The original documents are located in Box 26, folder "First Debate, 9/23/76: Issues -Legislation" of the Michael Raoul-Duval Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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Major Legislation Sponsored by the President and Enacted into Law

FOR

-- The tax reductions of early 1975.

(Emergency Tax Reduction Act, P.L. 94-12)

- -- Assistance to coastal states impacted by off-shore mineral recovery. (Coastal Zone Management Act Amendments, P.L. 94-370)
- -- Limits on the spending rate for highway programs and some (albeit limited) unification of highway programs.

(Federal Aid Highway Act Amendments, P.L. 94-280 and DOT Appropriations for FY '77, P.L. 94-387)

-- Authority to use the airport facilities funds (funded by airline ticket taxes) for Federal airway operating costs as well as just for capital improvements.

(Airport and Airway Development Act Amendments, P. L. 94-353)

-- The nation-wide swine flu innoculation program.

(Swine Flu Immunization Program, Establish and Implement, P.L. 94-380)

-- Limited financial assistance to New York.

(Intergovernmental Emergency Assistance Act, P.L. 94-143)

-- Amendments to the bankruptcy laws relating to municipalities in financial difficulty.

(Revise Chapter IX of the Bankruptcy Act, P.L. 94-260)

-- Authorization of the peace keeping force and early warning system required for the Sinai agreement.

(P.L. 94-110)

-- Increased foreign security and foreign aid assistance.

(International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1975, P.L. 94-161; and International Security Assistance and Arms Export Control Act of 1976, P.L. 94-329) -- Defense authorizations and appropriations for 1976 and 1977, including cost savings measures such as repeal of the 1% kicker for the military, limitation to 60 days on accrued leave, and a revision of provisions relating to deductions for retired pay.

(DOD Authorization 1976, P.L. 94-106; DOD Appropriations Act 1976, P.L. 94-212; Military Construction Authorization 1976, P.L. 94-107; Military Construction Appropriations Act 1976, P.L. 94-138; DOD Authorization 1977, P.L. 94-361; DOD Appropriations Act 1977, P.L. 94-419; Military Construction Authorization 1977, P.L. 94-431; Military Construction Appropriations 1977, P.L. 94-367; Defense Supplemental Guam Typhoon Restoration, P.L. 94-438; Selected Reserve -- Authorization to order to active duty other than during national emergency, P.L. 94-286; and H.R. 14773, Survivor Benefit Plan, enrolled bill).

-- Price-Anderson Act Amendments, to provide for the phase out of governmental indemnity as a source of funds for public remuneration in the event of a nuclear incident.

(P.L. 94-197)

-- A substantial part (roughly half) of the President's comprehensive energy program to achieve energy independence by 1985, including strategic petroleum reserves, development of Naval petroleum reserves, substantial increased research and demonstration in solar and other energy areas, partial deregulation of oil, winterization assistance for the poor, energy labeling, conservation building standards, etc.

(Energy Policy and Conservation Act, P.L. 94-163; Naval Petroleum Reserve Production Act of 1976, P.L. 94-258; Energy Conservation and Production Act, P.L. 94-385; Public Works Appropriations for FY 1977, P.L. 94-355; and Interior Appropriations for 1977, P.L. 94-373).

-- Establish a target price program for rice production.

(Rice Production Act of 1975, P.L. 94-214)

-- Authorization of the African Development Fund.

(Increased U.S. Participation in the Inter-American Development Bank and Authorization for U.S. Participation in the African Development Fund, P.L. 94-302)

-- Assistance to Indochina refugees.

(Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act, P.L. 94-23)

-- Expansion of unemployment insurance coverage, extension of the benefits period, authorization of public service jobs, and, more recently, needed increases in unemployment insurance financing.

(Emergency Unemployment Compensation Act of 1974, P.L. 93-572; Emergency Jobs and Unemployment Assistance Act of 1974, P.L. 93-567; Emergency Compensation and Special Unemployment Assistance Extension Act of 1975, P.L. 94-45; and Unemployment Compensation Amendments, H.R. 10210 -- enrolled bill)

-- Authorization to assist railroads and provisions moving toward less regulation and more competition in the railroad industry.

(The Railroad Revitalization and Regulatory Reform Act of 1976, P.L. 94-210)

-- Elimination of the price maintenance (so called "fair trade") exception to the anti-trust laws.

(Consumer Goods Pricing Act of 1975, P.L. 94-145)

-- Amendments to the Securities Act to foster competition in the securities industry.

