaign techniques of Jimmy Carter.

More than any candidate in either party, Mr. Carter is following the precepts set down by candidate Nixon in his 1968 campaign.

1. *Stay fuzzy on the issues through Labor Day, then inundate the press with complex stands in lengthy position papers and radio speeches.* Little is to be gained, and much to be lost, in spelling out positions in the primaries. Mr. Carter has made his necessary concessions to the specific—the obeisance to labor in opposing Taft-Hartley's 14-B, the sop to the liberals with support of the makework job bill, the muted appeal to blacks with his whispered call for repeal of the Byrd Amendment that permits importation of Rhodesian chrome—but these are doled out sparingly, without hoopla.

The Carter position on the Panama Canal is a perfect expression of the Nixon rule: He opposes "relinquishing actual control" of the canal to Panama, which pleases the silent majority, but is willing to remove the word "perpetuity" from the treaty, which pleases the Establishment responsibilities.

2. *Keep a tight circle of young, long-time advisers, and trust nobody else.* Mr. Carter's inner circle of Hamilton Jordan, Jerry Rafshoon, and Jody Powell are even younger than were Nixon aides Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Zeigler. In both cases, the inner circle is made up of men whose lives are totally dominated by their leader's long quest for the Presidency. In both cases, the press secretary has had the advantage of no previous experience as a reporter.

And in both cases, the campaigns were burned by the breaching of this rule. In 1968, conservative outside speechwriter Richard Whalen stormed out of the Nixon camp on principle, and in 1976, liberal outside speechwriter Robert Shrum gagged when he was offered a spoonful of Carter's political pragmatism.

"I don't want any more statements on the Middle East or Lebanon," Mr. Shrum says Mr. Carter told him privately. "Jackson has all the Jews anyway. It doesn't matter how far I go, I don't get over 4 percent of the Jewish vote anyway, so forget it. We get the Christians." "That's not anti-Semitic, that's pro-politic; candidate Nixon thought the same way, although—perversely—he went on to espouse the pro-Israel view he proved later he held.

3. *Damn your opponents with faint praise.* "Never go after them person-

ally," Mr. Nixon used to instruct Mr. Agnew: "Say 'my wife likes them,' or something." Carter carries this out well; he often says, "My opponents, they're good people, I don't want to criticize them."

But even as Mr. Carter doesn't criticize, he does what playwright Arthur Miller calls "acting against the words"—saying one thing in a way calculated to cause the audience to believe the opposite. Mr. Nixon would do this with a rather heavy hand; Mr. Carter has a lighter, more devastating touch.

4. *Keep your eye on the ball, and remember only the Ins are guilty.* Singlemindedness is required. While Governors Rockefeller and Reagan were busy running their states, Mr. Nixon spent full time pursuing the Presidency, and won it in the primaries; while Messrs. Humphrey, Jackson and Udall were phumping around in Washington, Mr. Carter was out organizing in the primary states.

Mr. Nixon was among the first to see that running against Washington would be profitable, and that the American people did not want to be blamed for the Vietnam War. Mr. Carter, uniquely among present candidates, has a way of absolving us all from Vietnam—and Watergate—and blaming it on a scapegoated "them." Guilt is a loser; pride goeth before the fall campaign.

Of course, there are differences between the 1968 Nixon and the 1976 Carter. While Mr. Nixon had a lifelong interest in foreign affairs, Mr. Carter is picking his up as he goes along. While Nixon had a few close personal friends, Carter has none. While Nixon downplayed his Quaker fatalism, Carter parades his piety.

And one precept of Mr. Nixon's is not being followed by Mr. Carter: *Try never to let the cruelty and ruthlessness show.* If wounded, a candidate must never let the voters see him bleeding icewater; if Mr. Carter wants to go into a general campaign with his party behind him, he would do well to choke back his inner rage at "those who" would stand in his way.

When Hubert Humphrey refused to lead the charge, shedding a tear as he let his last chance go, the gracious reaction one might expect from the front-runner was absent. Instead, Jimmy Carter allowed as how he was sorry Hubert didn't enter the New Jersey primary; the loss of the opportunity to personally humiliate the old warrior seemed to distress him. The Carter staff must warn him about letting such cool vindictiveness show.

But taken as a whole, the similarity of the '68 Nixon and '76 Carter campaigns is startling. Some of us polish our tie clasps and smile at the way today's candidate holds up a triumphant index finger as if to say: "Carter's the One."

Carter Gets an Ovation After Assuring Jews in Jersey on His Religious Views

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

ELIZABETH, N. J., June 6—Jimmy Carter was interrogated before an audience of Jews today about his evangelical Christian beliefs and expressed his belief in the "absolute and total" separation of church and state in a pluralistic society.

Whether his words will quell the disquiet expressed by some American Jews about his "born again" Southern Baptist religion remains to be seen, but the audience that heard him today greeted his words with loud applause and with a standing ovation when he left the hall.

The occasion was reminiscent of, although not nearly so heralded and formal as, the appearance by John F. Kennedy at Dallas in 1960 to calm fears about the prospect of a Roman Catholic President.

The former Georgia Governor, who holds a wide lead in the race for the Democratic Presidential nomination, appeared this morning before about 2,000 people at the Jewish Educational Institute in Elizabeth to give a formal and carefully prepared speech outlining his views on United States policy toward Israel and the Middle East.

Supports Israel

In that speech he expressed "unswerving" support for Israel's right to exist as a Jewish national state and called for "early movement" toward a full and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem and a shift away from the step-by-step diplomacy practiced since 1973 by Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger.

