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Civil Rights
file
Moynihan
Blanche

THE REPRESENTATIVE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TO THE
UNITED NATIONS



January 14, 1976

Dear Mr. ^{*Blanche*} Buchen:

In the course of the Thirtieth General Assembly, the United States developed a new approach to the presentation of human rights issues at the United Nations which, if it is pursued and developed, could come to have the significance in international affairs which the Brandeis brief had in American jurisprudence.

It all began on October 29, when Prime Minister Vorster of South Africa labelled a statement on apartheid which had been made by Clarence M. Mitchell, Jr., a "downright lie." I replied that this was completely unwarranted, that "Mr. Mitchell had his facts right. South Africa had its policy wrong." The Prime Minister had challenged Mr. Mitchell to name names. I said we would do so.

On November 28, Mr. Mitchell presented to the General Assembly a fifteen-page statement which named 150 political prisoners in South Africa and told of their situations in full and particular details.

In my closing address to the General Assembly, speaking of human rights issues, I said, "This year, for example, we introduced a new practice with respect to the venerable issues of apartheid. It has seemed to us that our standard practice of mere denunciation has suffered from diminishing effectiveness. Instead, this year, the United States brought into the General Assembly what was in effect a bill of particulars. With respect to violations of the standards of civil liberties which we would hope to see attained in South Africa -- and throughout the world -- we named prisoners, specified dates, cited statutes, quoted judges,

Honorable Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.



described sentences, identified jails. There are indeed political prisoners in South Africa: But we feel they are no longer unknown political prisoners. We hope other nations may follow our precedent of lawyerlike, documented presentation on such issues."

I enclose a copy of Clarence Mitchell's statement, which I think you will want to have. It may indeed be the beginning of something.

Respectfully,


Daniel P. Moynihan





UNITED STATES MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

PRESS RELEASE

799 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY
CHECK TEXT AGAINST DELIVERY

Press Release USUN-162(75)
November 28, 1975

Statement by Clarence M. Mitchell, Jr., United States Representative, in Plenary, on Civil Rights in South Africa, November 28, 1975.

The United States Delegation has voted in Plenary as it did in the Special Political Committee on the resolutions before us relating to the discussion of the "Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa".

On October 23, 1975, when speaking on behalf of my Government before the Special Political Committee on the subject of apartheid, I made the following statement:

"The U.S. deplores the detention of persons whose only act is outspoken opposition to the system of apartheid. The South African Government is courting disaster when such repressive measures have the effect of closing off all avenues for peaceful change."

Prime Minister Vorster of South Africa has called the first sentence of that quoted portion of my speech a "downright lie." He has also called for the name of just one individual in South Africa who was arrested and detained only because of his outspoken opposition to apartheid.

If the Prime Minister wants to establish credibility at the U.N. on the matter of repressive laws and policies in his country, he cannot do so by trying to narrow the issue to one point or by calling for the name of one victim. He would be better off if he could give positive assurance that his Government will stop making arrests and holding persons on vague charges. His indignation would seem more plausible if he accompanied it with an announcement of full equality under the laws of his country for all South Africans without regard to race or color.

One useful opportunity emerges from the heated response of the Prime Minister. At last he has shown that he is paying attention to the much deserved criticism being voiced against the racial politics and policies of South Africa. Some of the Members of the U.S. Delegation to the U.N. have made extensive studies of South African racial policies and the method of enforcing those policies.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*File in
Civil Rights*

February 10, 1976

TO: WHITE HOUSE STAFF
FROM: JOHN CALHOUN

The attached fact sheet is provided for
your information and future reference.

February 1976

HIGHLIGHTS OF ADMINISTRATION INITIATIVES
IN CIVIL RIGHTS AND RELATED SOCIAL PROGRAMS

(NOTE: All years without months refer to fiscal years)

A. Civil Rights

1. Total outlays for civil rights activities will increase from \$2.9 billion in 1975 to \$3.9 billion in 1977.
2. Outlays for civil rights enforcement will grow to \$430 million in 1977, an increase of 24% over 1975.
3. In 1977, outlays for equal opportunity in the military services, including the U.S. Coast Guard, will total more than \$40 million. An additional \$19 million will be expended for contract compliance, fair housing and title VI activities.

B. Equal Employment Opportunity

1. As of November 30, 1974, over one fifth (21%) of Federal employees were from minority groups. Recent surveys have reflected a continuing trend of more minorities in the middle and upper grade and pay levels.
2. Outlays for Federal civil service equal employment opportunity programs (including upward mobility) will increase by 29% in the years, 1975 to 1977, to \$188 million.
3. The budget of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission will increase from \$56 million in 1975 to \$68 million in 1977.
4. Executive Order 11246, as amended, prohibits the practice of discrimination in Federal contracts, sub-contracts, and on federally assisted construction projects. In 1977, Federal agencies responsible for implementing this order will spend \$40 million compared to \$18.1 million in 1972. Approximately 570,000 new hires and promotions will be effected by such affirmative action goals.



C. Minority Enterprise

1. Small Business Administration's (SBA) direct and guaranteed loans to minority enterprises have increased from \$41.3 million in 1968 to \$226 million in 1975. As a part of the Administration's continuing strong support of efforts to expand minority participation in private enterprise, SBA expects to provide over \$465 million in loan and loan guarantees to about 8,600 minority enterprises in 1977.
2. The Office of Minority Business Enterprise (OMBE) will continue to provide financial assistance at a level of \$50 million to support efforts to create and expand business ownership opportunities for minorities and stimulate private, State and local initiatives in this area.
3. SBA will expand its management assistance program for minority firms by \$3 million in 1977. SBA will also increase procurement subsidies by \$3 million for minority contractors to facilitate participation in the 8(a) program.
4. Under SBA's 8(a) procurement program, sole source contracts with minority firms are expected to increase from \$322 million in 1975 to \$350 million in 1977.
5. 74 Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Companies (MESBICs) are currently in operation with Federal matching funds of \$43 million and private capital investment of \$40 million.
6. A combined private sector/Government program has resulted in a substantial increase in the deposits of the Nation's 71 minority-owned banks. These deposits totalled \$1.3 billion as of June 30, 1975, compared with \$396 million in 31 minority-owned banks at the start of the program, September 30, 1970.

D. Educational Opportunities

1. Under the emergency school aid program, Federal aid will be continued to help overcome the effects of minority group isolation in school systems. In 1977, this program is proposed for operation at a requested level of nearly \$250 million, including some \$35 million for civil rights advisory services.



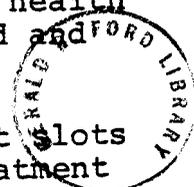
2. About 1.3 million needy college students will receive \$1.1 billion in basic education opportunity grants. By the 1977-78 school year, every eligible disadvantaged student will receive up to \$1400.
3. In 1977, \$110 million will be obligated in order to support the improvement of developing institutions, including Black colleges.
4. In 1977, \$1.9 billion will be provided for disadvantaged students at the elementary and secondary levels.
5. Office of Child Development activities -- primarily in the Head Start Program -- will receive \$434 million in 1977 and serve more than 430,000 children.