(Securities Acts Amendments of 1975, P.L. 94-29)

- -- Increased criminal penalties for violation of anti-trust laws. (Anti-Trust Penalties and Procedures Act of 1975, P.L. 93-528)
- -- Acceptance of the President's plan to limit pay increases to 5% in the year beginning October 1975.

(The President submitted an alternative pay plan; the Congress failed to disapprove; there is no public law involved)

- -- Elimination of the 1% "kicker" in federal retirement benefits. (Legislative Appropriations for FY '77, P.L. 94-440)
- -- Extension of the Voting Rights Act.

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(Voting Rights Act of 1975, P.L. 94-73)

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- -- Renewal of general revenue sharing. (H.R. 13367 -- enrolled bill)
- -- Crime Control Act of 1976.

(S. 2212 -- extension of LEAA -- enrolled bill)

-- Amendments to the Bretton Woods Agreement Act.

(H.R. 13955 -- enrolled bill)

-- Extension of the solid waste disposal act.

(S. 2150 -- enrolled bill)

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A word of explanation on how the above list was put together. Virtually every bill signed by the President since taking office-including those initiated in the Congress--bears his mark in the sense that during the legislative process the Administration was successful in getting the Congress to delete or change provisions not consistent with the President's program and sometimes to add provisions the Administration wanted. In many instances, such changes meant the difference between signing and veto. However, unless the President had called for legislation in the particular area, the bill has not been included in the list.

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On the other hand, where the President did seek legislation, the finally enacted law is included where, although the terms of the proposal and the signed bill are quite different, the basic objectives of the President's initiative were met. Rarely, at any time in our history, has Congress passed very significant legislation in exactly the form first proposed.

DOMESTIC LEGISLATION

When Mr. Carter was running in the primaries, I thought he offered the country something different than the discredited liberalism of the McGovern wing of the Democratic Party. But once Mr. Carter defeated the Washington Establishment in the primaries, he joined hands with the Establishment at Madison Square Garden. And he closed the deal, by putting on his ticket, a liberal with the most radical voting record in the U.S. Senate.

Look today at what Mr. Carter proposes.

He has promised a universal, mandatory national health insurance program, like Teddy Kennedy's, the cost of which has been estimated at \$65 billion dollars. He wants the Federal Government to underwrite the National Education Association demand that one-third of the cost of public education be shifted to the federal taxpayers---which would cost \$18 to \$20 billion dollars. He favors the U.S. Government providing a "guaranteed annual income" for the folks on welfare. The lowest figure I have seen for this program is \$4 billion dollars. He favors the Humphrey-Hawkins employment bill, which terrifies even liberal economists. The cost of this has been estimated between \$14 and \$44 billion. He wants more federal money for mass transit for the cities. In Washington, D.C., alone, the Metro is costing \$50 million dollars a mile. He supports Mr. Mondale's nationwide child development, day-care scheme. He wants more billions spent on housing subsidies, jobs programs, revenue sharing, and urban grants.

At the cheapest, these programs would add a \$100 billion dollars to a Federal Budget already \$50 billion in the red.

When Jimmy Carter says he plans to see the budget balanced by 1979, he is either deceiving us---or he has been deceiving the Democrats to whom he made all these promises at Madison Square Garden.

For our Government bureaucrats, Mr. Carter has promised <u>a Department of Education, a Consumer Protection Agency, a</u> <u>Domestic Development Bank, and something called an Agency for</u> <u>Citizen Advocacy.</u> This is the same Jimmy Carter who, during the primaries called Washington, a "huge, wasteful, unmanageable, insensitive, bloated bureaucratic mess."

The contradictions between the Carter rhetoric and the Carter programs have created a gap in Mr. Carter's credibility. He has run as a critic of social spending and Big Government---and pledged a platform of social spending and government expansion on which George McGovern has said he would be delighted to run.

Mr. Carter says he will never tell us a lie. But he has certainly deceived and mislead many millions of Americans when he implied that he offered America something other than the old politics of government authority, government regulation and government control.

But, let me briefly render my views on each of these Carter spending programs.

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I am opposed to universal mandatory national health insurance because the great majority of Americans are already covered by private insurance. We can take care of those in need, without yoking upon our country the same socialized medicine which has helped to bankrupt Great Britain without giving English citizens the quality of medical care American citizens deserve.

I am opposed to the Humphrey-Hawkins Government Employment bill, because its very purpose is to expand the federal payroll---when the growth of that payroll is one of the principal reasons for the economic disorders of the last ten years.