In a question period after the speech, a man in the audience said that journalists had written that "Jimmy Carter is identified with many members of his church who have a long history of anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism and anti-Communism." He then asked, "Do you think this applies to you and how do your beliefs and how do your feelings relate to many members of your church?"

Mr. Carter, who was wearing a blue velvet yarmulke, said: "One of the major problems that I have faced in this election is because of my own religious beliefs. I am a Baptist. I am a deeply religious person, and particularly among Jewish voters this has been a cause of some concern. I think it is

the kind of issue that should be addressed frankly."

The short, slender former Governor said that Baptists viewed their religion as "a very personal relationship between a person and God"—subject to no authority, even of the church itself.

'Worship Same God'

"I worship the same God you do," Mr. Carter said in his characteristically muted tone. "We study the same Bible you do."

"There are good Baptists and bad Baptists," he continued. "There are good Jews and bad Jews. There are good Catholics and bad Catholics. But the judgment of who's bad is one that is best left to God. I learned from my early years that you should not judge other people because while you look at the mote in your brother's eye, you should be more concerned about the beam that is in your own eye.

"I also believe that this is a country where anyone's own religious beliefs should not be a matter of prejudice or concern; and, of all the people in the world who should have the least prejudice because of another's religious faith, it should certainly be you."

He said that "another important tenet of my own Baptist faith is an absolute and total separation of church and state," which he said he believed in "very deeply."

Mr. Carter's closing words were punctuated with applause when he remarked that, when the United States offered early recognition to Israel in 1948, "the President of the United States in those days was Harry Truman, and Harry Truman was a Baptist."

In answers to other questions, Mr. Carter said he did not favor public financial support for religious instruction or for parochial schools, and he said that he supported the Supreme Court's decision on prayer in public schools. He said that, while he favored a major reform of income tax laws, he would "certainly not do anything" to reduce tax deductions for charitable purposes, an issue important to many Jews.

Oh his formal speech, Mr. Carter said that "there is no doubt in my mind" that it would be carefully studied by the Soviet Union and Arab states because of "my present stature as a candidate for President of the United States."

He accused the Republican

Administration of "an inconstant, vacillating position" on the Middle East.

"I favor early movement to a discussion of the outline of an eventual overall settlement," Mr. Carter said, adding that he believed that limited settlements "leave unresolved the underlying threat to Israel." He digressed from his written text at this point to say that he had discussed this "particular subject" last week with Golda Meir, the former Israeli Prime Minister.

Settlement in Stages

Mr. Carter called for major concessions by Arab states as part of a settlement, including face-to-face negotiations, diplomatic recognition and relations with Israel, a peace treaty, open frontiers in the Middle East and an end to embargoes directed against Israel.

Mr. Carter said that the "general" settlement would "probably have to be executed," or implemented, in stages over a period of time.

He said that the Palestinian refugees "have rights which must be recognized in any settlement," but added, "There can be no reward for terrorism."

He said he could not "accept the intervention" of combat forces of the Soviet Union into any future Arab-Israeli conflict.

The candidate later spoke at a black-church, participated in broadcast interviews and flew this afternoon to Ohio, where he will end 16½ months of campaigning for delegates in a race that has seen him enter 30 of 31 primary elections, far more than any other politician in American history. Ohio, New Jersey and California vote on Tuesday, and Mr. Carter hopes to win in the first two states and gather a substantial number of delegates in the latter.

6 Policemen Held in Brazil In Dead Squad Killing of 23

RIO DE JANEIRO, June 6 (UPI)—Six policemen have been arrested in death squad murders of 23 people in 15 days, the Rio de Janeiro state security chief said today.

The security chief, Gen. Oswaldo Ignacio Domingues, said the six were being questioned about the mass murder last month of five supposed criminals whose bodies were dumped in a vacant lot west of Rio.

He refused to identify the policemen.

Carter and Baptists

By Morris B. Abram

There has been much talk about Jimmy Carter's religious convictions. Some have suggested that Mr. Carter's religion is incompatible with the American political system.

Of course, Jimmy Carter is a Baptist and I know Baptists well. They are among the best and some are the worst people I have ever known—substitute any other religion and the same statement holds.

I grew up in Fitzgerald, Ga., 80 miles from, and 10 times the size of, Plains, Ga., where Jimmy Carter, six years younger, was raised.

I never met Jimmy until he was Governor—the best Georgia ever had—and the first who truly felt and, more important, acted as if he were the chief executive of and for all the people—blacks and whites.

I didn't join the Carter Presidential effort when he asked me in December 1974, explaining that for reasons of personal gratitude and loyalty I was with Scoop Jackson. I added that these personal considerations would not govern if Jackson were not a good man. Governor Carter said he understood and that he felt that Jackson was "good and able," and reminded me that he had nominated Jackson at the 1972 Democratic convention.

Governor Carter told me that he was acquainted with very few members of the Jewish community outside Georgia and he asked if I would help him meet others. I said of course, and I did so without hesitation because I knew a good deal about Governor Carter's record. For example, he had appointed a Jewish friend of mine from Ocilla, nine miles from Fitzgerald, as the chairman of the Board of Regents of the university system of Georgia. This action was particularly significant to me because I had once wanted to serve on that board but under previous governors I never had a ghost of a chance.

My father's best friend was a "hard-shell" Primitive Baptist. His name was Elijah Dorminy and he was high sheriff of Ben Hill County. The sheriff and my father, a Rumanian immigrant, both had only a third-grade education. The sheriff's brother, George, a deputy sheriff, had been killed in a shootout with a Negro fugitive. Elijah Dorminy was a man of charity and peace. There were lynchings during my boyhood in most of the surrounding counties, but never in Ben Hill.