E. Housing

1. Expenditures for the enforcement of laws against discrimination in housing will increase to more than \$18 million in 1977.
2. An experimental program will carry on its test of the effectiveness of direct cash assistance programs as a means of dealing with the fundamental problem -- inadequate income -- in achieving the goal of a decent home for all Americans.
3. The lower income housing assistance program will continue to provide a more flexible form of housing assistance. In 1977, support will be provided for 400,000 units.

F. Health Care Services

1. A \$10 billion Financial Assistance for Health Care program will be initiated which consolidates 16 health grant programs including Medicaid, and better targets funds on meeting the health care needs of the low income.
2. Protection against catastrophic health care costs will be provided to the elderly and disabled through Medicare, by limiting an individual's payments to \$500 per year for hospital and nursing home care and \$250 annually for doctor's fees.
3. Medicare expenditures will increase from \$17.4 billion in 1976 to \$19.6 billion in 1977, and provide health insurance protection to almost 25 million aged and disabled Americans.
4. 7,000 new community based drug abuse treatment slots will be funded in 1977 to insure adequate treatment capacity for those in need.



- 5. Federal obligations for drug abuse prevention and treatment will be \$482 million in 1977, compared to \$455 million in 1976.

G. Anti-Poverty and Other Social Programs

- 1. Authorization for the Community Services Administration, formally the Office of Economic Opportunity, has been extended and provision made for increasing State and local involvement in community action programs for the poor through increased non-Federal matching.
- 2. The Legal Services Corporation has been successfully established as an independent, non-profit private corporation to administer legal services programs for those who cannot afford legal counsel.
- 3. In 1977, a \$2 billion Child Nutrition Reform program will provide more benefits for feeding poor children than under existing programs. By consolidating overlapping and administratively complex categorical programs, States will be given more flexibility and responsibility in meeting the needs of poor children.
- 4. The proposed reform of the Food Stamp program would simplify and improve program administration and assure that benefits are targeted towards the poor.

A key feature of this reform would provide each participating household a standard deduction of \$100 per month in computing net income, with an additional \$25 allowed for the elderly, to replace the present complex itemized deductions and provide increased benefits to poorer households who currently are not able to afford these deductible items.

The Thrifty Food Plan also provides a nutritionally adequate diet for specified sex-age groups of people resulting in higher average food stamp allotments than previously provided.

- 5. Under the Work Incentive (WIN) program, 175,000 welfare recipients will be placed in unsubsidized jobs.
- 6. Some 515,000 training and employment opportunities for the disadvantaged and unemployed will be provided under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act in 1977.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 5, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: JACK MARSH
DICK CHENEY

THROUGH: PHIL BUCHEN *P.*

FROM: BOBBIE GREENE KILBERG *B.K.*

Ted Marrs has asked the Counsel's Office for an opinion on the authority of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights to request information from the White House. His question arises because staff members of the Commission have been seeking interviews with White House staff members for the purpose of writing a report that would "assess[ing] the policymaking efforts of the Executive Office of the President" in regard to civil rights. (Tab A) Some White House staff members have spoken with the Commission representatives and others have not. Ted Marrs met with Cynthia Graae and Leopoldo Garza, Commission staff members, on December 23 and Ms. Graae is now requesting additional material and information from Ted. (See Tab B)

Under the statutory provision 42 U. S. C. 1975c(3), the Civil Rights Commission has the authority to

"appraise the laws and policies of the Federal Government with respect to denials of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin or in the administration of justice;"

Further, all federal agencies pursuant to 42 U. S. C. 1975d(e) are required to

"cooperate fully with the Commission to the end that it may effectively carry out its functions and duties."



It is the opinion of the Counsel's Office that, both as a legal matter and as a policy/political matter, Ted Marrs and other members of the White House staff should meet with staff members of the Civil Rights Commission and provide the Commission with appropriate information. However, internal memoranda from members of the White House staff to the President and staff policy proposals should not be provided to the Commission.

Though we could raise some technical questions, such as does the White House come within the definition of "federal agency" for the purpose of 42 U. S. C. 1975d(e), the Counsel's Office feels very strongly that substantive answers which are supportive of the President's programs are preferable to non-responsiveness. Further, the White House does come within the scope of the term "Federal Government" in 42 U. S. C. 1975c(3).



UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20425



STAFF DIRECTOR

DEC 19 1975

FILE

Dr. Theodore C. Marrs
Special Assistant to the President
for Human Resources
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Dr. Marrs:

This Commission is in the process of conducting a comprehensive evaluation of the Federal Government's effort to end racial, ethnic, and sex discrimination. Since November 1974, the first six volumes of this evaluation have documented that laws guaranteeing equal opportunity in such areas as education, employment, and housing are not being enforced by the designated Federal agencies. As a result, discrimination against minorities and women continues to be widespread. We believe that this problem could be most effectively confronted by forceful leadership from the President.

This spring, the Commission plans to issue a seventh volume assessing the policymaking efforts of the Executive Office of the President. In this report we hope to be able to make recommendations which will be useful to the President in providing the civil rights direction which is so badly needed.

In order to gather the information necessary for this volume, it is important that we interview a number of officials in the White House whose functions impact upon the lives of minorities and women, including staff of the Domestic Council, the Office of Legal Counsel, and the Office of Public Liaison. I am writing to you because it is the understanding of Commission staff that Mr. William J. Baroody, Assistant to the President for Public Liaison, has designated you, as his deputy, to speak for the Office of Public Liaison in this matter. I am also writing to you because I understand that you have responsibilities for issues pertaining to Native Americans and Asian Americans.



Commission staff have already talked at length with Mr. Fernando E. C. De Baca and Ms. Patricia S. Lindh. Interviews are also scheduled in the next few days with Ms. Barbara Kilberg and Mr. Richard Parsons. I understand, however, that Mr. John Calhoun's schedule does not permit him to meet with Commission staff until January 12, and that you will schedule an interview with Commission staff only after the interview with Mr. Calhoun has been completed.

With some notable exceptions, the staff in your office and that of Mr. Barocdy seemed unaware of the extreme importance of these interviews. Therefore, I wanted to write to you to ensure that you personally understand my belief that in order to evaluate the White House civil rights activities accurately and fairly, it is essential that Commission staff interview both you and Mr. Calhoun as soon as possible.

Cynthia N. Graae, Acting Director of the Office of Federal Civil Rights Evaluation, which authors the Enforcement Effort reports, will call your office within the next few days to determine if arrangements can be made for interviews at earlier dates than presently planned.