I oppose pouring \$20 billion more into public education, first, because the taxpayers cannot afford it. Second and more important, because federal money brings in its wake federal bureaucrats and federal judges who, between them, have made an unholy mess of public education. The reforms needed in the classrooms of America today are not those purchased with more money, but those produced by common sense. We need a return to standards for teachers and students, a return to basics, a new insistence upon discipline in the classroom, and the teaching again of patriotism, values and morals.

No child should be forced to learn religion against the will of his parents. But if parents want their children instructed in moral and religious values in the public schools of this country, I say they should have that freedom---even if federal bureaucrats and judges are made unhappy by that choice.

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And I am against Mr. Carter's federalizing of welfare because of its cost, and because it would drag millions of working families into this dreadful welfare system.

How long will it take Mr. Carter's Party to recognize the truth of what FDR said, forty years ago. Welfare is a narcotic, a subtle destroyer of the human spirit. The Government can and shall get out of this business of welfare.

And how does Mr. Carter propose to pay for the promises made to countless constituencies. Well, he is not going to pay, my friends. You are.

His platform promises a \$5 billion dollar tax increase spread across the economy. He has promised to raise the wage base on the Social Security Tax from about \$15,000 to near \$22,000 which would mean every American Middle Class worker would have his taxes raised between \$285 and \$400 a year. He has promised to help fund his mandatory health insurance program through another set of payroll taxes.

But, these new taxes would not even add up to a down payment on the promises in the Carter Platform.

What about Tax Reform? Well, as some of you may have heard at the Convention, Mr. Carter called our tax system---which is the product of the last five Democratic Congresses---a "disgrace to the human race." Which suggests dramatic, radical change. Then he went and visited Henry Ford and some corporate heavy hitters at the 21 Club, and told them not to worry, because he wouldn't even propose any tax changes until 1978--at the earliest.

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Mr. Carter reminds me a little about the old story of the fellow who went down into the Bible Belt, to take a job teaching biology. He came up before a crusty School Board, and they questioned him on how he planned to teach the origin of the earth. One of the old school board members leaned over and said how are you going to teach the beginning of the world: Darwin's Evolution or the Bible's Creation.

And the young fellow looked over the school board, sweated a little bit, and said: Well, I can teach it either way.

That's Jimmy Carter. He can teach it either way. The best way to predict what Jimmy Carter is going to say, is to find out what audience he is speaking to.

Another tax change proposed in the primaries was to eliminate the interest deduction on home mortgages. This is not genuine tax reform." It would result in a net increase, which would eliminate for hundreds of thousands of families the opportunity to own their own homes.

This country does not need "tax reform"---which ends up with Government having more money and private individuals and institutions having less---it needs tax reduction. Especially for smaller businesses that are the backbone of the economy, especially the working and middle class who are the backbone of the country.

Mr. Carter proposes to make our government more efficient and less expensive through zero-based budgeting and consolidation of agencies. He points proudly that while Governor of Georgia he reduced from 300 to 22 the number of state agencies. What

CARHAS OFF BACKENS he does not report, however, is during those same four years the number of state employees rose by 20% and the Georgia state budget rose by more than 60%.

that all bet second and the size, the cost, the expense of government or the power of bureaucrats by shifting boxes around on an organization chart.

There are other issues where Jimmy Carter seems to tailor his position to suit his audience. A few months back, he was calling revenue sharing a "fraud and a hoax." Now, he has promised the Democratic Mayors they will get more of it in a Carter Administration.

Five years ago, he wrote a letter expressing his firm opposition to forced unionism. Now, to win George Meany's favor, he has promised to sign legislation which will overturn the democratic decision of twenty states, which would force hundreds of thousands of working men and women into unions against their will.

Government's forcing of men into unions they oppose as obnoxious as Government blocking men from freely forming and joining their own union.

On both these issues, Mr. Carter has, like that chameleon, changed his color to blend in with his new environment. But Washington already has enough politicians who would rather switch than fight. On Vietnam, Mr. Carter once strongly supported the United States effort to block Communist aggression. Now, he calls it, and I quote a "racist" war by the United States; and he has promised blanket pardons for all the draft-dodgers who ran away to Canada and let other young men fight and die in Southeast Asia.

Let me tell you my view on Mr. Carter's general amnesty. I believe in mercy; but I also believe in justice. And those who ran away from America in her hour of need should make restitution before they are accepted freely back into the society they chose to abandon.

Mr. Carter's position on marijuana seems similarly suited to appeal to his youthful audience. He would remove all legal sanctions against its use. That will be popular on many campuses, but it would be wrong for the country.

There are already in this country some 5,000,000 alcoholics 25,000 deaths each year on our highways are attributed to alcohol Do we we ant to create a young generation as dependent on marijuana as ours was on alcohol. I think not. I think those legal sanctions against marijuana should remain on the books because marijuana is inevitably the first step along the road to hard drugs.