In the early 1920's a Ku Klux Klan organizer came to Ben Hill from Indiana and, as was customary, looked up the sheriff to induct him as one of the first members of the Klavern. As

a boy of 10, I heard Elijah Dorminy relate the encounter:

Klan organizer: "Sheriff, we want you in our organization."

Sheriff: "What do you believe in?"

Organizer: "We promote Americanism and we are against niggers, Catholics and Jews."

Sheriff: "I believe in Americanism, but I don't think the rest of your program has anything to do with it and I'm not joining."

Organizer: "Then we will have to run you out of office."

Sheriff: "Oh, no, I'm going to run you out of town the first time you violate the law."

A quick, quiet investigation revealed that the Klan organizer was wanted for a crime elsewhere and he left—one step ahead of the sheriff.

Elijah Dorminy loved me and every member of my family. I don't doubt that he would have considered it a great achievement and beneficial for all of my family had we been willing to see religion his way and be "born again." But like all true Baptists, he was a man of profound tolerance as well as a strict separationist. He thought that the church and state were best left in a state of parallel life and wary coexistence.

I surmise that Elijah Dorminy was not acquainted with the life of Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island and the father of religious toleration in North America. I know I never heard him mention that Roger Williams was the founder of the Baptist church in the United States. But in his bones he had absorbed the essence of Baptist Christianity, the least established and the most independent of all the Christian sects I lived among during my 44 years in Georgia.

For example, in 1928, when Al Smith was the Democratic candidate, my father, by supporting Smith, a New York Roman Catholic, lost fully half of his Christian friends. Elijah Dorminy, an elected official, espoused the same unpopular candidate.

I understand the suspicions that many Northern liberals have of Southern Baptists. They are like the suspicions of the Southern Protestant towards the Catholic, Al Smith. As with all generalizations, this one falls apart under specific scrutiny.

I do not claim that Jimmy Carter knows all the nuances of American pluralism. But on his record, and knowing him, I believe he wants to learn. Nothing that has happened in the months of his Presidential campaign has changed my mind.

Morris B. Abram, a New York lawyer, was chairman of the Moreland Act Commission on Nursing Homes.

Jimmy Carter isn't so fuzzy on the issues

My prayer lately has been for a thousand angels to protect me from people in restaurants, tennis courts or at parties who ask what kind of president Jimmy Carter will make.

These are people who believe the Gallup Poll that shows Carter clobbering either President Ford or Ronald Reagan, or who believe the "we've got the nomination" arithmetic the Carter camp is putting out.

Some questioners can't disguise their happiness that Carter may become the new leader. They are sick of names like Humphrey and Muskie. They want a new face, especially on a man who talks about religion and Jesus and decency.

Others ask their questions out of uneasiness, even fear. They see a shark behind Carter's smile. They say they are "scared as hell" by his declarations of religiosity, and especially by the evangelism of his sister.

Others say they are frightened by signs that Carter is a "poor loser" who is addicted to whining outbursts about imagined plots and conspiracies to deny him a White House to which he is entitled. Some say Carter reminds them of Richard Nixon in his most active states of paranoia.

But most questioners simply raise the complaint that Carter is so "vague" on the issues they "can't tell where he's coming from."

Okay, so how do these criticisms and reservations grab me?

• Warning bumps pop out all over me when any potential leader claims a special godliness. But if Carter really swears to the sort of morality we haven't had in our national leadership for a decade, I'm willing to see what he produces.

• As for his evangelistic sister, I'm never going to condemn any politician for what his relatives do or don't do. Who in this world wants to be judged by the actions of even his closest kin?

• Carter does seem to me to be a poor, even mean, loser who just might turn into a ruthless winner. "Jaws" may very well lurk behind that permanent smile.

• The most unfair rap against Carter is that he is "fuzzy" on the issues. I've read Carter interviews in many places, including the most recent *Family Weekly*, and I think Carter has been as honestly forthcoming as we ought to ask any presidential contender to be. Listen to a few Carter quotes and opinions from *Family Weekly* on some issues that I think will be very important in the election:

Detente: "I think our position has weakened. And one of the reasons is that we have yielded to Russia on every controversial negotiation point. Detente is a very good arrangement if it means communication, trade, openness, tourism, student exchanges, cultural knowledge. But yielding on trade negotiations and neglecting our natural allies because of our preoccupation with Russia are things that concern me." No evasion here by Carter. A bit of pandering to the fear-mongers, perhaps, but this isn't "vague."

Abortion: "I do not favor a constitutional amendment to prohibit abortions. I also do not favor a constitutional amendment that would give states a local option . . . I'll do everything I can, as president, to minimize the need for abortions with a comprehensive federal program . . . that (gives) access to contraceptives by those who believe in their use — including minors, by the way . . . The present Supreme Court ruling says that during the first 13 weeks (of pregnancy) a mother is entitled to make that decision (about an abortion). I don't think that will change."

Nothing evasive about that. Rather gutsy, in fact.

Carter says he's for "voluntary" busing, which does strike me as a cop-out. His stance on the United Nations would, I think, enhance the prestige of that body, improve U.S. influence in it and lessen the chances of another world war.

Carter yields to demagoguery a bit when he talks about the "federal bureaucracy," but he displays a measure of diplomatic sanity the West needs badly when he talks about "the Third World."

The Georgian notes that the U.S. has no real policy toward these 100-plus poor nations, and he quotes foreign leaders as saying to him: "We haven't had a friend in the White House since John Kennedy died." Carter sort of pledges to be the new friend.

Okay, so you want me to tell you what my bottom-line conclusion is about Carter? All I can say is that I do not find him unacceptable, but I want to hear more from him, and to weigh whatever alternatives may exist, before I give him anything approaching an endorsement.