Sincerely,

JOHN A. BUGGS
Staff Director



11/12

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Washington, D. C. 20425

January 2, 1976

Dr. Theodore Marrs
Special Assistant to the President
for Human Resources
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Dr. Marrs:

Leopoldo Garza and I enjoyed our meeting with you on December 23. We appreciate that you took time from your busy schedule to provide us with information for the Commission's review of White House civil rights activities.

As we discussed at that meeting, I would like to request additional material for use in connection with our evaluation. I have enclosed a list of materials which I believe will be important to us. In order to make full use of these materials in our report, we will need to have them by January 14.

You and I discussed the possibility of a "Tuesday at the White House" session concerning Federal civil rights enforcement. I think that such a session is an excellent idea and I would be very pleased to be a participant.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

CYNTHIA N. GRAAE
Acting Assistant Staff Director
for Federal Evaluation

Enclosure



Request for Material From Dr. Theodore Marrs

1. Those sections of the 1975 Report to the President from the Office of Public Liaison which pertain to activities with regard to minorities and women; the same sections from the 1974 report if a report was written for that year.
2. Copies of any proposals made by Dr. Theodore Marrs for the coordination of Federal activities concerning women and minorities, particularly Native Americans.
3. A statement of the number of public liaison meetings (Tuesday, Wednesday, and field conferences) including the principal subject matters covered and the major minority and women's rights groups attending these meetings.
4. A list of the major issues pertaining to minorities and women considered by the Office of Public Liaison during 1975.
5. A statement of the amount of time spent on activities relating to minorities and women by White House staff members with responsibilities in this area.
6. A list of major briefings on civil rights activities requested by Dr. Theodore Marrs with Federal departments and agencies.
7. Copies of all directives and memoranda from President Ford sent to Federal agencies pertaining to civil rights which have not been made public in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents.

7,

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 13, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: JACK MARSH

FROM: PHIL BUCHEN *P.*

To supplement my attached memo of March 5 on White House relations to the Commission on Civil Rights, I do think Ted Marrs and others should be reasonably responsive.

As for the specific items requested of him in Tab B, our office will review and advise Ted on what may appropriately be furnished and on what should be excluded as coming within the categories of internal White House memoranda and staff policy proposals.

Attachment



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Phil -

What is your
view, or recommend-
ation on this?

Jack



MAR 9 1976

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 5, 1976

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DICK CHENEY

THROUGH: PHIL BUCHEN *P.*

FROM: BOBBIE GREENE KILBERG *Bobbie*

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Sincerely,

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Staff Director



January 2, 1976

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 20, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MIKE DUVAL

FROM: PHIL BUCHEN 

SUBJECT: Last Debate/President's
Record on Civil Rights

Attached is a brief statement which might serve as an add-on to any draft response which is developed as a statement of the President's commitment to civil rights.

I understand Dick Parson is preparing further answers on the President's actions in regard to civil rights, but at Jack Marsh's request, I will have completed for you tomorrow an answer on the civil rights positions taken by Congressman Ford.

Attachment



I should also note that on October 19, I signed into law S. 2278, a bill which gives courts discretion to award attorney's fees to prevailing parties in suits to enforce Federal civil rights statutes, particularly, those statutes enacted before 1964 that did not provide for award of attorney's fees as later statutes have.

Parties seeking enforcement of basic legislation regarding human rights frequently are those least able financially to afford counsel. The plaintiffs who bring actions to enforce these important policies act in the public interest and deserve our support in appropriate circumstances.



The Elementary and Secondary Education Act was first amended in 1966 (H.R. 13161). The *Congressional Record* contains no explanation of Ford's decision to vote against these amendments. In 1967, Congressman Ford again voted against amendments to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (H.R. 7819), but voted in favor of the Conference Report. Representative Ford's major concern appears to have been with the degree of Federal control. During the House debate, he noted: "We have to give more than lip service to the issue of State and local control, if we really believe in it." (*Congressional Record/Board* edition, May 24, 1967: p. 13330). In this instance, Congressman Ford was speaking in support of Congressman Quie's amendment which would have consolidated four categorical aid programs for elementary and secondary schools into one grant.

When arguing in support of this amendment, Ford asserted that it was the purpose of this amendment to "cut Federal tape in the channeling of Federal aid to elementary and secondary schools and to let State and local educators set priorities." (*Congressional Record*, Bound edition, May 2, 1967, p. 11392.) In 1969, Representative Ford voted in favor of the ESEA amendments (H.R. 514). The *Congressional Record* shows no explanation of this support.

Congressman Ford has expressed his concern with high Federal expenditures during House debate on Labor/HEW appropriations bills. The *Congressional Record* shows that during the 1967, 1969, 1971 and 1972 House debate on these appropriations, Ford emphasized the need to keep down the expenditures. In 1969, he argued against Congressmen who were willing to increase Federal education expenditures but unwilling to support any efforts at tax reform. (*Congressional Record*, Bound edition, August 13, 1969, P. 23809.)

It appears that Ford has been in complete support of President Nixon's education policies. When the President vetoed the Labor/HEW appropriations in 1970, Ford asserted, "If you vote to sustain the President's veto you are contributing the maximum in an effort to save \$1 billion." (*Congressional Record*, Bound edition, August 13, 1970, p. 28761.) Ford spoke in support of Nixon's Special Education Revenue Sharing program on at least two occasions. His explanation of his support is consistent with his desire to return responsibility for education-related programs to the local level. "There would be no fragmentation of Federal grants, no rigid assignment of funds. Instead there would be an assured Federal contribution toward the overall quality of local education, with flexibility for local planners." (*Congressional Record*, Bound edition, April 6, 1971, p. 97534.)

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

On the issue of school desegregation Representative Gerald Ford has been cautious in recent years, adhering to the position of the Administration and generally within the voting pattern of the other Michigan delegates. The State of Michigan is often used as an example of the increasing Northern opposition toward busing. In the past few years Rep. Ford has supported antibusing amendments and has favored the Administration's Emergency School Aid plan for giving money to school districts undergoing desegregation to be used for purposes other than pupil transportation.

A. Busing Amendments

Rep. Ford seems to favor the principle of school desegregation, but is opposed to busing as the means to carry it out. He has said: "I happen to think it is far wiser timewise for kids to be in their neighborhood schools rather than to spend a lot of time traveling from their home to a school which may be 3, 4, 5 or 10 miles away." (*Congressional Record*, November 4, 1971, p. 39304.)

As far back as 1956 he voted in favor of an amendment to H.R. 7535, a school construction aid bill, which prohibited the allotment of funds to States that did not comply with the 1954 Supreme Court decision, *Brown v. Board of Education*. The amendment was adopted 225-192 (*Congressional Quarterly*, Oct. 17, 1973, p. 7). Then in 1964 Rep. Ford supported the passage of the Civil Rights Act which, among other things contained provisions intended to expedite the process of school desegregation. (CQ, Oct. 17, 1973, p. 7.)