Mr. Carter also believes that there should be federal regulations and control of handguns. Again, we disagree. Here surely is a matter for the states. The gun rules that apply to New York City, for example, might be ridiculous in Wyoming or

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Alaska. What is needed is not a new agency of federal bureaucrats keeping tack of hand guns, but automatic sentences handed down by federal judges to anyone who commits a crime with a loaded weapon.

Many Americans are buying firearms for the same reason they are buying burglar alarms, German Shepards and triple locks They are afraid. They see a Government trying to be all things to all men---at the same time that Government is failing in its first responsibility namely, to protect citizens from domestic crime and violence.

Other concessions made to the ultra-liberal wing of his party are concealed in Mr. Carter's platform. "I believe, he says, in insuring that all Americans should have not only equal opportunity, but should also have <u>compensatory opportunity</u> if... they have been deprived of the opportunity of fully using their talent."

This is a euphemism for reverse discrimination, for quotas, for preferential treatment for those minorities favored by the Federal Government---and for discrimination against Irish, Italians, Catholics and Jews, because of their race, religion or national origin.

I can think of no policy more antiAmerican than replacing old forms of discrimination with a new officialy-approved discrimination against the white working class.

But if the Carter platform contains planks that are alarming, it also contains elements that are amusing. It complains about the \$242 billion dollars in deficits run up since 1969, without noting that if the Democratic Congress had its way those deficits would have been closer to \$500 billion. It complains about an inflation rate which would be double what it is today, if Republican Presidents had not vetoed scores of spending proposals to come down from Capitol Hill. And in one of its best lines it says simply:

"We will eliminate bribery and other corrupt practices."

Let me be helpful here. How about going after those "corrupt practices," by cleaning up the <u>Playboy Congress</u> this November.

Not only has the Ninety-fourth Congress presided over the loss to Communism of Vietnam, Angola and Cambodia. It has given us the worst peacetime deficits in history---and enshrined itself in public memory for the junkets taken, the expense accounts padded, and the party girls employed.

If we are going to have a big house-cleaning in November, what better place to begin than those two Houses, on Capitol Hill

But if you have problems with Mr. Carter, let me draw your attention to his running mate, Mr. Mondale. After ten years of the most extensive civil rights legislation any nation ever passed, here is what Walter Mondale said about his country:

"The sickening truth," Walter Mondale says," "is that America is rapidly coming to resemble South Africa...And our apartheid is all the more disgusting for being insidious and unproclaimed." That's what Walter Mondale thinks of America. That's the man Jimmy Carter thinks should be Vice President of the United States.

Before closing, let me treat briefly two other issues of over-riding national importance. The first is the forced busing of school children for racial balance; the second is the court-sanctioned policy of abortion on demand.

In Iowa, Mr. Carter let the Catholic community believe he was against abortion. Now he says he will do nothing to stop it. In Massachusetts, he let the voters believe he opposed busing. Now that he is nominated, he says he will do nothing to stop it. The Supreme Court has ruled, he says, and the Suprement Court must be obeyed.

Well, I do not agree with Governor Carter; I have not given up hope on either count. In his First Inaugural, Mr. Lincoln said: "If the policy of the Government upon the vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by the decisions of the Supreme Court...the people will have ceased to be their own rulers."

Well, this is the Bicentennial of the Great Republic; and we are our own rulers.

If nominated, if elected, my first act will not be, like Jimmy Carter, to grant blanket amnesty to draft-dodgers. It will be to draft amendments to the United States Constitution to reflect the peoples' will, to bring an end to forced busing, to halt the sytematic destruction of human life. Mr.President:

Senator Dole says you support the Republican Platform; Mr. Rockefeller seems to be saying you have reservations about some planks. Are there any sections of the Republican Platform with which you disagree?

. The platform hammered out by Republicans at Kansas City is the platform I have accepted; I am proud to run on it, and I intend as President to implement it in office.

Indeed, if you wish to understand what this presidential campaign is about, I suggest you compare the platforms of the two parties.

Our platform, summed up, calls for getting Government off of peoples backs and out of their pockets. The Democratic Party Platform calls for more taxes, more federal agencies, more federal bureaucrats, more federal programs totaling in the tens of billions of dollars.

And when my opponent suggests that you have national health insurance, the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, federalized welfare, four new federal agencies, billions more housing, transportation and education---and a balanced budget as well, he is misleading the American people. If you wanted to sum up that Democratic Party Platform in two words it is "More Government," and more government is not what America need in 1976.

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