APPENDIX III

VETOES - NIXON-FORD ABUSES

Nixon-Ford Abuses

In the past 7½ years Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford have vetoed 86 public bills enacted by majorities -- often large majorities -- of both Houses of Congress.

Thirty of these bills were killed by use of the "pocket veto", when Congress was out of session and hence had no opportunity to overturn the President's actions, however arbitrary.

On 38 occasions Congress tried to override the Presidential vetoes, but succeeded in only 13 of the attempts, usually because White House pressure was able to sway just enough Members to hold the override vote two or three below the required two-thirds of those present and voting.

While the President's veto power derives from the Constitution, the choice of what to veto is a strong indicator of a President's basic political bias. The major vetoes of both Nixon and Ford were designed to thwart the popular will, as expressed by the majority in each House, with respect to human needs: veto after veto struck down both substantive laws and appropriations to fund them, in the fields of health, job expansion, education, minimum wages for low-paid workers, housing, environmental protection, veterans benefits and small business.

Never did Nixon or Ford veto money for military spending, however excessive of real defense needs, or subsidies for floundering corporations, or loop-holes for special interests, or tax breaks for the wealthy.

The veto record of President Ford has been egregiously bad. In less than two years since he was appointed President, he has vetoed 49 bills. His timid and unimaginative approach to the major economic and social problems facing the Nation in the throes of the most severe recession in recent times resulted in vetoes which frustrated the Congressional majority's attempt to reduce unemployment and bring about recovery.

In addition, as the following tabulation clearly indicates, his vetoes gutted new legislation and reduced needed funds for such

essential programs as day-care centers, aid to State and local governments, construction of sewage treatment plants, improved educational facilities and efforts to expand energy production without undue price increases to the consumer.

The Constitution requires only a simple majority, not two-thirds, of both Houses to pass legislation. When a President, especially a non-elected President such as Gerald Ford, abuses the veto power to impose his prejudices upon the popular majority, he stands guilty of bad faith, mocking the will of the people, and disrupting the democratic process.

PRESIDENT FORD - VETOES - 1975-1976THE ECONOMY(1) JOBSH. R. 5247 PUBLIC WORKS EMPLOYMENT ACT OF 1975

Vetoed February 14, 1976 - House overrode - Senate sustained

Designed to combat unemployment. Provided approximately \$6.36 billion he authorized to be spent in next several years for various public works projects including:

\$2.5 billion in continuation of job opportunities

1.4 billion - construction of public-owned sewage treatment facilities

1.6 billion - counter cyclical revenue sharing aid.

Would create 600,000 - 800,000 new jobs.

President claimed it would not reduce unemployment substantially and cost would be intolerably high.

(2) JOBSH. R. 9803 - DAY CARE CENTER ACT

Vetoed April 4, 1976 - House overrode - Senate sustained.

Bill was introduced to provide additional funds and to postpone application of certain standards until July 1, 1976 to give centers sufficient time to meet established standards.

(3) JOBSH. R. 4481 EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT APPRECIATION ACT

Vetoed May 28, 1975 - House failed to override.

This bill would provide \$5.3 billion for emergency jobs. The objective was to create an estimated 1 million full and part-time jobs and 840,000 summer jobs for youths. This bill also contained funds for the purchase of 21,000 new government vehicles.

President Ford vetoed because it was more than he planned to spend -- too much stimulus too late.

H. R. 5555 REVENUE ADJUSTMENT ACT OF 1976

Vetoed December 17, 1975 - House failed to override

Intent of this bill was to extend for 6 months the provisions of the Tax Reduction Act of 1975 which provided for decrease in the amount of personal and corporate taxes.

The President vetoed because it did not contain a spending ceiling which reflected a decrease in expenditures equal to the decrease in tax revenues - it was inflationary. House Democratic leadership argued it was a necessary stimulant for the economy. Ceilings would wait until the President submitted a 1977 budget.

H.R. 5900 COMMON-SITE PICKETING ACT

Vetoed January 2, 1976. Returned - House referred to Committee on
Education and Labor.

There were two principle elements in the bill:

1. Amend the National Labor Relations Act fo allow picketing and strikes against all employers at a single construction site. The legislative would have overturned a 1951 Supreme Court ruling that such action was an illegal boycott.
2. Establish a Construction Industry Collective Bargaining Committee within the Department of Labor.

After earlier supporting the measure the President vetoed it because the various parties to the dispute over the impact of the bill now disagreed.

IV. GOVERNMENT & HUMAN NEEDS

HOUSING

H. R. 4485 Emergency Housing Act of 1975

Vetoed 6/24/75 - House failed to override.

This bill \$1.2 billion in housing assistance through various provisions including interest subsidy or incentive payment to defray down payment cost. It also provided unemployed home owners federal loans up to 24 months to mortgage payments.

President vetoed because it set subsidies that were excessively deep and costly and inflationary.

HEALTH

H. R. 17085 - NURSE TRAINING

Vetoed January 4, 1975 - Pocket veto provided \$25 million for grants, loan guarantees and interest subsidies, capitation grants, financial distress grants, special projects, traineeships for nurses, etc.

Vetoed on grounds of cost.

(2) HEALTH

S. 66 - SPECIAL HEALTH REVENUE SHARING ACT OF 1975

Vetoed July 26, 1975 - Overriden - PL 94-63.

This legislation amended health laws to revise and extend health revenue sharing programs, family planning programs, community health centers, National Health Service Corps programs and assistance to nurse training.

The Presidential veto was based on the argument that the bill would authorize excessive appropriations levels.