In 1970 his position on school desegregation, especially with regard to busing, was more cautious. He voted for the Whitten amendment to the second fiscal year 1970 Labor-HEW appropriations bill. This amendment prohibited the use of appropriated funds to force a school district to bus students, abolish schools, or make pupil assignments against the choice of students' parents, or to require

these actions as a p agreed upon 191-157

The major busing higher education bill concerning busing. was the Broomfield eral court order rec balance until all a second amendment funds for busing, ar departments to pro. CQ Almanac, 80-H in favor of a motio: of the three amendi conference, Rep. F: said: "The antibus the conference rep even there we are passed by the Hous

The other major tional Opportunitie million of Emerger also specified reme at the same time s bill, which was fir its passage on Aug mately rejected w consistent with or

B. Emergency sch

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As early as 1950 tion by voting in f (bound) August 2: report on (NDEA (bound) August 2: expansion and im needs. Title II of education. In 1961 sional Record (bou

In 1962, Ford v of Higher Educati House position on



these actions as a prerequisite for receiving Federal funds. The amendment was agreed upon 191-157. (CQ, Oct. 17, 1973, p. 7.)

The major busing legislation considered in 1971 and 1972 was added on to the higher education bill. On November 4, 1971 the House passed three amendments concerning busing. Rep. Ford voted in favor of all three amendments. The first was the Broomfield Amendment which postponed the effectiveness of any Federal court order requiring busing for racial, sexual, religious, or socio-economic balance until all appeals—or time for all appeals—had been exhausted. The second amendment by Rep. John Ashbrook prohibited the use of appropriated funds for busing, and the third amendment by Rep. Edith Green forbade Federal departments to promise to reimburse school districts for busing expenses. (1971 CQ Almanac, 80-H, 81-H.) When the bill went to conference Rep. Ford voted in favor of a motion instructing the House conferees to insist upon the retention of the three amendments. (CQ, Oct. 21, 1972, p. 2738). When the bill came out of conference, Rep. Ford expressed dissatisfaction with the busing provisions. He said: "The antibusing provisions are inadequate. The only meaningful part of the conference report in the busing field is in the Broomfield amendment. But even there we are getting a part of a loaf, not all of the original amendment passed by the House" (*Congressional Record*, daily ed., June 8, 1972, p. 5405-6).

The other major busing legislation in the 92d Congress was the Equal Educational Opportunities Act, H.R. 13915, which authorized the concentration of \$500 million of Emergency School Aid funds on educationally deprived students and also specified remedies for the removal of vestiges of the dual school system and at the same time severely restricted the use of busing. Rep. Ford introduced the bill, which was first proposed by President Nixon, in the House and supported its passage on August 17, 1972. He voted against an amendment, which was ultimately rejected which provided that nothing in the act was intended to be inconsistent with or violate the U.S. Constitution (CQ, Oct. 21, 1972, p. 2738).

B. Emergency school assistance

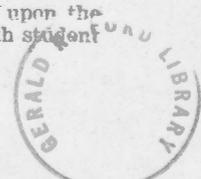
This program has been favored by the Administration as a remedy for unequal educational opportunities arising out of racially segregated schools and as a means of easing the burdens of court-ordered desegregation. In 1970 Rep. Ford voted for H.R. 19446 to establish Emergency School Aid (1970 CQ Almanac-87-H). The bill passed the House, but was filibustered in the Senate at the end of the session. In 1971 a modified version of Emergency School Aid was added, with Ford's support, to the Higher Education Act of that year (1971 CQ Almanac-81-H). With regard to Emergency School Aid, Rep. Ford has declared: "It is equity and justice on the part of the Federal government to provide that financial assistance. I am interested in the best education that we can get at the elementary and secondary level. The best way in this emergency to obtain that best education is to provide Federal financial assistance rather than to force busing. Forced busing to attain racial balance is not the best way to get good education." (*Congressional Record*, Nov. 4, 1971, p. 39304.)

HIGHER EDUCATION

With regard to Representative Gerald Ford's philosophy on aid to Higher Education, his recorded votes through the years 1949 to 1973 reveal a consistent pattern of support for various aspects of higher education, with especially strong support for student aid proposals and reiterating the current administration's views on allowing college access for more students. Representative Ford offered relatively few remarks on his philosophy of higher education until 1969, so his recorded votes have to speak for his views.

As early as 1950, Congressman Ford showed a commitment to higher education by voting in favor of the College Housing bill S. 2245 (*Congressional Record* (bound) August 23, 1950, p. 3882). In 1958, Ford voted to accept the conference report on (NDEA) the National Defense Education Act (*Congressional Record* (bound) August 23, 1958, p. 19618), the purpose of this act being to assist in the expansion and improvement of educational programs to meet critical national needs. Title II of this act provided loans to students in institutions of higher education. In 1961, Ford voted for the NDEA extension (H.R. 9000) (*Congressional Record* (bound) September 6, 1961, p. 18256).

In 1962, Ford voted to recommit the conference report of the Construction of Higher Education Facilities (H.R. 8900) with instruction to insist upon the House position on Title II, deleting the portion of the bill concerned with student



In 1969, however, Mr. Ford, supported amendments to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Cong. Rec. 10099, 91st Congress, 1st Session, 1969. Since that time he has supported such aid to parochial schools.

In 1973 Gerald Ford introduced three bills relative to aid for parochial schools. His bills, H.R. 1176, H.R. 2989 and H.R. 13020 all provided for tax credits to be granted for tuition paid to private nonprofit schools including parochial schools.

CIVIL RIGHTS ³⁰

Although not a vocal supporter of civil rights, particularly in his early years, Mr. Ford is recorded as voting yea on passage of the score of major and minor civil rights bills enacted during this period. Not infrequently in the early legislative stages, he has registered support for Republican sponsored alternative proposals. This is particularly true since election by his Republican colleagues as Minority Leader in the mid-1960's. Although his elevation to the Republican Leadership position generally marks the end of his floor silence on civil rights concerns, it also coincides with a number of procedural votes, viz., votes to recommit, seemingly at odds with his ultimate vote to pass the legislation in question. Notwithstanding statements explaining these apparent equivocations in procedural terms, these actions are resented by civil rights groups. *The Washington Post*, Thursday, October 18, 1973, at A2. In particular, his position on Fair Housing in 1966, and his backing for the Administration alternative proposals on voting rights in 1970 and equal employment opportunity in 1972, are denounced as attempts to "gut . . . the final product." *Ibid.* Neither his apparent switch on Fair Housing nor his consistent yea vote on passage seems to have effectively altered this image.

In the immediate post war years, the civil rights drive focused on legislation to outlaw the poll tax and to guarantee equal employment opportunity (then called fair employment practices). On at least three occasions in the 1940's the House passed poll tax legislation which went on to die in the Senate. The last of these came in 1949, Mr. Ford's first year in the Congress. Of the four roll call votes on the measure, Mr. Ford is recorded as voting yea on the rule, on consideration and on passage and nay on the motion to recommit. 95 Cong. Rec. 10097, 10098, 10247, and 10248 (1949).

Two lesser civil rights related measures were subject to House roll call votes in 1949. On one of these—an unsuccessful effort to recommit the Military Housing Act of 1949 to conference because it did not contain a non-discrimination clause—Mr. Ford is recorded as not voting. 95 Cong. Rec. 10294 (1949). The second proposal, a bill to establish a woman's Coast Guard reserve was recommitted after the House adopted an amendment barring segregation or discrimination because of race, creed, or color. Mr. Ford voted yea on the amendment. 95 Cong. Rec. 3806 (1949). There was no record roll call vote on the motion to recommit.

In 1950, civil rights supporters were successful in bringing an equal employment opportunity (FEPC) bill to the House floor for the first time. The reported bill provided for a compulsory FEP commission having broad powers and recourse to the courts for enforcement. However, on the floor Pennsylvania Republican Samuel K. McConnell Jr. offered an amendment substituting a voluntary FEPC without any enforcement powers. The substitute was adopted. Mr. Ford voted yea to substitute the voluntary bill, nay on the motion to recommit it, and yea on passage. 96 Cong. Rec. 2253, 2300, 2301 (1950).

In another development, Mr. Ford voted with an overwhelming majority of House Members against recommitting the Railway Labor Act Amendments of 1950 with instructions to insert an anti-discrimination amendment. 96 Cong. Rec. 17061 (1951). The motion had been offered by Mr. Smith of Virginia, an acknowledged opponent of the legislation.

On June 6, 1951, Mr. Ford joined 222 Members in killing (i.e., striking out the enacting clause of) a bill for construction of a veterans' hospital for Negroes in Virginia. 97 Cong. Rec. 6201 (1951). The measure had been denounced as "class legislation" by Representatives Dawson and Powell.

In the interval between 1950 and 1956—in the latter year the House began laying the foundations of the 1957 Civil Rights Act—Members acted on countless civil rights matters, principally Powell amendments which would have banned discrimination in a variety of contexts including public housing, public schools and the National Guard. A great many of these proposals were disposed of either procedurally or by standing or teller votes. Because of this and the absence of

³⁰ This report deals with legislative developments in the post World War II years to improve the political, economic, and social status of the Nation's black population. Treated elsewhere are the related subjects of school desegregation and busing.



relevant floor remarks by Mr. Ford, it is virtually impossible to discern his position relative thereto.

On July 23, 1956, the House passed a bill embodying virtually all of the Eisenhower Administration's civil rights recommendations. In conformity with the President's 1956 State of the Union Message, the bill created a bipartisan Commission on Civil Rights to investigate charges that "in some localities . . . Negro citizens are being deprived of their right to vote and are likewise being subjected to unwarranted economic pressure." Additionally, the bill provided some new voting rights and civil rights safeguards and authorized an Assistant Attorney General to head up a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice. Mr. Ford is recorded as voting nay on a motion to recommit and yea on passage. 102 Cong. Rec. 13998, 13999 (1956).

In 1957, the House considered and passed a bill much along the lines of its 1956 passed measure. The latter had come too late in the session for Senate action. In all, five roll call votes were taken by the House in connection with the bill: three of these came during consideration of the rule on the bill and on the bill proper; two were prompted by virtue of later Senate amendments to the House-passed bill. Mr. Ford voted with the majority in each instance: yea on the resolution to consider the bill; nay on the recommittal motion; yea on passage; yea on the resolution to consider the Senate amended version; and, yea to accept the Senate amendments. 103 Cong. Rec. 9416, 9517, 9518, 16112, 16112 (1957).

Although the focus of activity in 1957 was on the groundbreaking general civil rights legislation, civil rights proponents continued their efforts to attach anti-segregation riders to other measures. For example, during House consideration of the Labor-HEW appropriations bills, a pair of amendments were offered to prohibit use of hospital construction funds for hospitals that segregate patients. Mr. Ford's position on these proposed amendments is not documented in the *Congressional Record* since one was ruled out of order and the other was defeated by a 70-123 standing vote. *Congress and the Nation, supra*, at page 1624.

A year later the Congress placed the Civil Rights Commission on a more solid financial footing. A committee amendment to the General Government appropriation bill for fiscal 1959 authorized \$750,000 as the Commission's first regular appropriation. Previously the Commission had been operating on an allocation of \$200,000 from the President's Emergency Fund. Mr. Ford voted yea on the amendment. 104 Cong. Rec. 5937 (1958).

The House took action on at least three civil rights-related measures in 1959. However, none of these appear to have been subjects to a roll call vote.

As in 1957, the bill enacted in 1960 was based on Administration proposals. As modified in both the House and the Senate, the legislation authorized judges to appoint referees to help Negroes register and vote. It also provided criminal penalties for bombing and bomb threats and mob action designed to obstruct court orders. Mr. Ford is recorded as not voting on the resolution to consider the bill, nay on the motion to recommit, and yea on passage. 106 Cong. Rec. 5198, 6511, 6512 (1960). He subsequently voted to accept the bill as amended by the Senate. 106 Cong. Rec. 8507 (1960).

On August 27, 1962 the House approved a proposed constitutional amendment barring payment of a poll tax as a qualification for voting in federal elections and primaries. Mr. Ford voted yea on the resolution which became the 24th Amendment when finally ratified by the required 38 states in 1964. 108 Cong. Rec. 17670 (1962).

Following a wave of protests which produced a "domestic crisis" in 1963, President Kennedy submitted new far reaching legislation. Congress spent the greater portion of the year on hearings and other preliminary action which paved the way for possible passage in 1964 of the Administration proposal which covered voting rights, school desegregation, fair employment under federal contracts, access to public accommodations, and the use of federal funds without discrimination. Republicans in the House offered their own omnibus civil rights proposal, some of whose provisions—for example, so-called Title III which proposed to give the Justice Department wide powers to combat civil rights deprivations—went beyond the Administration's request. The bill elicited Mr. Ford's support, in what appears to be among his first floor remarks on the general subject. He expressed regret that Committee work had made it impossible "to participate in this floor discussion on the House Republican proposals for better civil rights legislation." He continued: "If it were not for this demanding responsibility involving our national security I would have actively participated in this debate.

I want it clearly known that members of the House have made constructive efforts to combat discrimination (1963). The Republican Commission, equal employment literacy for voting sixth grade of education.

Toward the end of the minor House-passed bill voted yea to accept it.

In early 1964, following gauged civil rights bill (1964). Some of the House actions and fair employment. Accordingly, the Senate came up with a substitute to address the problems by law avoid any further congressional action to the President 241 (1964). Mr. Ford voted yea on the amendments. 110 Cong. Rec.