(3) HEALTH

H. R. 9068 - DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

APPROPRIATION FOR 1976

Vetoed December 19, 1975 - Overriden - Public Law 94-105

Bill provided appropriations of \$4.5 billions. The amount was nearly \$1 billion above Administration's request. The bulk of the increase was in various health programs.

President vetoed because the bill represented excessive spending and would increase Federal employment by 8,000.

EDUCATION

H. R. 4222 - NATIONAL SCHOOL LUNCH AND CHILD NUTRITION ACT AMENDMENTS

Vetoed October 3, 1975 - Overriden - Public Law 94-105

This Act increased the number of families above the poverty level whose children were eligible for school lunch subsidies.

President Ford said the authorization went far beyond efforts to feed needy children and greatly exceeded his budget proposals and would add to inflation pressures.

EDUCATION

H. R. 5901 - EDUCATION DIVISION AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS FOR 1976

Vetoed July 25, 1975 - Overriden - Public Law 94-94

Bill provides \$7.9 billion for various educational programs. This was \$1.5 billion more than requested by the Administration.

The President vetoed because the total increased the budget deficit and locked in required expenditures for future years.

VI. NATURAL RESOURCES AND ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY(1) ENERGYH. R. 4035 - PETROLEUM PRICE INCREASE LIMITATION ACT OF 1975

Vetoed July 21, 1975 - No attempt to override.

This bill would have continued controller prices at the then existing rate for old oil and would have rolled back the price of new oil from the existing uncontrolled prices. The President's veto was based on his belief that continuing controls would eventually result in less incentive to increased domestic production. Prior to invoking the veto the President had sent to Congress a proposal for decontrolling the price of oil over a 30-month period.

(2) ENERGYH. R. SUSPENSION OF PRESIDENTIAL AUTHORITY TO INCREASE
TARIFFS ON PETROLEUM PRODUCTS

Vetoed March 4, 1975 - No attempt to override.

The purpose of this bill was to suspend for 90 days the authority to increase tariffs or to take any other import adjustment action with respect to petroleum or products derived therefrom because companies needed more time to develop an energy program. President argued that increased import fees were necessary.

(3) ENERGYS. 1849 - EMERGENCY PETROLEUM ALLOCATION EXTENSION ACT OF 1975

Vetoed September 9, 1975 - Senate attempt to override failed.

This bill provided for the extension of price controls (Emergency Petroleum Act of 1973) for petroleum and products which were due to expire August 31, 1975.

President vetoed because in his view it held price of domestic oil to uneconomic levels.

1. AGRICULTURES. 3943 - AGRICULTURE CONSERVATION

Vetoed January 4, 1975 - Pocket veto

Extended time for using funds appropriated to carry out Rural Environmental Assistance and Rural Environmental Conservation programs.

2. S. 4206 - ADJUSTMENTS IN PRICE SUPPORTS

Vetoed January 4, 1975 - Pocket veto.

Required the support price of manufactured milk be established at not less than 85% of the parity price.

3. H.R. 2933 - IMPROVEMENTS IN FILBERTS

Vetoed January 4, 1975 - Pocket Veto.

Provided that if a domestic marketing order establishes certain grade and quality standards for filbert products, imports of the same commodity must meet equivalent standards.

4. AGRICULTURE

Resolution 121. ADJUSTMENTS IN THE SUPPORT PRICE OF MILK

Vetoed May 1, 1975. House failed to override.

This joint resolution provides for quarterly adjustments in the support price of milk at 85 percent of parity. The President opposed because it would result in unnecessarily high consumer prices.

Date of veto January 36, 1976 Senate failed to override.

5. AGRICULTURE

H. R. 4296 - EMERGENCY AGRICULTURAL ACT OF 1975

Vetoed Jay 1, 1975. No attempt to override.

This bill would have increased "target prices" and price support loans for cotton and grain and price supports for milk products.

The President in vetoing said the bill would undermine the successful market oriented policy of the Administration.

6. AGRICULTURE

H. R. 9497 TO AMEND COMPUTATION OF PRICE SUPPORTS FOR TOBACCO

Vetoed October 1, 1975 - No attempt to override.

Legislation sought to modify the formula for determining tobacco price support levels.

The President said higher prices would adversely affect tobacco exports and increase Federal spending. Dated veto October 1, 1975, Congress made no attempt to override.

RECREATION

H. R. 5337 AUTHORIZING APPROPRIATIONS TO THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
FOR PROMOTION OF TOURIST TRAVEL

Vetoed May 23, 1975 - No attempt to override.

This bill authorized appropriations for the promotion of tourist travel including travel within United States and continuation and expansion of the current program to promote and facilitate foreign travel in the United States.

III-7-

The President vetoed the bill because he was opposed to the reinstatement of a domestic tourism program. Furthermore he objected to the amounts authorized in the bill.

VII. FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY

National Security

H. R. 12 BILL FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS AND
INCREASE IN THE SIZE OF THE EXECUTIVE PROTECTION SERVICE

Vetoed November 29, 1975 - No attempt to override

Bill authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to reimburse State and local governments for provisions of protective and other services to foreign missions and visiting officials.

President was concerned lest this bill set the stage for further requests by State and local governments for reimbursements in other fields.

2. National Security

S. 2350 AMENDING THE NATIONAL SECURITY ACT OF 1947 TO INCLUDE
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY & 20 MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL
SECURITY COUNCIL

Vetoed December 13, 1975 -- Senate overrode. Bill referred to House
Armed Services Committee.

To include the Secretary as a statutory member of the National Security Council in order to include the chief economic spokesman of the U. S. in international economic policy formulation.

VIII. OTHER

1. H.R. 11897 - FORD FEDERAL OFFICE BUILDING

Vetoed January 4, 1975 - Pocket veto.