Congress in 1965 resoundingly discriminated in the Senate Public Law 89-110, 79 to Congress by President represented a complete for direct federal action case-by-case approach.

The legislation suspended devices and authorized Negroes in states and counties specified levels. The legislation to hear on six three counties in Arizona.

In the House, debate on the bill for the Administration appeared to have a good representative Tuck and other "tentative" of the two bill approved the Administration 186-215 teller vote. Mr. McCulloch were its chief "dishonest and fair," he said terms and comparing it 6592 (1965). See also (1965). During the debate amendment making it a false information to federal Ford voted yea on the resolution, nay on Boggs' amendment (re 6th grade and report back the Ford 15643, 16281, 16282, 162 Senate-passed substitute. had given up too much ground the House on July 9." 11 to recommit the conferees initial motion was defeated Cong. Rec. 19701 (1965).

Also in 1965, the House opportunity provisions of civil rights groups "but not the in October. However, action

I want it clearly known, however, that I do favor action taken by Republican members of the House Committee on the Judiciary. I fully endorse their constructive efforts to offer sound proposals in this area." 109 Cong. Rec. 1573 (1963). The Republican bill additionally called for a permanent Civil Rights Commission, equal employment opportunity, school aid to the states, and presuming literacy for voting purposes for all persons who completed at least the sixth grade of education.

Toward the end of 1963, the House approved a Senate one-year rider to a minor House-passed bill extending the Commission on Civil Rights. Mr. Ford voted yea to accept the Senate amended bill. 109 Cong. Rec. 18863 (1963).

In early 1964, following more than a week of debate, the House passed a broad gauged civil rights bill. Mr. Ford voted yea on passage. 110 Cong. Rec. 2804 (1964). Some of the House-passed provisions, particularly the public accommodations and fair employment sections, were viewed by Senators as going too far. Accordingly, the Senate leadership in consultation with the Justice Department came up with a substitute which placed greater emphasis on attempts to work out the problems by local agencies before the Justice Department took action. To avoid any further complications, the House accepted the Senate substitute and sent it to the President. Civil Rights Act of 1964, Public Law 88-352, 78 Stat. 241 (1964). Mr. Ford voted yea on the resolution to concur in the Senate amendments. 110 Cong. Rec. 15897 (1964).

Congress in 1965 responded to a series of Negro demonstrations against voting discrimination in the South by passing the landmark Voting Rights Act of 1965, Public Law 89-110, 79 Stat. 437 (1965). The Act, based on a proposal submitted to Congress by President Johnson on March 17 and signed into law August 6 represented a complete break with recent voting rights laws in that it provided for direct federal action to enable Negroes to register and vote, rather than the case-by-case approach.

The legislation suspended the use of literacy tests or similar voter qualification devices and authorized the appointment of federal voting examiners to register Negroes in states and counties in which voter activity had fallen below certain specified levels. The legislation brought the federal registration machinery automatically to bear on six Southern states, Alaska, 28 counties in North Carolina, three counties in Arizona and one county in Idaho.

In the House, debate centered on an attempt by Republicans to substitute their own bill for the Administration measure. For a while, the Republican substitute appeared to have a good chance of adoption, but it lost some support when Representative Tuck and others fell behind the Administration bill as the less "objectionable" of the two bills. The House then rejected the Republican substitute and approved the Administration bill. Although rejection of the substitute came on a 166-215 teller vote, Mr. Ford's position is clear since he and Representative McCulloch were its chief sponsors. Describing the bill as "comprehensive, expeditious and fair," he submitted a lengthy statement describing its principal terms and comparing it with the Administration measure. 111 Cong. Rec. 6891-6892 (1965). See also 111 Cong. Rec. 15709-15710, 16213-16214, 16218, 16280 (1965). During the debate Mr. Ford voted in support of Representative Cramer's amendment making it a crime to engage in certain vote frauds such as giving false information to federal registrars. 111 Cong. Rec. 16280 (1965). In all, Mr. Ford voted yea on the resolution to consider the bill, yea on the Cramer amendment, nay on Boggs' amendment (re listing procedures), nay on the Gilbert amendment (re 6th grade literacy presumption), yea on the motion to recommit and report back the Ford-McCulloch bill and yea on passage. 111 Cong. Rec. 15643, 16281, 16282, 16282, 16285, 16285 (1965). During consideration of the Senate-passed substitute, Mr. Ford expressed the belief that the House conferees had given up too much ground and accepted "a weaker bill than that which passed the House on July 9." 111 Cong. Rec. 19197-19198 (1965). Accordingly he voted to recommit the conference report. 111 Cong. Rec. 19200 (1965). When the recomittal motion was defeated, Mr. Ford voted to accept the conference report. 111 Cong. Rec. 19701 (1965).

Also in 1965, the House took up a bill to strengthen and broaden the equal opportunity provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The bill, supported by civil rights groups "but not the Administration in 1965," was scheduled for floor action in October. However, action was put off until the second session. The House took



one roll call vote on the issue before postponing action. On September 13, by a 259-121 roll call, the House adopted an open rule for floor action. Mr. Ford joined the majority. 111 Cong. Rec. 23607 (1965). In 1966, he joined the majority in voting yea on passage. 112 Cong. Rec. 9153 (1966). The Senate did not take any action on the bill.

Far and away the most significant actions in 1966 come in connection with House passage of the Administration civil rights bill. The bill's most notable feature—the open housing provision—provoked a storm of controversy. Other important provisions included safeguards against discrimination in the selection of federal and state jurors, authority for the Attorney General to initiate desegregation suits and protected civil rights workers. The House added a number of other provisions including a prohibition against interstate-commerce travel for the purpose of inciting to riot. The bill was passed by the House on August 9 on a 259-157 roll call vote. The Republican leadership noted for recommitment of the bill and also for passage, with the exception of Representative Poff, secretary of the House Republican Conference, who voted for recommitment and against passage. Mr. Ford urged support for the motion to recommit explaining that the debate had revealed a "great uncertainty as to the construction of the various provisions in Title IV. There have been many, many interpretations of the several provisions. There are many ambiguities involved in this very controversial area. We know there is some doubt—I say some doubt—in the minds of good lawyers as to the constitutionality of this title. . . . When we add up all of the problems, it seems to me that we would be far wiser to send this title back to the Committee on the Judiciary for further consideration. I so urge such action." 112 Cong. Rec. 18397 (1966). See earlier statement regarding "misuse, or irregular use of the 21-day rule." 112 Cong. Rec. 16837 (1966). Mr. Ford's votes included: nay on the resolution to consider the bill; nay on the Mathias amendment (real estate brokers to follow discriminatory instructions of their principal); yea on the Cramer amendment (anti-riot provisions); yea on Whitener amendment (re complaint having to be in writing); yea on the recommitment motion; and yea on passage. 112 Cong. Rec. 16839; 18737, 18737, 19738; 18739; 18739 (1966).