Provided U. S. Courthouse and Federal Office Buildings be designated the "President Gerald B. Ford Federal Office Building".

Veto comment: President knew of no Federal Office Buildings named for a President while in office.

2. OTHER

2. H. R. 13296 - AUTHORIZING APPROPRIATION FOR FISCAL 1975
MARITIME PROGRAMS

Vetoed January 4, 1975 - Pocket veto.

Provided for acquisition, construction and reconditioning of ships, ship operating differential subsidies, research and development, reserve fleet expenses and maritime training. Veto based on requirement that Federal Government reimburse U. S. fishing vessel owners for damage by foreign flag ships.

3. OTHER

H. R. 8617 FEDERAL EMPLOYEES POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ACT OF 1976

Vetoed April 12, 1976 House failed to override.

This bill would have removed major constraints on the political activities of Federal employees imposed by the Hatch Act of 1939. It would have allowed civilian Federal employees to run for local, State and Federal offices under a partisan label.

FORD VETOES - 1974

I. THE ECONOMY

Labor-Management Relations

H. R. 13342 - FARM LABOR CONTRACTORS REGISTRATION

Vetoed October 29, 1974 No attempt to override.

Strengthened protection of migrant farm workers but also had a provision reclassifying hearing oppositions in the Labor Department, the pretext for the veto.

IV. GOVERNMENT & HUMAN NEEDS

Health

1. H.R. 14214 -- HEALTH REVENUE SHARING AND HEALTH SERVICES

Vetoed December 23, 1975 Pocket Veto.

Omnibus bill authorizing grants for family planning, expanded community mental health centers, migrant health centers, and new programs for control of diseases borne by rodents, programs related to epilepsy, Huntington's disease, hemophilia, rape prevention and control.

Vetoed because it authorized appropriations of more than \$1 billion "over my recommendations."

2. H. R. 14225 REHABILITATION AND RANDOLPH SHAPPARD ACT AMENDMENTS

Vetoed October 29, 1974 Overridden by both Houses, Public Law 93-508

Provided increased supportive services for the handicapped and changes in HEW organizational structure.

SENIOR CITIZENS

H. R. 15301 RESTRUCTURING THE RAILROAD RETIREMENT SYSTEM

Vetoed October 12, 1974 Overridden by both Houses. Public Law 93-445

Provided \$285 million annually from General Treasury to Railroad Retirement Trust Fund to keep it solvent.

VETERANS AFFAIRS

H. R. 12628 VETERANS EDUCATIONAL BENEFITS

Vetoed November 26, 1974 Overridden by both Houses. Public Law 93-508

Provided increased educational benefits for post-Korean and Vietnam War veterans by 22.7%, boosted on-the-job training funds, and vocational aid for the disabled by 18.2%, created a new \$600 a year per veteran educational loan program and extended the entitlement period for veterans seeking undergraduate degrees from 36 to 45 months.

VI. NATURAL RESOURCES AND ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

MATERIALS POLICY

H. R. 10626 -- AUTHORIZING SALE OF CERTAIN RESERVED PHOSPHATE

INTERESTS IN FLORIDA

Vetoed January 30, 1974 No attempt to override

ENERGY

1. H. R. 15323 ATOMIC ENERGY ACT

Vetoed October 12, 1974 No attempt to override.

Revised method of providing remuneration in the event of a nuclear "incident".

2. H. R. 11929 TVA AMENDMENTS

Vetoed December 23, 1974 Pocket Veto

Permitted TVA to defer payments of obligations to the Treasury of \$85 million per year for 5 years because of expenditures for installation of pollution control equipment, with objective of postponing certain rate increases.

3. H. R. 8193 ENERGY TRANSPORTATION SECURITY ACT

Vetoed December 30, 1974 Pocket Veto

Required that 20% of gross tonnage of all oil transports in bulk on ocean vessels for import into the U. S. be transported on privately-owned U. S. flag commercial vessels, rising to 25% after June 30, 1975.

PUBLIC LANDS

H. R. 11541 NATIONAL WILDLIFE REFUSE SYSTEM

Vetoed October 24, 1974 No attempt to override.

Added new standard in determining the authority of the Secretary of the Interior to allow certain rights-of-way across lands of the National Wildlife Refuge System.

ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

1. S. 425 SURFACE MINING CONTROL

Vetoed December 30, 1974 Pocket Veto

Established Federal standards to prevent adverse effects from strip mining.

2. S. 3537 FLOOD CONTROL ACT

Vetoed December 17, 1974 No attempt to override

Authorized revision of Willow Creek Dam project in Oregon, emphasizing flood control and providing advance payment of the Federal share of the cost of relocating the water system in the town of Heppner.

VII.. FOREIGN & DEFENSE POLICY

International Economic Policy

H. R. 6191 ZINC TARIFFS

Vetoed December 3, 1974. House failed to override.

Amended tariff schedules to admit certain forms of zinc, free of duty until June 30, 1977 (also tax riders to compensate individuals suffering property losses from 1972 disasters, the pretext for the veto).

VIII. OTHER

S. 3341 TRAVEL EXPENSES

Vetoed December 31, 1974 Pocket Veto

Increased allowances for travel by Federal employees from \$25 to \$35 a day and mileage allowances for use of private autos from 15 ¢ to 20¢ a mile.

NIXON VETOES - 1974

V. STATES, COUNTIES AND CITIES

URBAN NEEDS & FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITIES

H. R. 10511 MASS TRANSIT ACT

Vetoed January 4, 1974 Pocket Veto.

Provided that Urban Transportation Administration money could be used for the purchase of buses by public transit. agencies and that such equipment could be used for charter services.

VI. NATURAL RESOURCES & ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

1. ENERGY

S. 2859 EMERGENCY ENERGY ACT

Vetoed March 6, 1974 - Senate failed to override.

Gave President authority to ration gasoline, order energy conservation measures, modify environmental standards if necessary to conserve oil; gave Congress veto over Presidential energy conservation measures; provided low interest loans to home owners for installing storm windows and more efficient heating units and established a ceiling on the price of domestic crude oil.

VIII. OTHER

Appropriations

Vetoed August 8, 1974 - No attempt to override.

H. R. 15472 AGRICULTURAL & ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY APPROPRIATIONS

Appropriated \$13,571,000,000 in new budget authority for FY 75, which was \$38,531,000 over Nixon's amended budget request.

Vetoed as "clear and distinct threat to our fight against inflation".

NIXON VETOES - 1973

1. ECONOMY

LABOR

H. R. 7935 MINIMUM WAGE ACT

Vetoed September 6, 1973 House failed to override.

Raised minimum wage to \$2.00 per hour effective November 1, 1973 and \$2.20, July 1, 1974.

2. SMALL BUSINESS

S. 1672 DISASTER LOAN ACT

Veto - Senate failed to override September 25, 1973.

Increased authority of Small Business Administration to provide loans to small firms in the event of natural disasters.

II. GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SECTOR REFORM

Public Sector

S. 518 OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

Vetoed May 18, 1973 Senate overrode, but House failed to override.

Bill to make Director and Deputy Director subject to Senate confirmation.

Vetoed on ground of its being an unconstitutional attempt to remove the incumbents who lawfully held these offices.

IV. GOVERNMENT AND HUMAN NEEDS

1. HEALTH

S. 504 EMERGENCY MEDICAL SERVICES

Vetoed May 18, 1973 Senate overrode, House failed to override.

Authorized \$185 million over 3 years to assist State and local jurisdictions in establishing Emergency Medical System.

2. EDUCATION

S. 7 VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION

Vetoed May 1, 1973 Senate failed to override.

Extended for three years appropriations authority at cost of \$2.6 billion for Vocational Rehabilitation. President vetoed on grounds amount exceeded his budget recommendations by \$1 billion, diverted the program from its original purposes and confused management responsibility.

VI. NATURAL RESOURCES & ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

Environmental Quality

H. R. 3295 RURAL WATER AND SEWER GRANT PROGRAM

Vetoed April 5, 1973 House failed to override.

Required President to spend \$300 million in grants over three years. President vetoed as inflationary and redundant in view of Environmental Protection Agency grant funds and FHA loan program.

VII. FOREIGN & DEFENSE POLICY

1. Republican Record

H. J. Res. 542 WAR POWERS RESOLUTION

Vetoed October 24, 1973 Overridden by both Houses. Became Public Law 93-148.

Provided that 72 hours after the President has committed combat forces in a foreign land, he must submit to Congress a report setting forth his reasons and legal justification. Within 60 days after a report is submitted, the President shall terminate any use of U. S. armed forces unless 1) Congress has declared war or authorized such use, 2) has extended by law the 60-day period, or 3) is physically unable to meet as a result of an armed attack on the U.S.

President vetoed on grounds of constitutionality and practical consequences.

2. Republican Record

S. 1317 U. S. INFORMATION AGENCY APPROPRIATIONS

Vetoed October 23, 1973 Senate failed to override.

Provided USIA would have its funds cut off if it failed to meet a demand for information by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee or House Committee on Foreign Affairs. President vetoed on grounds it was unconstitutional attempt to undermine President's responsibility to withhold information when such disclosure would be contrary to the "public interest".

Republican Record

3. H. R. 7447 SECOND SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS ACT OF 1973

Vetoed June 26, 1973 House failed to override.

Prohibited funds from being used to support U. S. combat activities in or over Cambodia or Laos.

President vetoed because" enactment into law of the, 'Cambodian rider' ...would cripple or destroy the chances for an effective negotiated settlement in Cambodia and the withdrawal of all North Vietnamese troops".

NIXON VETOES - 1972

I. THE ECONOMY

JOBS

H. R. 16071 PUBLIC WORKS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AMENDMENTS

Vetoed October 27, 1972 Pocket Veto

Extended the Public Works and Economic Development Act during fiscal 1974 and authorized funds for regional commissions.

III. LAW OBSERVANCE

CRIME CONTROL

H. R. 13895 PAY OF U. S. MARSHALS

Vetoed October 27, 1972 Pocket Veto

Increased salaries of U. S. Marshals

IV. GOVERNMENT AND HUMAN NEEDS

1. H. R. 15417 LABOR-HEW APPROPRIATIONS

Vetoed September 16, 1972 House failed to override.

Appropriated for Departments of Labor and HEW \$30,538,919,500.

2. H. R. 16654 LABOR-HEW APPROPRIATIONS

Vetoed October 27, 1972 = Pocket Veto.

Appropriated \$30.5 billion for Labor and HEW Departments.

EDUCATION

H. R. 8395 VOC. REHAB. FOR THE HANDICAPPED

Vetoed October 27, 1972 - Pocket Veto.

Authorized \$800 million in fiscal year 1973 and \$975 million in fiscal 1974 to assist States in providing vocational rehabilitation to the handicapped.

VETERANS

1. H. R. 10880 - VETERANS HEALTH CARE EXPANSION ACT

Vetoed December 27, 1972 - Pocket Veto.

Authorized \$450 million for a 7 year program of expanded health care for veterans. Guaranteed eligible veterans and their dependents out-patient care and provided hospital and medical care to the wife of widow and dependents of certain veterans.