Congress voted in 1967 to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission for an additional five years. Mr. Ford voted yea on passage. 113 Cong. Rec. 18280 (1967).

The House on August 16, 1967 by a 327-93 roll call vote passed a bill to protect persons exercising or urging others to exercise certain federally protected rights. The legislation was intended to curb violence directed at Negroes and civil rights workers in the South. Mr. Ford voted yea on the resolution to consider the bill and on its adoption. A year later, this bill formed the basis of what became the Civil Rights Act of 1968. Public Law 90-284, 82 Stat. 73 (1968): To the civil rights criminal safeguards, passed by the House, the Senate added a fair housing title, anti-riot provisions, and a bevy of Indian rights safeguards. In the House, a controversy broke out on whether the House should send the bill to conference or should accept the Senate version without change. Democratic leaders decided on the latter course and proposed a resolution to accept the Senate amendments. "Republicans were divided on the procedure for handling the bill. Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford (R. Mich.) argued that it should be sent to conference because the House had no opportunity to consider most of its provisions. (Open housing had passed the House in the previous Congress, not the 1967-68 90th Congress). Mr. Ford, who had opposed open housing legislation in 1966, publicly expressed support for the principle of open housing for the first time March 14 but indicated that he would like a broader exemption for single-family houses. He rejected the pleas of two Republican presidential candidates, Richard M. Nixon and Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller (N.Y.), to accept the Senate version." *Congress and the Nation 1965-1968*, at page 382.

After some delay, the Rules Committee turned back a motion to send a bill to conference and approved the resolution sending it to the floor. During consideration of the bill, Mr. Ford urged that it be sent to conference following "the time-tested principles of parliamentary procedure," adding, however, that he only spoke for himself. 114 Cong. Rec. 9609-9613 (1968). The House accepted the Senate amendments by a 250-172 roll call vote. Mr. Ford voted nay on the motion on the previous question and yea on the resolution to agree to the Senate amendments. 114 Cong. Rec. 9620, 9620 (1968).

In 1969, the House considered a bill extending the Voting Rights Act of 1965 for an additional five years. The extension had been recommended by the Civil

Rights Commission and Union Message. Both titles necessary in order to removal of obstacles to 14, 1959). Under the terms would be free after at the District of Columbia requirements including had been suspended dis assured.

During House consideration Judiciary Committee, substitute on behalf of the substitute called for a regional and largely regional but however, was a provision covered by the law had the Attorney General, the Justice Department recommended changes contemplated the Attorney General to Presidential commissions. On December 11, 1967 the reported bill. The vote on both roll calls to the House by the Senate. In addition to the 5-year provisions lowering the voting requirement for voting for in all states until August 1968 based on the 1968 Senate version of the bill sending it to conference. age provision. Asserting: legal schools who felt the ment. 115 Cong. Rec. 20 was defeated by a vote Mr. Ford voted yea on The Voting Rights Act (1970).

In 1970 Mr. Ford voted \$3,400,000 for the Commission. 115 Cong. Rec. 37360 (1970). The

Because of the Supreme Court's decision in *San Antonio Independent School District v. League of Women Voters*, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was amended to require that the federal government send a bill to conference or should accept the Senate version without change. Democratic leaders decided on the latter course and proposed a resolution to accept the Senate amendments. "Republicans were divided on the procedure for handling the bill. Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford (R. Mich.) argued that it should be sent to conference because the House had no opportunity to consider most of its provisions. (Open housing had passed the House in the previous Congress, not the 1967-68 90th Congress). Mr. Ford, who had opposed open housing legislation in 1966, publicly expressed support for the principle of open housing for the first time March 14 but indicated that he would like a broader exemption for single-family houses. He rejected the pleas of two Republican presidential candidates, Richard M. Nixon and Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller (N.Y.), to accept the Senate version." *Congress and the Nation 1965-1968*, at page 382.

In 1971-1972 the House and broaden coverage of Civil Rights Act. In many instances of the 1970 Voting Rights Act, where frustrated in the House, but were somewhat ultimately prevailed.

The Committee's recommendations would have given the EEOC the power to sue the Erlenborn Administration to bring suits in federal court to end discrimination. The bills differed in enforcement. Mr. Ford supported the Erlenborn Administration's position. In the House, Mr. Ford voted yea on the recommitment motion, and yea

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Rights Commission and endorsed by President Johnson in his final State of the Union Message. Both the Commission and the President felt that this step was necessary in order to solidify the gains already made and insure permanent removal of obstacles to voting rights. See 115 Cong. Rec. H275 (daily ed. January 14, 1959). Under the terms of the Act, states and counties automatically covered would be free after August 6, 1970, to petition a three-judge district court in the District of Columbia for an order permitting them to reinstate their own requirements including heretofore suspended literacy tests. Since all such tests had been suspended during the preceding five years, the court order seemed assured.

During House consideration of the simple 5-year extension reported by the Judiciary Committee, Mr. Ford offered an amendment in the nature of a substitute on behalf of the Administration. 115 Cong. Rec. 38511-38512 (1969). The substitute called for a nationwide ban on literacy tests rather than the selective and largely regional ban imposed by the 1965 Act. Much more controversial, however, was a provision calling for elimination of the requirement that states covered by the law had to clear new or changed voting laws or procedures with the Attorney General. Instead the Administration proposal would have required the Justice Department to file a suit to abate the discriminatory law. Other recommended changes contained in the Ford-backed proposal included authority for the Attorney General to assign voting examiners and observers and creation of a Presidential commission to study voting discrimination and corrupt voting practices. On December 11, 1969, the House voted 208-203 to accept the substitute for the reported bill. The vote to pass the bill thus amended was 234-179. Mr. Ford voted yea on both roll calls. 115 Cong. Rec. 38535, 38536 (1969). The bill returned to the House by the Senate bore little resemblance to the House-passed version. In addition to the 5-year extension of the 1965 Act, the Senate had added provisions lowering the voting age to 18, establishing a 30-day durational residence requirement for voting for President and Vice President, suspending literacy tests in all states until August 6, 1975, and establishing an alternative triggering formula based on the 1968 presidential election. During debate on accepting the Senate version of the bill and sending it to the President or rejecting it, thereby sending it to conference, Mr. Ford questioned the constitutionality of the voting age provision. Asserting personal support for the 18 year old vote, he cited various legal schools who felt that it could only be accomplished by constitutional amendment. 115 Cong. Rec. 20196-20197 (1965). The vote to recommit the Senate bill was defeated by a vote of 224-183. The bill was passed by a vote of 272-132. Mr. Ford voted yea and yea respectfully. 115 Cong. Rec. 38535, 38536 (1969). The Voting Rights Acts Amendments of 1970, Public Law 91-285, 84 Stat. 314 (1970).

In 1970 Mr. Ford voted yea on a bill authorizing annual appropriations of \$3,400,000 for the Commission on Civil Rights through January 31, 1973. 116 Cong. Rec. 37360 (1970). The action came under suspension of the rules.

Because of the Supreme Court's ruling restricting the 18 year old votes feature of the 1970 Act to federal elections, the Congress passed a resolution proposing a constitutional amendment universally lowering the voting age to 18. Mr. Ford voted yea on the resolution which became the 26th Amendment when finally ratified by the required 38 states in July, 1971. 117 Cong. Rec. 7569 (1971).

In 1971-1972 the House renewed efforts it began in 1965. *supra*, to strengthen and broaden coverage of the equal employment opportunity provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. In many respects, the course of this legislation followed the pattern of the 1970 Voting Rights Act Amendments, that is, civil rights supporters where frustrated in the House by adoption of an allegedly weaker Administration bill, but were somewhat mollified by Senate passage of a "stronger" bill which ultimately prevailed.

The Committee's recommended measure, generally supported by civil rights groups, would have given the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) the power to issue cease-and-desist powers. Instead, the House approved the Erlenborn Administration-backed substitute which granted the EEOC the power to bring suits in the federal courts to enforce federal laws against job discrimination. The bills differed in a number of other respects, but it was this difference in enforcement that constituted the prime source of contention. Mr. Ford supported the Erlenborn proposal on grounds that the courts were the proper forum for the settlement of human rights. 117 Cong. Rec. 32091 (1971). Accordingly, Mr. Ford voted yea on the substitution of the Erlenborn bill, nay on the recommitment motion, and yea on passage. 117 Cong. Rec. 32111, 32111, 32112 (1971).



The Senate-passed measure—a “stronger” proposal than that adopted by the House, but somewhat short of that desired by civil rights groups—was accepted by the conferees and, in turn, by the House and Senate. Mr. Ford voted yea to accept the conference report. See Legislative History of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 [Committee Print], Senate Labor Subcommittee, 92d Cong., 2d Sess., November 1972, at 1872-73.

In a pair of minor bills, Mr. Ford voted yea on extending the life of the Civil Rights Commission for five years and five months, authorizing funds for its operations, and adding sex discrimination to its jurisdiction, and yea on a proposal to require questions of race and occupation to be answered by persons filling out federal juror's qualification forms. The latter was to assure non-discrimination in the selection of jurors. See 1972 *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* at pages 26H No. 82) and 12H (No. 36).

CONGRESSIONAL AND ELECTION ETHICS

Mr. Ford has supported legislation to guarantee full and accurate reporting of political contributions and expenditures for candidates to Federal office; and he has also supported efforts to establish guidelines for the official conduct of Members of Congress and the Supreme Court.

From the mid-sixties Mr. Ford introduced and/or worked for Republican-sponsored election reform legislation. He supported and voted in favor of the Federal Campaign Act of 1971. In a statement in support of the President's proposal for a bipartisan Commission on Federal Election Reform, Mr. Ford stated: “Clearly the Federal Campaign Act of 1971 needs improvement in the light of experience. . . . I have always felt that timely disclosure before election day is a better way to ensure clean campaigns than the most severe punishment afterwards.” (Cong. Rec., [Daily Ed.], v. 119, May 16, 1973: H3698)

In the late sixties Mr. Ford favored the creation of a House ethics committee, voting for the creation of the House Select Committee on Standards and Conduct in late 1966. Early in 1967 he sponsored a resolution calling for the creation of a select Committee on Standards and Conduct. Later that year he voted for the House resolution that created a standing Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. In 1968 he supported the resolution which continued this committee as a permanent standing committee of the House; established a code of conduct for Members, officers, and employees of the House; and provided for limited financial disclosure.

Although Mr. Ford has never gone beyond the House Rules in disclosing his business and financial transactions, he has stated that as a Vice Presidential nominee he will completely disclose his financial status. (*Grand Rapids Press*, Oct. 14, 1973, pp. 1A and 3A). Previously, according to the Nader Congress Project report on Ford, he stated that he saw “no reason to make his entire income public.” He is further quoted by the Projects' interviewer, “I don't think a Member of Congress ought to be treated any differently than other citizens in this regard. I honestly believe the people here [in Congress] have a higher degree of integrity than any group I have ever worked with.”

“I have lived up to the law,” he said about disclosing his income. “I think that's the responsibility I have.”

Mr. Ford told the Nader interviewer that he has an open-door policy in his office, and he said “I think it is my responsibility to listen to all groups—labor, business, professionals—anybody has access to an interview with me.” In 1968 Mr. Ford was made a director of a bank in Grand Rapids. He received criticism for accepting the position and resigned. “I don't think it was a conflict of interest,” he told the Nader Project, “but it wasn't worth it . . . if the people thought it was. I resigned before I ever attended a board meeting.” According to the Nader report on him, Mr. Ford was, in 1972, serving as director of a small label manufacturing company in Grand Rapids and attends board meetings every two months. The company has no Federal business. Therefore, Mr. Ford believes his role there does not conflict with his role as Representative. (Nader Congress Report on Ford)

In January 1967, during the Adam Clayton Powell seating controversy, Mr. Ford offered the resolution which referred to a special committee the question of Congressman Powell's right to his seat in the 90th Congress. (Cong. Rec., v. 113, January 10, 1967: 24) Mr. Ford initially supported the committee's recommendation that Congressman Powell be seated, censured, and fined; but having been on the losing side in this matter, he switched on the final vote in favor of excluding Powell from the 90th Congress. (Cong. Rec. v. 113, March 1, 1967: 5020, 5036-5039)

In April 1970, Mr. Ford's Supreme Court Justice philosophy on impeach

Home Rule: Represented the issue of home rule floor debate in that year 4644, Mr. Ford presented 1) that elections be District of Columbia Senate and their res September 27, 29, 196 Sisk amendment (cha bill, as amended, whic

Mr. Ford did not sponsor H.R. 9682 (Democrat On that occasion Mr. be appointed by the 1973: H8822). An unsuccessful amendment pointee. On the final vote it is worth noting that Ford had stated

District Representative: Arguing for non-voting argued that such a provision for a District voting Delegate in the “precedent (Cong. Record passed overwhelmingly in the House.

The Congressional Amendment, ratified the District of

The most significant enacted into law during Election Campaign Act (Cong. Record H97, 1/19/72). This position actions and statements

In 1963 Congress provided for Presidential campaign on the Federal Election the repeal of the equal Senatorial candidates voted for the repeal of elective office (117 Cong

As to campaign reform “Mr. Speaker, the general election reform law with expressions of our motion (17790-91). The Congress calling for reform of the

In 1971 Congress passed a provision of unsecured corporations. (117 Cong. Rec. Campaign Act, the Corporation allowed corporations a