2. H. R. 12675 NATIONAL CEMETARIES ACT

Vetoed October 27, 1972 - Pocket Veto.

Established a V. A. national cemetery system and prohibited VA from transferring any of its property larger than 100 acres or valued at more than \$100,000, unless the transfer had been approved by public law.

SENIOR CITIZENS'1. H. R. 15927 INCREASE RAILROAD RETIREMENT

Vetoed October 4, 1972 - Overridden by both Houses. Public Law 92-500

Provided a temporary 20% increase in railroad retirement annuities.

2. H. R. 14424 NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON AGING

Vetoed October 27, 1972 - Pocket Veto.

Established a National Institute on Aging.

3. H. R. 15647 - OLDER AMERICAN ACT AMENDMENT

Vetoed October 27, 1972 - Pocket Veto.

Amended and extended Older American Act Amendments and strengthened the Administration on Aging.

VI. NATURAL RESOURCES & ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITYMATERIALS POLICYS. 635 MINERAL RESEARCH & TRAINING

Vetoed October 27, 1972 - Pocket veto.

Authorized Federal funds for mineral research and training institutes in each of the 50 states.

ENVIRONMENTAL POLICYH. R. 56 - ENVIRONMENTAL DATA CENTERS SYSTEM

Vetoed October 27, 1972 - Pocket Veto.

Established a national environmental data system to store, analyze and disseminate environmental data provided by Federal, State and local governments, private institutions and individuals.

2. S. 2770 FEDERAL WATER POLLUTION CONTROL

Vetoed October 17, 1972 Overridden by both Houses. Public Law 92-500

Established a national goal of eliminating all pollution discharge into U. S. waters by 1985. Authorized expenditures of \$24.7 billion, including \$18 billion in Federal grants to the States for construction of waste treatment plants.

OTHER

1. H. R. 13918 FUNDS FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING

Vetoed June 30, 1972 No attempt to override.

Authorized \$165 million appropriation for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for fiscal years 1973-74.

2. S. 3755 AIRPORT DEVELOPMENT ACCELERATION ACT

Vetoed October 27, 1972 - Pocket Veto.

Increased Federal aid for airport development and prohibited the taxation of airline tickets at the local level.

3. S. 4018 RIVERS AND HARBORS

Vetoed October 27, 1972 Pocket Veto.

Authorized the construction, repair and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation and flood control purposes.

NIXON VETOES - 1970-71

1. ECONOMY

JOBS

S. 3867 MANPOWER TRAINING

Vetoed December 16, 1970. Senate failed to override.

Employment and Manpower Act of 1970, authorized \$9.5 billion for fiscal years 1971-1974 for Federal manpower training and public service employment programs.

2. JOBS

S. 575 ACCELERATED PUBLIC WORKS IN APPALACHIAN REGION

Vetoed June 29, 1971. Senate failed to override.

Authorized \$5.7 billion in public works acceleration and regional economic development with emphasis on construction.

1. LABOR

H. R. 17909 WAGE BOARD PAY RAISE

Vetoed January 1, 1971 No attempt was made to override.

Federal 'blue-collar' pay raise which also established a procedure for fixing and adjusting pay rates of Federal blue collar employees paid at prevailing wage rates for comparable work in private industries.

2. LABOR

S. 578 FEDERAL FIREFIGHTERS

Vetoed January 4, 1971 No attempt was made to override.

This bill was to include firefighters within the categories of persons engaged in hazardous occupations for purposes of retirement calculations. This bill was vetoed by the President, January 4, 1971. The Congress did not attempt to override this veto.

3. LABOR

H. R. 2600 D. C. POLICE AND FIREMEN

Vetoed August 18, 1971. No attempt was made to override.

A bill to equalize retirement benefits for totally disabled District of Columbia policemen and firemen.

IV. GOVERNMENT AND HUMAN NEEDS

1. HEALTH

H. R. 1102 CONSTRUCTION OF HOSPITALS

Vetoed June 22, 1970. Overriden - Public Law 91-295.

Amendments to the Public Health Service Act for construction of hospitals and other medical facilities. Authorized \$2.9 billion for Hill-Burton hospital construction program.

2. HEALTH

S. 3418 FAMILY DOCTOR'S TRAINING

Pocket Veto. December 24, 1970

A bill to promote the field of family medicine by authorizing \$225 million for fiscal years 1971-1973 to hospitals and medical schools to train doctors for general practice.

1. EDUCATION

H. R. 16911 EDUCATION APPROPRIATION

Vetoed March 11, 1970 Overridden Public Law 91-380.

Appropriations for Office of Education of \$4.4 billion for fiscal 1971.

1. EDUCATION

S. 2007 OEO AMENDMENTS

Vetoed December 9, 1971 Senate failed to override.

To authorize funds for a new Child Development program.
(A new title V to the Act).

VIII. OTHER

H. R. 13111 APPROPRIATIONS FOR DEPARTMENTS OF LABOR AND HEW

Vetoed January 26, 1970. House failed to override.

Labor-HEW appropriations totaling \$19,747,153,200 for Labor-HEW and related agencies for fiscal 1971.

2. H. R. 17548 HUD AND INDEPENDENT OFFICES APPROPRIATIONS

Vetoed August 11, 1970. House failed to override.

HUD and independent offices appropriation, to include the Veterans Administration and NASA, of \$18,009,525,300 for fiscal 1971.

3. S. 3637 BROADCASTING - CANDIDATE TIME PURCHASES

Vetoed October 20, 1970 Senate failed to override.

Political broadcasting expenditure limits, limiting campaign spending for political broadcasting by candidates for Federal and gubernatorial offices and repealing the equal time provision of the Communications Act of 1934 for Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates.