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Issue Profile #1

INTEGRITY & ACCOUNTABILITY IN GOVERNMENT



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Introduction

INTEGRITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN GOVERNMENT

Abuse of Government Powers/Anti-Corruption Enforcement
Government Secrecy/Special Interest Lobbying/Conflicts of Interest
Campaign Finance Reform

Recent public opinion polls show that government integrity and accountability are among the top concerns of the American people -- ranking with inflation, jobs, crime and energy.

To examine candidate positions on this issue, Common Cause has included their views on six subjects commonly associated with integrity and accountability in government:

- Abuse of Government Powers. Included here are candidate proposals for checking such abuses of power as the political use of the Internal Revenue Service, spying by the FBI on political opponents and journalists, and illegal domestic CIA activities.

- Anti-Corruption Enforcement. Under this heading are candidate proposals for making the Justice Department less vulnerable to political pressure and for strengthening government capacity to enforce anti-corruption measures.

- Government Secrecy. This category contains candidate positions on open meetings, the classification system and freedom of information. It focuses particularly on the Senate-passed "sunshine law" which would require open meetings in several executive agencies.

- Special Interest Lobbying. The main issue here is the candidates' positions on a proposed new lobby disclosure law. This legislation would require individual lobbyists and lobbying organizations to publicly report how much they spend and what they do to influence government decisions.

- Conflicts of Interest. Included here are candidate views on stringent regulations dealing with conflict of interest in the executive branch, together with their views on proposed enforcement procedures. Present practice has been sharply criticized, and reforms have been proposed, including public financial disclosure by government officials, limits on post-government employment in regulated industries and stronger enforcement.

- Campaign Finance Reform. This category includes candidate positions on the 1974 campaign finance act, the public financing of Congressional campaigns and enforcement by an independent commission. (The 1974 reforms upheld by the Supreme Court in January include: limits on contributions, the partial public financing of Presidential campaigns, disclosure of contributors, and an independent enforcement commission if Presidentially appointed.)

* * *

In preparing these profiles, Common Cause compiled issue materials released directly by the candidates, and records of their positions as reported by major news media. Common Cause has communicated with each Presidential campaign seeking cooperation in this project. In addition, members of Common Cause in relevant states have monitored Presidential candidates' positions as reported in local media or stated in local campaign literature prepared by the candidates. All positions ascribed to the candidates are attributed by source and date, and all source materials are available for media use in the Common Cause Washington office. The profiles do not purport to be inclusive, but contain information gathered by Common Cause thus far in the campaign. Listings are alphabetical by party.

ABUSE OF GOVERNMENT POWERS

Common Cause has found no campaign statements on this issue by: Brown and Wallace.

FORD

Ford message
to Congress,
2/18/76

On February 18, 1976, Ford issued an executive order which established a new chain of command and operational guidelines for the nation's intelligence agencies. He believes the order "will eliminate abuses and questionable activities on the part of the foreign intelligence agencies while at the same time permitting them to get on with their vital work of gathering and assessing information."

Executive Order
on U.S. Foreign
Intelligence
Activities
2/18/76

The executive order:

--Gives the National Security Council responsibility for overall policy direction of national intelligence activities.

--Establishes a new Committee on Foreign Intelligence to manage the intelligence community. The Committee is chaired by the Director of the CIA and has jurisdiction over the budgets of intelligence agencies.

--Renames the Forty Committee as the Operations Advisory Group and expands its membership to include the Attorney General and Director of OMB. The Group authorizes secret intelligence projects.

--Creates a three-member Intelligence Oversight Board to monitor the performance of intelligence agencies and report periodically to the President and Attorney General on its findings.

--Sets limits on the physical and electronic surveillance of American citizens and on the collection and dissemination of information about them.

--Prohibits such practices as burglaries, drug tests on unsuspecting humans, and illegal uses of tax return information.

--Clarifies the responsibilities of executive agencies involved in foreign intelligence activities and prescribes rules of operation for them.

ABUSE OF GOVERNMENT POWERS

Ford (continued)

Ford message
to Congress,
2/18/76

In addition to the executive order, Ford has proposed
✓ legislation dealing with intelligence activities.
His proposals would:

✓ --Make "it a crime to assassinate or attempt to con-
spire to assassinate a foreign official in peace time."

✓ --"Create a special procedure for seeking a judicial
warrant authorizing the use of electronic surveillance
in the United States for foreign intelligence pur-
poses."

--Permit the opening of U.S. mail for intelligence
purposes "under proper judicial safeguards."

✓ Ford also urged Congress to "centralize the respon-
sibility for oversight of the foreign intelligence
community" into one joint committee. He said this
would reduce "the risks of disclosure" and "facilitate
the efforts of the Administration to keep Congress
fully informed of foreign intelligence activities."

Washington Post,
3/24/76

✓ The Ford administration has proposed legislation that
would require court warrants for domestic electronic
surveillances for national security purposes. Under
the legislation, warrants for wiretaps would be
issued if the government could convince a judge
that the target of the tap worked for a foreign
government or was acting "pursuant to the direction
of a foreign power" and was engaged or aiding someone
engaged in "clandestine intelligence activities,
sabotage, or terrorist activities." The taps could
not last over 90 days, at which time they would have
to be re-authorized by another court warrant.

Interview with
Northern Illinois
Newspaper Assoc.,
3/12/76

✓ When asked whether he believed the President has
the right to break the law under certain circum-
stances, Ford replied: "I don't agree with it.
I know of no experience that I have had that would
bring about any violation by me of either the
Constitution or the law, and I certainly don't
contemplate violating either one."

ABUSE OF GOVERNMENT POWERS

REAGAN

Nashua Telegraph,
2/13/76

The Nashua Telegraph reports that Reagan has been sharply critical of those who have attacked the CIA. He has said that while "we are attacking our own intelligence agencies here," the Soviet Union has "quadrupled espionage efforts in the United States."

CARTER

Jimmy Carter,
Code of Ethics
Undated

Carter proposes that "requests to the IRS for income tax returns by anyone, from the President down, should be recorded. Access to this essentially private information should be strictly circumscribed."

"Maximum personal privacy for private citizens should be guaranteed."

Time,
3/8/76

Time reports that Carter does not want to break up the CIA or curtail covert operations. However, he pledges to enforce corrective action against those who engage in illegal activities. "I will know what is going on and if there is any wrong doing, I will find out about it. I will tell the American people about it and will see to it that those responsible are punished."

Jimmy Carter,
Code of Ethics
Undated

"As President, I will be responsible for the conduct of the Executive Branch of Government. Errors or malfeasance will be immediately revealed, and an explanation given to the public, along with corrective action to prevent any recurrence of such actions."

CHURCH

(Church chaired the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities, which recently proposed comprehensive reforms in this area.)

Announcement of
Candidacy,
3/18/76

"The first priority on our political agenda is the restoration of the Federal Government to legitimacy in the eyes of the people. The vast majority of Federal employees are honest, law-abiding citizens. But nobody--no matter how highly placed in the Gov-

ABUSE OF GOVERNMENT POWERS

Church (continued)

ernment--has the right to break the law; to open our mail; to photograph our cables; to spread false propaganda for the purpose of discrediting decent citizens in their own communities; to open tax investigations against persons not even suspected of tax delinquency but targeted for political harassment, instead. These illegal and indecent practices must stop! Runaway bureaucracy must be harnessed once more to the reins of the law."

Column by Jack
Anderson and Les
Whitten, Washington
Post, 3/15/76

Church has been quoted as saying: "People are disillusioned with government. There's a sense of cynicism in the land, disgruntlement, disgust. That attitude won't change until people feel there's integrity in government. After having found crime in the White House, after finding in my investigations that this corruption, this disrespect for people's rights has infected our basic agencies... it's more than disturbing--it's outrageous. It's down right scary to find the beginning of a secret police in the FBI. All this isn't going to be stopped by cosmetic action in Congress. It will take a President to bring government back inside the law and restore the sense of legitimacy in government to the people."

UDALL

Udall statement
on CIA, undated

Udall believes the CIA should have a new charter setting limits on its activities and prohibiting domestic operations. He also proposes the adoption of a new executive branch committee to approve intelligence operations and of a joint congressional oversight committee on intelligence matters.

"The CIA needs a new, tightly written charter that will spell out what it may and may not do. That legislation must clearly and specifically exclude domestic activities by the CIA while preserving its capabilities in the fields of intelligence gathering and analysis. In the executive branch, an active committee to approve all intelligence operations must be established with a membership

ABUSE OF GOVERNMENT POWERS

Udall (continued)

including persons whose concern is to protect U. S. civil liberties, and the observance of U. S. laws. Among others, the U. S. Attorney General should be a permanent member of this Committee."

"On the Congressional side, the four existing oversight committees should be abolished, and a single House-Senate joint committee established. The membership for this Committee should rotate regularly so that none of the cozy old relationships can be built up. The scope of this committee should extend to all U. S. intelligence agencies--including the National Security Agency--and should include detailed scrutiny of intelligence agency budgets."

* * *

ANTI-CORRUPTION ENFORCEMENT

Common Cause has found no campaign statement on this issue by: Reagan, Brown, Church, Udall and Wallace.

FORD

FEAA Newsletter,
Feb. 1976

Ford has authorized the creation of a new Public Integrity Section within the Criminal Division of the Justice Department to handle all federal offenses involving official or institutional corruption.

CARTER

Washington Post
1/12/76

Carter has proposed removing the office of Attorney General from the Cabinet and making it an independent office with a term of five to seven years. Removal of the Attorney General could be had only for malfeasance in office. Congressional leaders must join with the President to remove the Attorney General. The aim of the proposal is to protect the Justice Department, and the FBI in particular, from political influence.

Jimmy Carter,
Code of Ethics
Undated

Under the plan, says Carter, the Attorney General would be as independent as a Special Prosecutor. "He or she should be given the full prerogatives and authority and independence that were recently given to the Special Prosecutor."

Carter also proposes that "the Attorney General and all his or her assistants should be barred from any political activity."

* * *

GOVERNMENT SECRECY

Common Cause has found no campaign statements on this issue by: Church.

FORD



St. Petersburg
Times, 2/22/76

"Ford has said: "Basically, I agree with the philosophy of the Sunshine Bill." The bill, which has passed the Senate and is now before the House, would require certain federal agencies to open their meetings to the public. He added, however, that "there may be some meetings held by agencies or departments in the federal government where there would have to be confidentiality maintained."

"To summarize, I'd simply say that any meetings (sic), generally, I think, should be open to the public. But I think there has to be some safeguard where you're discussing classified information that involves our national security."

REAGAN

Reagan speech at
the Phillips Exeter
Academy, 2/10/76

Referring to a SALT II agreement, Reagan said: "Any agreement we do set out to make must not be secret under any circumstances. There is nothing so complex about these matters that would require secrecy and withholding the facts from the American public."

BROWN

San Francisco
Chronicle
3/31/76

If elected President, Brown would require full public disclosure of all agreements arrived at in such conferences as the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks.

GOVERNMENT SECRECY

CARTER

Jimmy Carter,
Code of Ethics,
undated

Carter proposes the adoption of a broad open-meetings law which would cover both Congress and certain executive agencies. "An all-inclusive 'Sunshine law,' similar to those passed in several states, should be implemented in Washington. Meetings of federal boards, commissions, and regulatory agencies must be opened to the public, along with those of congressional committees. The only exceptions should involve narrowly defined national security issues, unproven legal accusations, or knowledge that might cause serious damage to the nation's economy."

He also believes there should be "broad public access, consonant with the right of personal privacy,....to government files. Maximum security declassification must be implemented."

If elected, Carter has promised to "propose to the Congress that the members of my Cabinet appear regularly before both Houses, preferably in joint session, to answer questions from senators and representatives. I will also request that these sessions be available for live broadcast."

UDALL

Udall 76 Comm., On
Strengthening the
Political Process
Undated

"Believing that government functions best in the sunshine, he led the battle to open the most crucial steps in the legislative process -- committee markup sessions and House-Senate conferences -- to the public (since he became its Chairman, the Subcommittee on Energy and the Environment has not held a single closed session), and to increase legislative responsibility by easing the procedures for obtaining recorded votes on the House floor."

Congressional
Record
2/4/76

Udall is co-sponsor of the Government in the Sunshine bill, HR 11701

WALLACE

Material pre-
pared for Common
Cause, 3/76

"Except in those departments and divisions which must maintain secrecy in order to protect the security of this country, we should have no governmental secrecy. We should provide information for the people about their government with no half truths or hiding the facts."

* * *

SPECIAL INTEREST LOBBYING

Common Cause has found no campaign statements on this issue by: Ford, Reagan, and Church.

BROWN

In 1974, Brown played a major role in initiating and winning passage of Proposition 9, California's political reform initiative. The measure requires lobbyists, and those employing them, to publicly disclose the type and purpose of their lobbying expenses. It also prohibits lobbyists from giving campaign contributions or gifts to state officials. It establishes an independent enforcement commission.

CARTER

Jimmy Carter,
Code of Ethics
Undated

Carter supports implementation of a new lobby disclosure law. "The activities of lobbyists must be more thoroughly revealed and controlled, both within Congress and the Executive Department agencies. The new lobbying law should apply to those executive agencies and departments which are not now covered as well as to the Congress. Quarterly reports of expenditures by all lobbyists who spend more than \$250 in lobbying in any three month period should be required. The act should include any lobbying expenditures aimed at influencing legislation or executive decisions and should cover those who lobby directly, solicit others to lobby, or employ lobbyists in their behalf."

Carter also proposes that "all requests for special government consideration by private or corporate interests should be made public, and decisions should be made only on the basis of merit."

SPECIAL INTEREST LOBBYING

UDALL

Udall 76 Comm.,
Morris Udall: The
Record of a Leader
Undated

"Recognizing the continued threat of special interests unfairly undermining the democratic process, (Udall) is a co-sponsor of the Public Disclosure of Lobbying Act of 1975."

Udall 76 Comm., On
Strengthening the
Political Process
Undated

He testified on this bill in September 1975, before the House Judiciary Committee. His testimony supported "the public's right to know who is spending on how much to influence what legislation."

WALLACE

Material pre-
pared for Common
Cause, 3/76

Wallace favors stronger restrictions on "what huge corporations can do in lobbying with unlimited funds" and broader disclosure. "Special interest lobbying has resulted in too much legislation favoring the super pressure groups. It's becoming a danger in our society."

* * *

CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

FORD

St. Petersburg
Times, 2/22/76

Ford has indicated that he would sign a new law requiring financial disclosure by federal officials. "I would personally approve of such a requirement by law," Ford said.

"I certainly believe in full disclosure. I've evidenced it by the very full disclosure of my financial situation."

REAGAN

Los Angeles
Times, 2/26/76

Although Reagan is philosophically opposed to disclosure of personal finances, he was more or less forced into his Feb. 25 personal disclosure statement by President Ford's full disclosure of Feb. 12. Until late February Reagan had repeatedly said he would not disclose his income for 1975.

Reagan's Feb. 25 statement was more informative than the disclosure he made under California law before leaving office, but it did not spell out how much he earned from radio broadcasts, his newspaper column or his paid speaking appearances in 1975.

BROWN

In 1974, Brown played a major role in initiating and winning passage of Proposition 9, California's political reform initiative. The measure requires state officials to publicly disclose their financial holdings and prohibits them from taking official action on matters in which they have a personal financial interest. It establishes an independent enforcement commission.

CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

CARTER

Jimmy Carter,
Code of Ethics
Undated

Carter supports public financial disclosure by government officials. "Complete revelation of all business and financial involvements of all major officials should be required, and none should be continued which constitute a possible conflict with the public interest. I have released an audit of my personal finances and will do so annually throughout my term of office. I will insist that the same requirement apply to the Vice President and to those appointed to major policy-making positions in my Administration. As President, I will seek legislation to make such disclosure mandatory.

"Everyone who serves in a position of policy-making ought to reveal to the public his or her financial holdings, where his or her riches are invested, and where his or her special interests are so that no conflict with the public interest will exist."

"Absolutely no gifts of value should ever again be permitted to a public official. A report of all minor personal gifts should be made public."

Carter also supports restrictions on the interchange of personnel between regulatory agencies and the industries they regulate. "The sweetheart arrangement between regulatory agencies and the regulated industries must be broken up, and the revolving door between them should be closed. Federal legislation should restrict the employment of any member of a regulatory agency by the industry being regulated."

CHURCH

S.181, introduced 1/16/76

Church favors public financial disclosure by federal officials. He is a co-sponsor of S.181, which would require officials in all three branches of government to file financial disclosure statements.

Church for President Com., Frank Church's Record on the Issues,
March '76

"Since 1964 Frank Church has made regular disclosures of his personal income and assets, and over the past decade has made repeated calls for a regularized, formal requirement that all Members of Congress do the same." He "was the author of an amendment to the

CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

Church (continued)

campaign reform bill which passed the Senate in 1973 to require such disclosures by every Member of Congress and by their opponents at election time."

Church has said that "complete disclosure would allow the voter to compare the Member's voting record in office with his financial portfolio, and determine for himself whether the Member has voted his private pocketbook interest or the general public interest, in the discharge of his official duties."

UDALL

Udall 76 Comm.,
Morris Udall: The
Record of a Leader,
10/75

Udall "resigned from his law firm upon election, and in 1963 was among the first Congressmen to make a complete disclosure of his financial holdings -- a practice he continues with annual disclosure of his tax returns."

Udall 76 Comm.,
On Honesty in
Government, 12/75

"When the House of Representatives established a temporary Ethics Committee, he spoke out sharply in favor of making it a permanent institution, and also introduced legislation to require complete financial disclosure by Members of Congress."

Udall 76 Comm.,
On Consumer issues,
12/75

Udall also proposes the implementation of "new conflict of interest rules to stop the shuffle of 'regulators' in and out of industry."

Keene Sentinel
2/11/76

He believes members of federal regulatory agencies should be barred from practicing law before those agencies for at least five years after leaving their posts. "Many of the members, when they leave the agencies, drum up expensive private practices arguing before those very agencies, or actually working for the industry they had been regulating," Udall reportedly said.

WALLACE

Material pre-
pared for Common
Cause, 3/76

"Any candidate who has a conflict of interest or any officeholder with a conflict of interest should either be removed or resign."

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

Common Cause has found no campaign statements on this issue by: Reagan and Church.

FORD

The Washington
Star, 2/6/76

Ford favors reconstituting the Federal Elections Commission in line with the Supreme Court's ruling so it can enforce "clean and honest elections." The Court has ruled that FEC commissioners must be appointed by the President, subject to Senate approval, in order for the Commission to continue its major operations. Ford is willing to name the current six commissioners.

Presidential
Document,
Vol. 10
No. 42, p. 1285
10/15/74

When Ford signed the new campaign finance bill into law in October 1974, he stated his reservations about the provisions for public financing of Presidential campaigns and about possible constitutional problems with contribution and expenditure limitations. Nevertheless, he stated that "big money influence has come to play an unseemingly role in our electoral process. This bill will help to right that wrong."

At that time, Ford also stated his opposition to public financing of congressional campaigns.

Ford message
to Congress,
Congressional
Record, 2/17/76

In view of the Supreme Court decision that the Federal Election Commission was improperly constituted by providing for Congressional appointment of its members, Ford asked Congress to move quickly to provide the FEC with members appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

"The American people can and should expect that our elections in this Bicentennial Year, as well as other years, will be free of abuse. And they know that the Federal Election Commission is the single most effective unit for meeting that challenge."

Noting his interest in amending the current law, Ford asked Congress to extend the FEC's life only through the 1976 elections so that "a full-scale review and reform of the election laws" would begin in 1977.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

BROWN

In 1974, Brown played a major role in initiating and winning passage of Proposition 9, California's political reform initiative. The measure requires public disclosure of campaign contributions, places limits on spending and contributions, and establishes an independent enforcement commission.

CARTER

Jimmy Carter,
Code of Ethics,
Undated

Carter believes that "public financing of campaigns should be extended to members of Congress." The present law provides only for the partial public financing of Presidential campaigns.

"Fines for illegal campaign contributions have often been minimal. They should be at least equal to the amount of the illegal donation."

UDALL

Udall 76 Comm., On
Strengthening the
Political Process.
Undated

"Mo Udall was one of the first office-holders to alert the public to the pernicious influence of big money on the conduct of government. His 1967 article on "The High Cost of Being a Congressman" helped focus public attention on the magnitude of political spending and led to passage in 1971 of the Federal Election Campaign Reform Act--co-authored by Udall and Illinois Republican John Anderson--the law under which a number of Watergate participants were prosecuted.

"When the wholesale abuses of the Nixon team spotlighted the need for more comprehensive electoral reform, Udall and Anderson again teamed up to spearhead the drive for the landmark 1974 campaign act amendments. For the first time, effective contribution and expenditure limits were placed on House and

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

Udall (continued)

Senate campaigns, and the hold of big donors on presidential campaigns was broken by federal financing of the general election and matching funds for small contributions during the primaries."

New York Times,
1/1/76

The new campaign finance law places a \$1000 limit on the amount an individual can give to any one candidate during the primaries. Udall has pledged to abide by this limit, even if the Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional. (The Court has subsequently upheld the constitutionality of this contribution limit.)

Udall press
release, 2/7/76

Udall has co-sponsored legislation reconstituting the Federal Election Commission. In its January decision on the campaign finance law, the Supreme Court ruled that the FEC had to be reconstituted in order to retain its enforcement powers. Udall said, "Independent enforcement is the key to establishing at long last an election system free of the taint of big money and political influence."

WALLACE

Material pre-
pared for Common
Cause, 3/76

"I believe we should have laws that will eliminate all fraud, misrepresentation and unfairness to make our campaigns fair to all candidates. I support the new campaign finance reform which helps to bring a part of this about through matching funds."

* * *

Issue Profile #2

INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS & NATIONAL SECURITY

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Introduction

INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS AND NATIONAL SECURITY

Overview/Arms Control, Nuclear Proliferation/Food Policy
Covert Actions/Military Spending, Assistance/Detente/Middle East
Hot Spots--Africa, Cuba, Panama

It is an American tradition that conduct of the nation's foreign policy is largely the responsibility of the President. Congress, even in recent years, has played a secondary role. Foreign policy, national security and defense spending intermesh to such an extent that on major international problems they cannot be separated.

To gain insight into the Presidential candidates' views on international problems and national security, Common Cause has outlined their positions on the following topics.

- Overview: Some of the candidates have issued comprehensive statements in which they take a broad look at foreign policy, relating one aspect to another.

- Arms Control, Nuclear Proliferation: The fate of the world may depend on effective control of the arms race, yet no subject is more tangled up in technicalities and national rivalries.

- Food Policy: In the winter of 1974-75 wide attention focused on world hunger and the responsibilities of fortunate nations to those facing starvation and malnutrition. This is the one aspect of foreign

economic aid on which most candidates have commented.

- Covert Actions: In all the controversy over the performance of U. S. intelligence agencies, one of the most debated issues has been the extent to which the U. S. should engage in covert or "dirty tricks" operations abroad.

- Military Spending and Assistance: The size of the defense budget, the new weapons that should or should not be developed, the amount of military assistance the U. S. should provide to friendly nations generate considerable controversy. The issue is linked at the local level to jobs in defense plants and shipyards.

- Detente: It is a campaign cliché that detente should be a two-way street. The candidates argue about the extent to which the United States has given more than it got in return from the Soviet Union.

- Middle East: Support of Israel's right to exist in peace is voiced by all candidates, but they differ on how as President they would move toward a peace settlement.

- Hot Spots: Was secret aid to anti-Soviet factions in Angola a forerunner of another Viet Nam entanglement? Candidates have debated that issue, and some of them have also made U. S. relations with Cuba and Panama an issue.

* * *

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OVERVIEW

FORD

State of the Union
message,
1/19/76

"Today, the state of our foreign policy is sound and strong.

* We are at peace -- and I will do all in my power to keep it that way.

* Our military forces are capable and ready; our military power is without equal. And I intend to keep it that way.

* Our principal alliances, with the industrial democracies of the Atlantic Community and Japan, have never been more solid.

* A further agreement to limit the strategic arms race may be achieved.

* We have an improving relationship with China, the world's most populous nation.

* The key elements for peace among the nations of the Middle East now exist.

"We should be proud of what the United States has accomplished....I say it is time we quit downgrading ourselves as a nation....The American people want strong and effective international and defense policies.

"In our Constitutional system, these policies should reflect consultation and accommodation between the President and Congress. But in the final analysis, as the framers of our Constitution knew from hard experience, the foreign relations of the United States can be conducted effectively only if there is strong central direction that allows flexibility of action. That responsibility clearly rests with the President.

"I pledge to the American people policies which seek a secure, just and peaceful world. I pledge to the Congress to work with you to that end."

New York Times,
2/14/76

At a news conference in Orlando, Fla., Ford said his foreign policy would "keep our powder dry and not put our finger on the nuclear trigger."

Ford speech to
Chicago Council on
Foreign Relations,
3/12/76

"Peace through strength has been my constant goal as your President" as well as in his Congressional career, Ford said. Maintaining a posture of unquestioned strength will permit the U.S. to "work to reduce confrontations and avoid nuclear catastrophe, but we must also be prepared to meet challengers wherever and whenever they occur."

OVERVIEW

Ford (continued)

Later in the speech Ford said, "I have warned Castro's Cuba and its Soviet sponsors against any further armed adventurism in either continent," Africa or Latin America.

In answer to a question, Ford said that if any of the NATO countries were controlled by Communist political forces NATO would be weakened. He said that relations with the People's Republic of China were developing constructively and "right on course" as prescribed in the 1972 Shanghai Communiqué.

REAGAN

N.Y. Times
3/5/76

"Despite Mr. Ford's evident decency, honor and patriotism, he has shown neither the vision nor the leadership necessary to halt and reverse the diplomatic and military decline of the United States," Reagan declared in his first frontal attack on the President, delivered at a press conference in Orlando, Fla.

Reagan said he is as much for peace as anyone, "but in places such as Angola, Cambodia and Vietnam, the peace they have come to know is the peace of the grave." He charged that under Kissinger, "U.S. foreign policy has coincided precisely with the loss of U.S. military supremacy."

Indicating that his policy as President would be to deal with the Soviet Union from a position of power, Reagan said "this nation must trust less in the pre-emptive concessions we are granting the Soviet Union and more in the reestablishment of American military superiority."

BROWN

Washington Star,
4/28/76

In an interview Brown said the Ford-Kissinger foreign policy is "sterile" and "reactive." "We were No. 1 in Vietnam in planes and bullets and napalm and all sorts of things. But we lost. We lost because we didn't have the right idea at the right place or the right time."

Brown favors a foreign policy based on "global realities," recognizing not only military strength but also "the true threat to the human species"

OVERVIEW

Brown (continued)

represented by nuclear proliferation, worldwide hunger, ecological dislocation and depletion of resources. He said the U.S. and other large powers should make commitments to preserve the oceans and environment.

Sacramento Bee,
3/30/76

Brown criticized U.S. foreign policy for trying to "protect the export markets of a few multinational corporations" and said he favored some kind of law to prevent multinationals from "bribing other countries."

He called for "increased normalization" of U.S. relations with mainland China while maintaining our treaty commitments to Taiwan.

Washington Post,
4/3/76

In a California speech Governor Brown said the U.S. should break out of 25 years of sterile foreign policy. America's place in the world is changing, he said, "and we can't control every country in the world."

Playboy, 4/76

In an interview Brown expressed doubts about some of the agreements made by Kissinger, saying "I get the impression that we're being pushed around a lot and that America has become a big sap" in other countries' opinion. He referred to the UN vote on Zionism and OPEC's freedom to raise oil prices as examples of lack of respect for the U.S.

CARTER

Carter, "Foreign
Policy Statement,"
(undated)

"We must never again keep secret the evolution of our foreign policy from the Congress and the American people. They should never again be misled about our options, our commitments, our progress or our failures....

"Secretaries of State and Defense and other cabinet officers should regularly appear before Congress, hopefully in televised sessions, to answer hard questions and to give straight answers."

OVERVIEW

Carter (continued)

Carter stresses the need for close ties with allies and friends, opposes unilateral intervention in other countries, calls for better mechanisms of consultation among governments and cautions that "interdependence" among nations requires mutual sacrifice, as in reducing consumption of oil so that common stockpiles can be assembled.

"It is likely in the near future that issues of war and peace will be more a function of economic and social problems than of the military security problems which have dominated international relations in the world since World War II," he said.

Speech to Chicago
Council on Foreign
Relations
3/15/76

Carter emphasized the need for open discussions of foreign policy options with Congress and the American people. "In every foreign venture that has failed -- whether it was Vietnam, Cambodia, Chile, Angola, or in the excesses of the CIA -- our Government forged ahead without consulting the American people and did things that were contrary to our basic character," he said.

CHURCH

Announcement of
candidacy, Idaho
City,
3/18/76

Church favors "a discriminating foreign policy which recognizes that the post-war period is over; that we are no longer the one rich patron of a war-wracked world." He favors continued aid to Western Europe and the Middle East, "where our stakes are large," but not to numerous other countries, unspecified.

He says that U.S. foreign policy "must be wrested from the hands of that fraternity of compulsive interventionists who have involved us in so many futile, foreign wars!"

Congressional
Quarterly,
3/20/76

In his work in foreign affairs, according to CQ's analysis, Church reflects the interests of his idol, the late Sen. Borah of Idaho, a leading isolationist of the 1920s. Before 1966 Church voted for the Gulf of Tonkin resolution authorizing military action in Vietnam and spoke in favor of U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic. He began to oppose further U.S. military action in Vietnam in 1966 and became a co-sponsor of the leading anti-war amendments after that time.

OVERVIEW

Church (continued)

He has been consistently skeptical of the value of foreign aid but favors close U.S. ties to NATO.

As chairman of the Multinational Corporations Subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee he publicized CIA and ITT intervention against the Allende government of Chile.

UDALL

Congressman Udall.
"on Foreign Policy:
An Introduction,"
undated

Udall sees four key trends that will increasingly mold the course of international relations:

1. "Power and national stature...will more and more be determined by economic influence and strength." International economic arrangements must be strengthened. The U. S. "can no longer impose its will, economic or political, on the international community."
2. The U. S.-USSR "bipolar axis" will lose some of its importance as shifting alliances and tensions develop on international issues.
3. "The growing needs and aspirations of Third and Fourth World countries will increasingly influence global relations." These nations must participate in decisions of the international community. "This will be a frustrating and unrewarding effort at first, but I believe it is essential."
4. "The economic significance of natural resources, both those which are owned and those--the oceans, the air, the climate and others--which are shared among nations, will more and more occupy center stage in the years ahead."

"The economic reality of the future is that the health of the U. S. economy will be tied ever more tightly to that of the rest of the globe."

The future requires a foreign policy of innovation that makes "profound changes in both the substance and the structure of current policies." That makes essential "a broad, open public debate" in which opposing views of political factions are argued out.

OVERVIEW

WALLACE

Wallace
campaign
brochure,
"A Fresh
Approach to
Foreign Policy,"
undated

"History teaches a very clear lesson: Weak nations never know true peace. Peace comes only through strength."

Among Wallace's proposals are: "reform of the United Nations"; "overhauling the State Department to end defeatism abroad"; reinvigoration of NATO; no foreign aid to Communist nations; continued support of Nationalist China; and increased technological assistance for food production in underdeveloped nations.

Describing Vietnam as a "no-win war," Wallace says: "I oppose commitments of American troops in 'new Vietnams,'" but he favors support for free people who "prove a strong will to resist Communism on their own."

Washington Post
10/24/75

In two weeks in Europe Wallace visited five European capitals, meeting with the Italian president and premier but not the Pope, with England's prime minister and Belgium's premier, but not with the heads of government of West Germany or France.

Asked by reporters what he was telling European leaders, Wallace said repeatedly that his message was that the U.S. supports NATO and that "what's good for Western Europe is good for the U.S. and vice versa." He told reporters that he had not raised issues such as detente with the leaders he talked to because he was only a visitor, not a head of state.

* * *

ARMS CONTROL/NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

Common Cause has found no campaign statements on this issue by: Wallace

FORD

Press Conference on
Air Force One leaving
Helsinki,
8/2/75

Ford reported progress toward a SALT II agreement in his talks with Brezhnev but hinted that the most difficult problems were still to be negotiated.

Asked if he thought the American people needed much convincing about SALT, Ford said he was "convinced the American people want their President, their government, to make responsible and safe agreements. On the other hand, I do not believe the American people want their President to give more than he gets." In the negotiations and compromises, "I can assure you we will not give more than we get," he said.

White House
Press Conference,
11/3/75

At this press conference Ford announced the replacement of Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger with Donald Rumsfeld and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's relinquishment of his position as National Security Affairs advisor to the President.

A questioner referred to Schlesinger's lack of enthusiasm for Kissinger's SALT policies and asked if there would now be an acceleration toward an agreement. Ford replied: "We expect to pursue, but not under any pressure, negotiations with the Soviet Union in strategic arms limitations. We have differences. But I think it is in the national interest for us to continue to work toward a SALT II agreement. We are under no time pressure to do so."

Ford speech to
Chicago Council
on Foreign Re-
lations,
3/12/76

Ford said details of SALT II are still being negotiated, "and I cannot say when or even whether this will be completed." If a good agreement can be reached, "it will keep a lid on strategic arms for the next 7 to 10 years. It will compel the Russians to cut back on their current strategic military capability," he said.

Full verification of the agreements reached, Ford warned, will necessitate the U.S. maintaining the finest intelligence capability in the world.

ARMS CONTROL/NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

REAGAN

Speech at Exeter, N.H.
2/10/76

"The Soviet Union seems most anxious to enter into a SALT II agreement. They have reason to be worried about a defensive weapons system in which we hold a huge technological lead" -- the cruise missile, which "could reverse our 25 year dependence on nuclear weapons for security." The U.S. must not "sacrifice" the cruise missile for "cosmetic" concessions by the Soviets.

"In SALT I, we compromised our clear technological lead in the anti-ballistic missile system, the ABM, for the sake of a deal."

If a SALT II agreement is reached, Reagan said, the Administration should make its tentative terms public before it transmits the treaty to the Senate. He repeatedly stressed the need for the government to "confide in the people."

Issue summary by
Fla. Citizens for
Reagan,
1/5/76

Reagan has said: "If we are going to have a SALT II agreement, the President should order his negotiators to get real equality in every area."

Washington Post,
12/1/75

On ABC's "Issues and Answers" program, Reagan said the U.S. "gave away too much at Vladivostok," where President Ford and Soviet General Secretary Brezhnev met in 1974 to reach tentative agreements as a basis for SALT II.

Congressional
Quarterly
11/29/75

Reagan has criticized the Vladivostok agreement for failure to put equal size limits on each nation's missiles while freezing the numbers. He says this gives an advantage to the Soviet Union's larger missiles.

BROWN

San Francisco
Examiner, 4/3/76

Instead of worrying about maintaining the status quo abroad, "I think we ought to worry about... Germans selling a nuclear reactor to Brazil." As in India, the reactor might be used to build a nuclear bomb, he warned, and "10 or 15 years down the road, your children may be facing a real threat."

San Francisco
Chronicle, 3/31/76

In an interview on foreign policy Brown said he favored full public disclosure of all agreements worked out at the SALT talks.

ARMS CONTROL/NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

CARTER

AP feature,
Concord (N.H.)
Monitor,
1/27/76

Carter's ultimate goal is the elimination of all nuclear weapons. "The first step is a concerted effort to halt the spread of nuclear weapons. The second is to begin to reduce the numbers of nuclear weapons held by the major powers....," he has said. He is a former nuclear submarine officer.

Carter statement on
"Nuclear Weapons,"
(undated)

"The wild international atomic weapons race must stop." The U.S. should publicly propose to the nuclear powers "step-by-step, carefully monitored, mutual reductions," with reduction to zero number of nuclear weapons the ultimate goal, Carter said.

The Vladivostok agreement between Ford and Brezhnev did not reduce the number of strategic nuclear weapons and did not apply to tactical weapons, he pointed out. Carter said an appeal to world opinion would reinforce U.S. efforts to reduce the stockpile of nuclear weapons.

Carter "Foreign
Policy Statement,"
(undated)

"We should refuse to sell nuclear power plants and fuels to nations who do not sign the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty or who will not agree to adhere to strict provisions regarding international control of atomic wastes. The establishment of additional nuclear free zones in the world must also be encouraged."

CHURCH

Campaign
document,
"Church on
the Issues,"
3/76

The document says that Church believes it is absolutely essential for the U.S. and USSR to reach agreement to limit arms production. It does not mention any proposals for reaching such an agreement but says that Church led the Senate fight for prompt passage of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty in 1963.

ABC "Issues and
Answers", 3/21/76

Church said the proliferation of nuclear capability in more and more countries is "very alarming... yet we are doing very little about it." The U.S. and USSR are doing little to cool down the nuclear arms race, he said, "the level of danger is rising on both sides, and we are going to be the target of mutual extinction. I would certainly put that high on the agenda" of a Church Administration.

ARMS CONTROL/NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

UDALL

Udall
statement
on Detente,
3/76

Favoring a slowing down of the U.S.-Soviet arms race, Udall finds progress toward SALT II disappointing and criticizes the Vladivostok agreement for setting a so-called ceiling that allows the doubling of "already oversized" strategic arsenals.

Udall position
paper on Foreign
Policy, 1/23/76

"The worldwide trade in conventional arms is growing at an intolerable rate: 6000% in 20 years. An international conference to address ways and means of controlling the arms trade must be convened at the earliest possible date."

Congressman Udall
"on Foreign Policy:
An Introduction,"
undated

Concerned about the increasing spread of nuclear materials and technology, and the increasing likelihood of their diversion by nations or terrorist groups, Udall believes "a serious effort to strengthen the Non-Proliferation Treaty and increase the funding and the powers of the International Atomic Energy Agency must be considered one of the top priorities on the international agenda."

* * *

FOOD POLICY

Common Cause has found no campaign statements on this issue by: Brown

FORD

N.Y. Times,
4/28/76

Speaking in Louisiana on farm policy, Ford said, "I would never use export of our agricultural commodities as a pawn in international relations" nor would he limit export sales to hold down U.S. prices for food.

REAGAN

Anthony
Lewis,
N.Y. Times,
3/8/76

On NBC's "Meet the Press" March 7, Reagan rejected the idea of using food as an economic weapon against the Russians. "Selling gives us the advantage," he said. "We can't just stubbornly say, 'We won't sell.'"

CARTER

Carter answer to
Iowa Democratic
Party Poll,
1976

Asked if he favored using U.S. food exports as a diplomatic tool, Carter replied: "Emergency food aid should not be used as a diplomatic tool. However, in trade discussion, like with the Russians, we should strive to obtain some diplomatic concessions in return."

Carter "Foreign
Policy Statement,"
(undated)

There cannot be a stable world order "when people of many nations of the world suffer mass starvation" and there are no international arrangements to supply the world's food and energy needs.

CHURCH

Church reply to
Iowa Democratic
Party Poll, 1976

Church said, "It is seldom possible to use food as a diplomatic instrument" because the U.S. is just one of many suppliers.

Congressional
Record, 4/14/76

Church, in a statement analyzing the grain deals with Russia, accused the Administration of hurting U.S. farmers by placing a ceiling on their exports. Rather than a limit on how much grain the U.S. would sell to the USSR, Church favored exchange of information on crop production, port capabilities and import requirements.

ABC "Issues and
Answers," 3/21/76

Emphasizing that the U.S. no longer is "the one rich patron country in a war-wracked world," Church urged a cooperative multinational effort to relieve famine and improve living standards in the Third World.

UDALL

Udall answer to
Iowa Democratic
Poll, 1976

Asked if he favored use of U. S. food exports as a diplomatic tool, Udall said yes, under certain circumstances and "within specified limits, so as not to cause large price fluctuations to either the American farmer or consumer."

Campaign committee
statement, 3/76

Udall says the U.S. should adopt "a long-range policy which seeks to maximize Soviet dependence on us for grain. Thereby we would squeeze the greatest leverage from our great agricultural weapon."

WALLACE

Wallace
campaign
brochure,
"U.S. Foreign
Aid Giveaways,"
undated

"We should deny aid and assistance to those nations who oppose us militarily and those who seek our economic and military destruction by giving aid and comfort to our avowed enemies. Nations seeking to embarrass us and those insisting on labeling our policies 'imperialistic and 'aggressive' should not receive our favor.

"....Foreign aid must become an instrument of foreign policy.At the present, our government takes money that should be used for the people's interest and pours it down nearly every foreign aid 'rat hole' around the world."

* * *

COVERT ACTIONS

Common Cause has found no campaign statements on this issue by: Brown

FORD

- Ford campaign
response to
N.C. Common
Cause,
3/17/76

The President's program for intelligence agencies will give the U.S. a strong and effective capability to collect and analyze intelligence and to conduct necessary covert action in a constitutional and lawful manner "never aimed at our own citizens."

Ford Message to
Congress on CIA,
2/18/76

Ford's message to Congress and his preceding press conference did not use the word "covert" but in the message Ford said of his Executive Order issued the same day: "I believe it will eliminate abuses and questionable activities on the part of the (U.S.) foreign intelligence agencies" without hindering their legitimate activities.

He asked Congress for legislation authorizing electronic surveillance in the U.S. for foreign intelligence purposes, upon a judicial warrant, and the opening of U.S. mail sent to or from suspected foreign agents engaged in spying, sabotage or terrorism, if a federal judge consents. Ford also asked Congress to make it a crime to plan or carry out an assassination of a foreign official in peacetime.

Ford Executive Order
on U.S. Foreign Intel-
ligence Activities,
2/18/76

Section 5 of the Executive Order, entitled "Restrictions on Intelligence Activities," said that measures employed to get information about other governments "must be conducted in a manner which preserves and respects our established concepts of privacy and our civil liberties."

It prohibited physical surveillance of U.S. citizens and resident aliens except for specified exceptions; prohibited the CIA from performing electronic surveillance within the U.S. and said other agencies must operate within procedures approved by the Attorney General; prohibited infiltration within the U.S. of organizations except those composed primarily of foreigners believed to be acting for a foreign power; and specified the conditions under which information on domestic activities of U.S. persons could be collected.

Anthony Lewis,
New York Times,
2/19/76

Except for the ban on foreign assassinations, Ford's Executive Order proposes no substantive limitations on the kinds of activities that U.S. intelligence agencies may engage in abroad.

White House
Press Conference,
12/20/76

Ford described U.S. actions in Angola as "a legitimate covert operation where not one American military personnel was involved" and said it would be inappropriate to give any details about a "covert action case."

COVERT ACTIONS

REAGAN

Reagan response
to N.C. Common
Cause,
3/17/76

"As a general matter I am not favorable to covert activities." A U.S. consensus on international goals would reduce the need for covert activities. In the meantime, they must be "weighed one-by-one." When they become public knowledge, as in Angola, their objectives should be thoroughly explained to the American people, something the Ford Administration failed to do.

CARTER

Carter, "Foreign
Policy Statement,"
(undated)

"We have learned that never again should our country become militarily involved in the internal affairs of another nation unless there is a direct and obvious threat to the security of the United States or its people. We must not use the CIA or other covert means to effect violent change in any government or government policy. Such involvements are not in the best interests of world peace, and they are almost inherently doomed to failure."

CHURCH

Announcement
of candidacy,
Idaho City,
3/18/76

Church attacked "crimes against freedom" committed under recent Administrations, saying: "It is a leadership of weakness and fear which insists that we must imitate the Russians in our treatment of foreign peoples, adopting their methods of bribery, blackmail, abduction and coercion as if they were our own. And it is a leadership of weakness and fear which permits the most powerful agencies of our Government -- the CIA, the FBI and the IRS -- to systematically ignore the very laws intended to protect the liberties of the people."

UDALL

Time
magazine
3/15/76

Udall flatly opposes covert action by the CIA, though he does not mind, he has said, "having spies in the Kremlin, in the P.L.O. and in the Portuguese army."

Udall "on
the CIA,"
3/76

Udall says the nation needs "accurate, sophisticated foreign intelligence and a competent, professional CIA.On the other hand, we do not need most political covert activity (emphasis supplied), assassinations, overthrows of foreign governments,

COVERT ACTIONS

Udall (continued)

etc." He opposes secret funding of foreign political parties and advocates open support to non-communist and non-rightist governments and parties.

He favors a legislated charter for the CIA that "will spell out what it may and may not do" and will forbid domestic activities by the CIA.

Udall "on
Angola,"
3/76

Covert intervention in foreign nations is disastrous for the U.S., Udall says. "If we cannot learn from Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Vietnam, Laos, and Chile, what will it take to teach us this lesson?"

Udall response
to North Carolina
Common Cause,
3/17/76

He said "the one guideline" to follow was that the U.S. should never undertake "an action that we would find repugnant if exercised in the U.S."

WALLACE

CBS "Face the Nation"
1/11/76

Asked whether he thought the U.S. should spend money for covert CIA operations to influence political systems in foreign countries, Wallace said that leading powers in the world had been involved in covert operations since the dawn of history. He added: "I am not against covert actions on behalf of the defense of the United States when the KGB, the Soviet Union, is involved in covert actions themselves."

In response to another question Wallace said he was against assassination of foreign leaders.

* * *

MILITARY SPENDING & MILITARY ASSISTANCE

FORD

State of the Union
Message,
1/19/76

"Only from a position of strength can we negotiate a balanced agreement to limit the growth of nuclear arms. Only a balanced agreement will serve our interest and minimize the threat of nuclear confrontation."

Budget Message,
1/21/76

"The amounts I seek will provide the national defense it now appears we need. We dare not do less. And if our efforts to secure international arms limitations falter, we will need to do more."

Wash. Star,
3/13/76

Speaking at Wheaton College, Ill., Ford said: "This country is second to none in the capability that is required to protect our country. We do have the best trained, the best equipped, the best led, the most alert military force in the history of the United States."

Ford speech
to Chicago
Council on
Foreign Re-
lations,
3/12/76

In answer to a question, Ford said the U.S. had a declining capability in defense policy for 10 to 15 years, "spending a lesser and lesser amount in real dollars. I think the time has come that we must reverse that trend."

In the text of his speech Ford said he had submitted a "record peacetime defense budget request of \$112.7 billion" that represented an increase in real dollars of \$7.4 billion. That will improve the strength and readiness of the armed services "while trimming off all the fat that we can," he said, adding:

"Funds are included for 16 new Navy ships and continued modernization of the fleet, including nuclear-powered submarines and guided missile frigates. I will ask for more in the way of Navy shipbuilding if a current study shows we need a faster buildup. Work will continue on the Trident submarine, the B-1 strategic bomber, cruise missiles and ballistic missiles, a new combat fighter for the Army and for the Navy and the Air Force, and advance tanks, amphibious and infantry vehicles for the Army."

His budget, he said, would "maintain a position of unquestioned strength" for the United States and help promote peace.

Los Angeles
Times, 4/11/76

Speaking in Dallas and El Paso, without mentioning Reagan by name, Ford warned against "hot words or rash acts," said that keeping the peace means

MILITARY SPENDING & MILITARY ASSISTANCE

Ford (continued)

avoiding "reckless confrontation" and weighing words carefully, and that where military strategy calls for "clear-cut superiority, the fact is we are first." He referred to the accuracy of U.S. ballistic missiles and the number of missile warheads, strategic bombers and aircraft carriers as advantages the U.S. has over Russia.

N.Y. Times,
4/22/76

Speaking to the D.A.R., Ford denounced Reagan's charges that the U.S. had slipped behind Russia in military strength. The United States, Ford said, "is the single most powerful nation on earth -- indeed, in all history -- and we're going to keep it that way."

Washington Post,
4/27/76

In a supplemental appropriation request to Congress, President Ford, just before leaving on a campaign trip to Texas, asked for \$322.4 million to continue production of the Minuteman III missile on an optional basis, and to produce improved nuclear warheads and build supporting facilities.

This reversed a tentative decision in the January defense budget to halt production of Minuteman III. The turn-around was ascribed by the White House to the lack of progress at the SALT talks.

Wall Street
Journal, 5/5/76

With the approval of the President, Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld asked Congress to increase Navy shipbuilding funds by \$974 million, to \$7.3 billion, so that the U.S. could retain its naval superiority over Russia through the year 2000.

Message to Congress
on the Foreign Assistance Act,
1/20/76

In response to a 1974 law urging that the military assistance program be phased out quickly, Ford said: "I firmly believe that grant military assistance in some form will remain a basic requirement for an effective U.S. foreign policy for the foreseeable future." He opposed "an arbitrary termination date" for such assistance.

But in response to Congress he said he had made a 28% reduction in grants for military assistance in fiscal 1977 but warned that in most cases these cuts would have to be offset by increased credit for foreign military sales.

MILITARY SPENDING & MILITARY ASSISTANCE

Ford (continued)

N.Y. Times,
5/8/76

President Ford vetoes the \$4.4 billion foreign aid bill, which contains \$2.2 billion for Israel, citing constitutional problems and "unwise restrictions" on his ability to make foreign policy. Restrictions he objected to included: a \$9 billion ceiling on military sales, which he said limits U.S. ability to help our friends and "obstructs U.S. industry from competing fairly with foreign suppliers;" a legislated end to military grants and military advisory teams in two years; and Congressional review and veto power over major arms sales.

REAGAN

Speech at Exeter, N.H.
2/10/76

"I have said before that we can afford to be second to no one in military strength, not because we seek war, but because we want to insure peace....The Soviet Union has now forged ahead in producing nuclear and conventional weapons."

Interview in
Business Week.
2/9/76

Reagan said, "Russia is becoming more truculent" because they see little backing in the U.S. for adequate defense spending. Former Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger was right "when he said that by 1985, if we continue on our present course, Russia will be in such a position of superiority that if they march then, we won't be able to talk about it" (i.e., negotiate).

Reagan advocated staying "at least even" with Russia in military preparedness.

Issues summary,
Fla. Citizens for
Reagan,
1/5/76

Reagan, the summary said, "is for a strong defense budget. Some reorganization may be necessary to cut wasteful spending. 'You spend what you have to spend to maintain superiority. If you're second, you're last.'"

Boston Globe
editorial,
2/10/76

Reagan urges major spending increases for offensive and defensive weapons systems and withholding of military and economic aid from countries that vote against the U.S. in the United Nations or criticize U.S. policies.

Washington
Star, 3/5/76

Speaking in Orlando, Fla., Reagan said that under Kissinger and Ford "this nation has become No. 2 in military power in a world where it is dangerous -- if not fatal -- to be second best."

Los Angeles
Times, 4/11/76

In a statement at a Seattle, Wash., press conference Reagan cited a host of statistics that he said showed "the Soviets' annual investment in strategic and conventional weapons runs some 50% ahead of ours. It is buying them superiority."

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MILITARY SPENDING & MILITARY ASSISTANCE

Reagan (continued)

St. Petersburg (Fla.)
Times,
1/11/76

On foreign aid, Reagan said it "makes people dependent on us rather than making them independent. We must go the other way," exporting our agricultural know-how abroad.

BROWN

San Francisco
Examiner, 4/3/76

In a speech to the California Conference of Machinists, Gov. Brown said, "I'm behind a strong defense. I'm behind a strong conventional military force." But he said the U.S. should "rethink" where it needs to keep military bases abroad in order to lessen anti-American sentiment.

Playboy, 4/76

When asked if he favored cuts in military spending, Brown said "I'd be surprised if there were dramatic savings to be made.Military costs have gone up and I don't realistically think the budget will be cut."

Washington
Star, 5/1/76

Greeting black clergymen in Baltimore, Brown suggested he would cut back on military spending to help pay for the jobs program he favors.

CARTER

Speech to Chicago
Council on Foreign
Relations, 3/15/76

"The prime responsibility of any President is to guarantee the security of our nation with a tough, muscular, well-organized and effective fighting force. We must have the ability to avoid the threat of successful attack or blackmail, and we must always be strong enough to carry out our legitimate foreign policy. This is a prerequisite to peace," Carter said.

Manchester (N.H.)
Union-Leader,
1/8/76

Speaking at Portsmouth, N.H., Carter acknowledged that there were probably many defense industry employees in his audience and "you may not like this but" as President he would cut \$7 to \$8 billion from the current defense budget. He said there are too many top-brass in the armed services, too many support forces in comparison to fighting units, and too many overseas bases. Cutting that kind of fat, he said, would produce a stronger national defense.

He said that he, an Annapolis graduate, would be the first President since Truman to control the military bureaucracy.

MILITARY SPENDING & MILITARY ASSISTANCE

CARTER

Washington Post,
3/21/76

Asked in an interview if he was concerned that the USSR was getting ahead of the U.S. in military strength, Carter replied that U.S. strength combined with that of NATO was still superior to that of Russia and that U.S. economic and agricultural production "gives us a decided edge."

His only hesitation, Carter said, was the trend in naval strength, where the number of U.S. ships was shrinking while the Soviet fleet doubled. However, he said, the U.S. Navy was still superior but naval strategy, based on a war in the Far East, was out of date.

In answer to a question about Ford's defense budget, Carter said he would spend "about the same, maybe 5% less," but he would work for a much more efficient fighting force within that limit.

Carter reply to
Iowa Democratic
Party Poll,
1976

Asked if he would terminate the B-1 bomber, which is reaching the end of the development stage, Carter replied that he was not in favor of production of B-1s but he "could not promise to eliminate all possible future bombers."

Carter statement,
"Troops Overseas,"
(undated)

In spite of the lessons learned in Cambodia and Vietnam, where the U.S. became involved in "unnecessary, expensive, embarrassing and unsuccessful military engagements" within the internal affairs of those countries, "we still have too many military bases and too many troops overseas."

Noting that the governments of Thailand and the Philippines have suggested removal of our troops or a reduction in number, Carter said, "I would certainly accomodate these requests and, in carefully staged withdrawals, would remove most of our troops from South Korea.

"Troop commitments to NATO territory in Europe and Japan should be reduced more gradually to a slightly lower number," with those countries sharing more of the costs. "American treaty commitments made by the President and Congress and with the knowledge of the American people must be honored."

MILITARY SPENDING & MILITARY ASSISTANCE

CHURCH

ABC "Issues and
Answers," 4/25/76

Explaining why, as President, he would never order the first use of nuclear weapons, whether tactical or strategic, Church said once nuclear weapons are used, "you are asking for Armageddon." He endorsed the theory of deterrence, which is to build up huge nuclear arsenals so that no nation would dare to use a nuclear weapon against us.

Campaign
document,
"Church on
the Issues",
3/76

The paper quotes Church as saying, "The extent to which we can shape the future rests more upon our moral leadership than our military might." It cites a number of Church votes in the Senate to reduce military spending and U.S. troops abroad.

According to the paper, Church has condemned indiscriminate U.S. sales of arms to Third World countries. It says that his consistent support of military aid to Israel demonstrates his selective judgment in assisting legitimate struggles for self-determination. Church has voted to terminate all military assistance to military dictatorships or authoritarian governments, the paper says.

ABC "Issues and
Answers," 3/21/76

Church said that global military aid continued because of "bureaucracy perpetuating itself;" he would concentrate on "areas of vital interest to the United States: Western Europe, the Middle East, Japan...places where we must take strong stands."

Church reply to
Iowa Democratic
Party Poll,
1976

Asked if he would support an approximate 10% cut in the \$90 billion defense budget and terminate the B-1 bomber, Church replied that he had voted in the Senate for amendments that would have brought about a 10% cut and said he believed "a reduction of that size could be accomplished without impairing our national security one iota."

On the B-1 bomber, Church said the need for it is "highly questionable" and "its astronomical cost -- \$100 million per copy -- far outweighs any benefit it could confer in added fire power."

UDALL

ABC "Issues and
Answers," 4/25/76

Udall said the 1975 announcement by former Secretary of Defense Schlessinger that the U.S. did not rule out first use of nuclear weapons was "madness. We ought to show restraint." Deterrence is an important strategy, Udall said, but the U.S. shouldn't "brandish" its nuclear weapons.

MILITARY SPENDING & MILITARY ASSISTANCE

Udall (continued)

Udall
brochure
(undated)

"We have real material defense needs. We must have a lean, tough military force prepared to defend the national interest, however it might be threatened. But we do not need gold-plated or duplicated weapon systems, three new Army divisions, or back-up forces suited only for a ground war in Asia. And we do not need more nuclear weapons in an arsenal which already holds 2,000 times the destructive power unleashed in all of World War II, or the waste which goes with a bureaucracy accustomed to an ever-increasing military budget."

Udall "on
defense issues,"
12/3/75

Udall has: "Voted to cut back or eliminate funds for Trident, the B-1 bomber, AWACS, and binary nerve gases; called for removal of 6,000 of the 7,000 tactical nuclear weapons now stationed in Europe, and all those stationed in South Korea"; advocated a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty; and issued a comprehensive rebuttal of former Secretary of Defense Schlesinger's policy that included the possibility of a first strike against the USSR by U. S. nuclear weapons. Udall described that policy as one that "sees the utility of nuclear weapons in fighting wars as well as deterring them."

Offering data to show that, dollar for dollar, government spending on defense programs produces fewer jobs than spending on non-defense programs, Udall said: "While there can be little question that military cutbacks would pinch selected communities and industries, it seems clear that the national economy and employment situation will eventually benefit from such cutbacks if these are coupled to a positive program of compensatory policies."

WALLACE

CBS "Face the Nation,"
1/11/76

"In my judgment it is in the interest of the United States for this country to be number one in offensive and defensive capabilities in order to have good negotiations with the Soviet Union or to have successful negotiations with them, because the Soviet Union is still intent upon its will being imposed, not necessarily (by) armed occupation, but economically in the whole world....

"We are not going to be able to do what we ought to do for the American working man unless we have a strong national defense."

MILITARY SPENDING & MILITARY ASSISTANCE

Wallace (continued)

Interview with
Cronkite, CBS News,
12/30/75

"I do not want any cold war or confrontation, and I think the best way to prevent it is to see that this nation is number one" in defense expenditures, Wallace said. If any power should gain superior strength, he said, "I think that we might lose everything -- our national existence."

Wallace
campaign
brochure,
"U.S.
National
Defense
Policy,"
undated

Wallace complains that the national defense structure is "so fraught with misrepresentation and inconsistencies" that it is almost impossible for the nation "to ascertain the true state of its defenses." No specific reference is made to the defense budget.

He proposes intensive review of U.S. defense policies, practices and capabilities and promises that as President he will "insist that the civilian authorities (in the Pentagon) work in partnership and harmony with the splendid military force with which this country is blessed."

He favors retention of the Selective Service System on a standby basis, promises "the best attainable" military equipment and weapons for the armed services, more efficient reserve forces and better pay and living conditions for military personnel.

Boston Globe,
2/19/76

Campaigning in Massachusetts, Wallace pledged as President to keep Fort Devens, an Army base, open.

Mary McGrory,
Boston Globe,
2/23/76

Wallace said in a Boston appearance that if he were President he would reopen the Boston Navy Yard.

* * *

FORD

White House
Press Conference
11/3/75

A reporter asked if the U.S. was getting as much out of detente as the Soviet Union is and Ford replied, after citing his strong national security record: "I believe that in our attempt to ease tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States, we have achieved a two-way street." He said he expected that policy to continue.

Year-end interview
with selected
reporters,
12/31/75

According to Ford, "Angola is an example of where I think detente has not worked the way it should work, and we strongly object to it." However, he said the framework of detente had worked well in SALT I and in the five-year grain agreement with the Soviet Union, and in the long run would help produce a settlement in the Middle East.

Ford Campaign flyer,
"Foreign Affairs,"
(undated)

Early in 1975, the flyer says, President Ford told about his efforts to cool the cold war: "...Detente literally means 'easing' or 'relaxing,' but definitely not -- and I emphasize not -- the relaxing of diligence or easing of effort. Rather, it means movement away from the constant crisis and dangerous confrontations that have characterized relations with the Soviet Union.... It represents our best efforts to cool the cold war, which on occasion became much too hot for comfort.... To me, detente means a fervent desire for peace -- but not peace at any price. It means the preservation of fundamental American principles, not their sacrifice."

N.Y. Times
3/2/76

In an interview with a Miami television reporter Ford said: "I don't use the word detente any more. I think what we ought to say is that the United States will meet with the superpowers, the Soviet Union and with China and others, and seek to relax tensions so that we can continue a policy of peace through strength."

REAGAN

Speech at Exeter, N.H.
2/10/76

"Detente, if it is a one-way street, will fail. As a two-way street it may succeed." Reagan described the Ford-Kissinger policies as "contradictory," speaking tough to the Soviets on Angola at the same time Kissinger was packing his bags to go to Moscow to negotiate on arms control.

DETENTE

Reagan (continued)

N.Y. Times
3/5/76

"There is little doubt in my mind that the Soviet Union will not stop taking advantage of detente until it sees that the American people have elected a new President and appointed a new Secretary of State," Reagan said in Orlando, Fla.

While the U.S. has given the USSR trade and technology, the U.S. got in return, Reagan said, Soviet-Cuban intervention in Angola, a Helsinki agreement approving "the Soviet empire in Eastern Europe" and "Soviet belligerence in the Middle East."

Washington Star,
1/19/76

Answering a question at Peterboro, N.H., Reagan criticized Kissinger, declaring that "in many instances, what is hailed as negotiations is turning out to be appeasement."

BROWN

San Francisco Chronicle, 3/31/76

While describing Russia as one of the world's principal "forces of destabilization" and its arms buildup as dangerous, Brown said he would as President try to "relax tensions" between the two countries as much as possible.

CARTER

AP feature,
Concord (N.H.) Monitor,
1/27/76

Carter says the U.S. should "continue our friendly relationships with Russia -- maximum communications and understandings with one another -- because it would be very difficult for us to have an ultimate settlement in the Middle East or in the Korean area or a substantial reduction in atomic weapons or conventional weapons without the cooperation of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China." However, he says the U.S. must remain strong militarily because "the Soviet Union would naturally take advantage of our vulnerability or weakness."

Carter "Foreign Policy Statement,"
(undated)

"Detente should be pursued on a mutually beneficial basis through a series of sustained, low-key and open discussions among the participants -- and not just dramatic or secret agreements among two or three national leaders."

Carter (continued)

Speech to Chicago
Council on Foreign
Relations
3/15/76

Carter said he strongly favors "the objectives of detente" but he would conduct harder bargaining with the Russians than Kissinger has. He said Kissinger "is giving up too much and asking too little. He's trumpeting achievements on paper while failing to insist on them in practice."

Carter added: "In places like Syria or Angola, in activities like offensive missile development, the Soviet seems to be taking advantage of the new relationship (detente) to expand their power and influence and increase the risk of combat."

CHURCH

Campaign
document,
"Church on
the Issues,"
3/76

The document quotes Church as saying: "What is troubling the American people about detente is the sense that it is a one-way street in favor of the Soviet Union, that the American leadership does not hold the Soviet Union to commitments solemnly undertaken, particularly where human rights are concerned."

He said that the first goal of detente is to produce greater security for the two countries, which means a decrease in the arms race. Church said he favored expanded trade with the Soviet Union but opposed deals, such as helping finance oil and gas production in the USSR, where the primary benefits would flow to the Soviets.

UDALL

Udall "on
foreign policy,"
1/23/76

"Detente should be vigorously pursued, remembering though that the relaxation of tension is not the same thing as normal relations, and that there are strong economic imperatives pushing the Soviet Union along its current course. In future dealings with Russia, our economic advantages should be exploited to the fullest possible degree."

Campaign committee
statement, 3/76

Udall says the U.S. must continue to seek detente because no sensible person would deny that we "should seek agreements with Russia and with China that are to our mutual advantage." In negotiations he would use "every kind of leverage...economic, technological, agricultural," but not as the Ford Administration has done.

DETENTE

Udall (continued)

Udall answer to
EMPAC (Ethnic
Millions Political
Action Committee)
11/75

"I view the Helsinki accords as simply an official recognition of 25-year-old European realities. I do not think it can be regarded in any way as signifying approval of the Soviet seizure of her 'colonies' (as EMPAC suggested). I deplore the repressive policies of the Soviet Union...Strong American diplomatic pressure on the USSR for an easing of these policies must continue, and this is only possible with a continuation of strong East-West ties."

WALLACE

Wallace
campaign
brochure,
"A Fresh
Approach to
Foreign Policy,"
undated

"Detente has been a one-way street helping only the Soviets. The Soviets have managed to break most of the agreements from trade to missiles to increasing tensions."

Favoring a balance of power and strong national defense, Wallace calls for a "total reappraisal of the causes of constant blunders that have led to diplomatic defeats on so many fronts."

Congressional
Quarterly,
11/8/75

At a news conference with foreign journalists, where Wallace suggested the U.S. should have allied itself with Japan against Russia and Communist China in World War II, he said: "My foreign policy, if I were President, would be based on the fact you can't trust a Communist...I don't believe in confrontation. I believe in negotiation, and I believe in detente. But while I'm detenting, as they say, I wouldn't turn my back on them."

Boston Globe
editorial,
2/11/76...

Wallace says that as President he would demand more military and economic concessions from Russia as the price of detente. He favors diplomatic bargaining that emphasizes tangible results rather than softening of tensions.

* * *

THE MIDDLE EAST

FORD

Congressional
Quarterly,
9/6/75

President Ford hailed the Sinai agreement as an "historic" achievement and a "constructive contribution" to peace in the Middle East. He told Congress there would be "serious repercussions" if it did not approve the stationing of U.S. civilians as monitors in the Sinai.

White House Press
Conference,
9/16/75

The military hardware that the U.S. has supplied to Israel over the years protects the survival of that country but the secret agreement made in connection with the Sinai arrangement does not indicate a security treaty is in the works, Ford said.

Ford speech to
Chicago Council
on Foreign Re-
lations,
3/12/76

In answer to a question, Ford said he was optimistic that the difficult problems in the Middle East could be worked out with the help of the United States, "bearing in mind that this country is dedicated to the security and survival of the government of Israel, that this country believes that we have to work with some of the Arab nations to convince them of our good faith, and they can trust us."

Asked about restrictions Congress had placed on his foreign policies, Ford cited the Jackson amendment to the Trade Act as "a bad mistake." He said "the net result" of the amendment "was a slowdown in Soviet Jewish emigration to Israel."

Chicago Tribune,
1/30/76

White House press secretary Ron Nessen acknowledged that the President's new budget calls for \$500 million less military aid to Israel in fiscal 1977 than the \$1.5 billion provided this year. He said Ford believed his program "is fully adequate to meet Israel's future security requirements."

Congressional
Quarterly,
11/29/75

Ford announced Nov. 20 that he was issuing regulations to prevent U.S. businessmen from complying with foreign boycotts based on racial or religious discrimination. He also directed that all assignments of U.S. personnel to posts abroad be made on merit and not on the exclusionary policies of host countries.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Ford (continued)

N.Y. Times,
3/18/76

After a private meeting with the President, a group of American Jewish leaders said that despite their protests Ford intended to recommend lifting the military embargo against Egypt. They said he assured them that nothing more than the sale of six C-130 military transport planes was contemplated now.

The sources also said that Ford flatly denied a statement in Edward Sheehan's article in Foreign Policy magazine, based on briefings by Kissinger's staff in part, that asserted that the President had told President Sadat that the U.S. favored the return to Egypt of all the land seized by Israel in the 1967 war.

N.Y. Times
3/9/76

In a radio interview Ford said six C-130s would not upset the military balance between Egypt and Israel and that because Egypt had cut off military relations with Russia, the U.S. should take a responsible look at Egypt's military needs.

REAGAN

Congressional
Quarterly,
11/15/75

Reagan is a firm supporter of Israel, viewing that nation as an enclave of democracy in the Middle East.

Evans and Novak
column
1/10/76

Reagan is against sending U.S. troops to defend Israel.

BROWN

San Francisco
Chronicle, 3/31/76

In an interview on foreign policy Brown said as President he would continue close ties with Israel as well as Kissinger's efforts to work out a peace agreement. "This is the most complex area on the globe, and I'd be very slow to offer any purported magic solution," Brown said.

Sacramento Bee,
3/30/76

The U.S. should guarantee the "vital interests" of Israel and try to diminish Russia's "destabilizing influence" in the Mideast, Brown said.

THE MIDDLE EAST

CARTER

Washington Post,
12/1/75

Appearing on CBS "Face the Nation," Carter advocated a warning to Arab countries that a future oil embargo against the U.S. would bring an immediate "economic declaration of war." By that he meant a U.S. embargo on aid to Arab oil-producing countries of food, weapons and parts, oil rigs and pipes, he explained.

AP feature, Concord
(N.H.) Monitor,
1/27/76

Carter said Middle East negotiations so far "have been fruitful and I think well-advised" (an apparent reference to Kissinger's role).

Congressional
Quarterly,
11/29/75

Carter is against any U.S. military role in the Middle East and favors improved relations with Arab governments as well as Israel.

Carter, "Foreign
Policy Statement,"
(undated)

"Peace in the Middle East is of vital interest to us all....We must strive to maintain good relations with the Arab countries as well as Israel, and to recognize Arab needs and aspirations as long as they recognize that the major element of a settlement is the guaranteed right of Israel to exist as a viable and peaceful nation. The rights of the Palestinians must also be recognized as part of any final solution."

Carter statement,
1/13/76

Regretting the United Nations' insistence that "the terrorist PLO" be included in Middle East discussions, Carter said: "Our commitment to the maintenance of a viable Israeli state is unshakable and unmistakable. I do not think any Palestinian state should ever be recognized by Israel until the Palestinians affirm Israel's right to exist in peace."

NBC "Meet the Press,"
1/11/76

The Palestine Liberation Organization should not gain diplomatic recognition unless "they recognize the right of Israel to exist in peace in their present location." As part of an ultimate settlement the Palestinians' right to have their own nation, possibly on the West or East Bank of the Jordan, should be recognized.

Ultimately, Carter said, Israel may have to withdraw in some areas toward their 1967 boundaries. But if he were the Premier of Israel, he would not cede control of the Golan Heights to the Syrians or relinquish control of Jewish and Christian places of worship in Jerusalem.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Carter (continued)

Carter press release
on Soviet Jewry
1/22/76

Speaking to the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in Washington, D.C. Carter said the U.S. must "make it clear to the Russians that their treatment of Jews is unacceptable to us."

CHURCH

Campaign
document,
"Church on
the Issues,"
3/76

In support of his pro-aid for Israel position the document cites a number of Church votes in favor of military aid to Israel and says that he was one of five Senate drafters of a letter asking President Ford to supply Israel with whatever material and financial support necessary to protect her borders.

Campaign
paper, "Church
Record on Israel",
undated

The paper quotes Church as saying in May 1975 that he was "a hawk on Israel" because that country had the will to defend itself bravely, had steadfastly stood by the U.S. and was situated in a strategic area where the American interest needs "a reliable, stable democratic state."

Speech to B'nai
B'rith Anti-
Defamation
League,
12/7/75

Church declared that Arab recognition of Israel's right to exist is a precondition to negotiations in which the P.L.O. participates. Church criticized the Administration for its failure to stand firm against the Arab boycott of firms that do business in Israel.

UDALL

Udall Issues
Statement
undated

"Israel is our only natural and wholly dependable ally in the Middle East." U. S. history, tradition and values "and the vital strategic importance of the area all argue for unshakable support for Israel."

Udall's plan for encouraging a Middle East settlement includes: giving up the step-by-step negotiating process in favor of a more comprehensive approach; shifting the focus from territorial adjustments to the dangerous spiraling of arms proliferation, an issue that should be addressed by an international conference as soon as possible; and ultimately, "creation of some form of confederated state, involving different degrees of economic and political integration, among Israel, Jordan and the Palestinian population." The U. S. must "remain firm in refusing to deal with the PLO or any other government that uses terrorism as a diplomatic tool."

THE MIDDLE EAST

Udall (continued)

Udall is a co-sponsor of the Holtzman-Rodino bill in the House "to impose civil and criminal penalties on companies which use economic coercion to discriminate against American businesses because of religion, race, sex, national origin, or lawful support for or trade with another country. The bill also penalizes any company that participates in an illegal boycott."

Congressional
Record
3/8/76

Udall voted against an effort March 4 to cut \$200 million from the \$1.5 billion in military sales credits for Israel in the foreign aid bill. He said the full amount was "vitally necessary" to Israel's survival.

WALLACE

Wallace
campaign
brochure,
"A Fresh
Approach to
Foreign Policy,"
undated

Wallace says that America must continue as a mediator for peace in the Middle East and that the Soviets have prodded the Arabs to intensify the conflict in hopes of igniting "uncontrollable" crises. He says that the region is vital to Soviet expansion in the Mediterranean, Persian Gulf, Indian Ocean and for naval bases.

"America must not allow Communist goals to be reached in this area." Through negotiations and assistance to other nations (unspecified) it must seek to thwart Soviet aims and reach a just peace.

* * *

AFRICA

Common Cause has found no campaign statements on this issue by: Church

FORD

Congressional
Quarterly,
12/20/75

The Ford Administration acknowledged on Dec. 9 that the U.S. had been providing secret assistance to military opponents of the Soviet-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola. The President and Kissinger argued this was essential to prevent the spread of Soviet influence beyond its traditional areas. Ford announced Dec. 16 that there was no thought of direct U.S. intervention in Angola.

When the Senate began debate on an amendment to forbid use of CIA or defense funds in Angola, except for intelligence gathering, the White House engineered a filibuster against the amendment. A secret session of the Senate was held to hear details of U.S. actions in Angola. On Dec. 19 Ford gave in and agreed to an adoption of the amendment in order to free the defense appropriation bill to which it was attached.

Washington Star,
2/10/76

At a breakfast meeting with reporters, Ford said members of Congress "lost their guts" in failing to back up U.S. resistance to the Russians in Angola. "I think it was a serious mistake and I think they'll live to regret it," Ford said, adding, however, that he thought if the Soviets tried other adventures in Africa Congress would have "learned a lesson" and be willing to stand up against Soviet intervention.

In a formal statement signing the appropriations bill with the Angola amendment, Ford said: "I am deeply disappointed that the Congress has acted in this bill to deprive the people of Angola of assistance needed to resist Soviet and Cuban military intervention in their country. I believe this provision is an extremely undesirable precedent that could limit severely our ability to play a positive and effective role in international affairs."

N.Y. Times
3/13/76

In answer to a question from a student at Wheaton College, Illinois, Ford said there should be "more progress" toward a black majority government in Rhodesia and also in Southwest Africa, which is controlled by the white government of South Africa.

AFRICA

Ford (continued)

Warning Russia and Cuba against "international adventurism" in Rhodesia or South Africa, the President said, without amplification, that the U.S. has "all kinds of contingency plans" if the Communist countries move against those governments.

Boston Globe
3/11/76

In an interview with Illinois reporters, Ford said the U.S. should "have a meaningful presence in substantial parts of Africa. I do not believe we should stand idly by while the Soviet Union and Cuba seek control and dominate significant parts of Africa."

He refused to rule out the use of U.S. troops in Africa but pointed out that he did not recommend their use in Angola and could see "no circumstances" in any other part of Africa where they should be used.

REAGAN

Washington Post
news story from
Moultonboro, N.H.
1/6/76

Asked at Moultonboro how he would deal with the Russians, Reagan said "it's time for us to straighten up and eyeball them." As an example, he cited Angola and said he would tell the Russians: "Out! We'll let them (the Angolans) fight it out among themselves, or you're going to have us to deal with."

UPI news story in
Lebanon (N.H.) Valley
News, 1/6/76

He declined to say what actions he would take as President if the Russians refused to withdraw their active support of one Angolan faction.

If the Soviet Union can't be persuaded to withdraw its military aid from Angola, the U.S. should "keep on supplying material" to the anti-Soviet factions, Reagan said. But he would not send U.S. troops there.

St. Petersburg (Fla.)
Times, 1/10/76

Reagan seemed in doubt as to whether Angola was of strategic importance to the U.S. He said that if Soviet-Cuban aid does "threaten our national security," the U.S. should either cancel detente, force the Russians out of Angola, or let them know "the U.S. will outmatch them in aid to the anti-Soviet factions. That would not be necessary, however, he said, "if there is no strategic importance or no danger to us in Angola."

Interview in Business
Week,
2/9/76

When asked if he thought Angola was of strategic importance to the U.S., Reagan replied, "I did at one time think it was more important than I do now." He said it now seems to him to be a war between tribal factions.

AFRICA

New York
Times, 5/1/76

Speaking in San Antonio, Tex., Reagan criticized Kissinger's support of black rule in Rhodesia, saying it "undercut the possibility for a just and orderly settlement" and increased the risk of violence and bloodshed in that region. He added: "The great issue of racial justice is as vital here at home as it is in Africa, and it would be well to make sure our own house is in order before we fly off to other lands to attempt to dictate policies to them."

He also denounced Kissinger's call for repeal of the Byrd Amendment, which permits the U.S. to import Rhodesian chrome despite the UN embargo against Rhodesia which the U.S. joined. A ban on Rhodesian chrome, he said, would "make us once more totally dependent upon the Soviet Union" for chrome.

BROWN

Sacramento
Bee, 3/30/76

Brown said the U.S. should give up the Dulles theory that if one country shifts from democracy to communism, it upsets the international balance of power. Each development should be judged on its merit so that the U.S. doesn't "have to jump into Angola just because the Russians are there," he said.

San Francisco
Chronicle, 3/31/76

Brown said the U.S. should take the initiative away from Russia in assuring eventual black majority rule of the governments of Rhodesia and South West Africa.

CARTER

UPI news story,
Lebanon (N.H.)
Valley News,
1/7/76

"I don't think this nation should ever again get militarily involved in the internal affairs of a foreign country unless our own security is in danger," Carter said, adding: "Our security is certainly not in danger in Angola, so I don't favor military involvement of this country in Angola at all."

AFRICA

UDALL

Press release
1/76

Campaigning in Massachusetts, Udall called for the Administration to heed the will of the American people as reflected by the vote in Congress to bar further aid to Angola.

"It isn't really in the U. S. vital interest which one of these factions in the Angolan civil war emerges as the winner, and the U. S. can no longer impose its will on the international community after consultation with a few allies. It is time to actively work to improve our relations with the developing world, which have suffered badly from eight years of neglect," he said.

WALLACE

Washington Star
review of candidates' foreign policy,
2/16/76

Wallace is the only Democratic candidate for President who has spoken out in favor of aiding the Angolan factions fighting the pro-Soviet forces. He has said the U.S. should send supplies to the forces fighting the Cuban mercenaries but has warned against any U.S. commitment to "another no-win war."

* * *

CUBA

Common Cause has found no campaign statements on this issue by: Brown and Church,

FORD

White House
Press Conference,
12/20/75

Ford said that Cuba's effort "to get Puerto Rico free and clear from the U.S. (a reference to their action in the United Nations) and the action of the Cuban government to involve itself in a massive military way in Angola with combat troops ends, as far as I am concerned, any efforts at all to have friendlier relations with the government of Cuba."

Los Angeles Times,
2/29/76

Calling Fidel Castro an "international outlaw" for sending Cuban troops to Angola, Ford said at a naturalization ceremony for Cubans in Miami that "this Administration will have nothing to do with the Cuba of Fidel Castro. It is a regime of aggression."

Ford speech to
Chicago Council
on Foreign
Relations,
3/12/76

Reviewing relations with other countries of the world, Ford said: "I have warned Castro's Cuba and its Soviet sponsors against any further armed adventurism in either continent," Africa or Latin America.

REAGAN

Reagan press release
on speech at Miami
Springs, Fla.
1/10/76

Accusing the Ford Administration of inconsistent policy toward Cuba, Reagan asked: Where is U.S. strategy when it comes to Cuba? I suggest if one of our goals is to have Castro stop exporting his revolution, we should let him know we aren't going to talk business (on trade) until he does."

Among demands the U.S. "could discuss" with Castro, Reagan said, were: curbing Soviet base and landing rights in Cuba, reaffirming U.S. rights to the Guantanamo naval base, restitution for seized property, free movement between the two countries and "renewed civil rights for their own people."

CUBA

CARTER

Milwaukee
Sentinel, 3/25/76

Asked after a speech at Marquette University about Kissinger's hint that the U.S. might take military action to prevent Cuba from sending more soldiers to Africa, Carter said it was an example of Kissinger not taking the American people into consideration. "I don't have the slightest idea, and neither do you, what Mr. Kissinger meant. But I can't imagine his wanting to go any further than a naval blockade, which in my opinion would be ineffective," given the Russian airlift capability, Carter said. He added that he would not be willing to go to war with Cuba or any other country "unless our own security was at stake."

UDALL

Udall "on
foreign policy,"
1/23/76

"U. S. relations with the developing world have suffered badly from eight years of neglect. Through a policy of de facto support for the white-supremacist regimes of Southern Africa, the U. S. has lost the friendship and trust of the emerging black governments there.

"In Latin America, too, many policy changes--including recognition of Cuba, and a new Panama Canal treaty--are long overdue."

WALLACE

Boston Globe,
3/4/76

Speaking in Miami, Wallace termed Fidel Castro a "bandit" and said, "he'll never be recognized by us as long as I'm President of the United States."

* * *

PANAMA

Common Cause has found no campaign statements on this issue by: Carter, Church and Wallace.

FORD

Issue paper from
President Ford
Committee, received
3/17/76

The paper quotes Secretary Kissinger as saying in March 1975 that a new treaty with Panama is needed that will make the U.S. and Panama "partners in the operation of the canal" while protecting the essential national interests of both.

The paper says the Administration will consult closely with Congress on the treaty and that "The President has no intention of proposing to the Congress any agreement with Panama that would not protect our vital interests."

Ford reply to
question in Fort
Lauderdale, Florida
2/13/76

Ford said the treaty negotiations "are deadlocked. I can assure you that I will not do anything that will jeopardize the defense of the canal or the operations of the canal."

Washington
Post, 4/15/76

At a press conference in Dallas April 10, Ford said: "I can simply say -- and say it emphatically -- that the United States will never give up its defense rights to the Panama Canal and will never give up its operational rights as far as Panama is concerned."

After Congressmen asserted that this statement was contrary to secret testimony Ambassador Bunker gave on U.S. negotiation objectives, White House Press Secretary Nessen said that if the President had spoken in more detail, he would have referred to 1974 principles agreed to by the U.S. and Panama that would give Panama operational rights over the canal when the new treaty under negotiation terminates.

New York
Times, 4/23/76

In an interview with Texas reporters, the transcript of which was released in Indianapolis, Ford said a halt to negotiations with Panama would provoke "bloody warfare" and "turn all of South and Latin America against the United States."

Baltimore
Sun, 5/3/76

Speaking in Fort Wayne, Ind., the President promised that the U.S. will have "absolute control" over the canal during its "economic life," which he estimated at about 50 more years.

PANAMA

Ford (continued)

Manchester, N.H.
Union Leader article
reprinted in Con-
gressional Record
2/26/76

According to the author, retired Navy Captain Franz O. Willenbacher, Ford as a Congressman took a firm position in 1967 strongly opposing President Johnson's proposed Canal Zone treaties which the author said would surrender the canal to Panama.

REAGAN

Press release on
speech at Miami
Springs, Fla.,
1/10/76

Asserting that some Americans had "guilt feelings" about the Panama Canal, Reagan said, "for 15 years we have been propagandized by our own State Department that our presence in Panama is a kind of colonialism."

Noting that the 1903 treaty made the Canal Zone U.S. territory, Reagan denounced Ford Administration negotiations for "a giveaway of the Canal to a Marxist, military dictator." The Canal "is essential to Western Hemisphere defense" and therefore must be retained in U.S. control, he said.

Speech at Exeter, N.H.
2/10/76

As an illustration of the Administration's reluctance to assert U.S. foreign policy interests Reagan charged it with "bowing" to the military dictator of Panama and signing a preliminary memorandum signifying U.S. intentions to give up control and ownership of the Panama Canal and Canal Zone.

Washington
Post, 5/3/76

Reagan maintains that the Canal Zone "is sovereign U.S. territory just the same as Alaska is" and part of Texas and other territory purchased by the U.S. He said the Panamanians should be told that the canal "is ours and we intend to keep it." Asked whether he would be willing to go to war to protect the canal, Reagan said, "I don't think there's ever been a President who wouldn't have had to say yes."

BROWN

Washington
Star, 5/2/76

Asked what his views are on retention of the Panama Canal, Brown said, "I think we have to negotiate."

PANAMA

UDALL

Udall "on the
Panama Canal"
3/76

"We must renegotiate the 1903 treaty with eventual return to Panama of jurisdiction over the Canal Zone in exchange for assurances that the U.S. will retain, for a reasonable time, certain rights to jointly operate and defend the canal. This is not a 'give-away' of U.S. sovereignty because we have no sovereignty over the Canal Zone."

* * *



Issue Profile #3

THE ROLE OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

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Introduction

THE ROLE OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

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

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

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

Another important element of the role of federal government is its relationship to the nation's states and cities. How should programs, responsibilities and revenues be distributed among federal, state and local governments? To gain insight into candidates' views

on this issue, Common Cause has included statements of their positions on aid to cities (both generally, and as crystallized by the New York City problem) and on general revenue sharing (which is up for extension in 1976).

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

* * *

In preparing these profiles, Common Cause compiled issue materials released directly by the candidates, and records of their positions as reported by major news media. Common Cause has communicated with each Presidential campaign seeking cooperation in this project. In addition, members of Common Cause in relevant states have monitored Presidential candidates' positions as reported by local media or stated in local campaign literature prepared by the candidates. All positions ascribed to the candidates are attributed by source and date, and all source materials are available for media use in the Common Cause Washington office. The profiles do not purport to be inclusive, but contain information gathered by Common Cause thus far in the campaign. Listings are alphabetical within party.

Big Government

FORD

State of the
Union Address
1/19/76

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

Budget Message
of the President
1/21/76

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

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

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

New York Times
2/24/76

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

Big Government

Ford (continued)

Presidential
News Conference
4/2/76

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

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

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

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

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

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

Big Government

REAGAN

Interview with
Reagan, Today,
Florida
2/1/76

"I've described the fat in the federal government as being so prevalent that if you rendered it and made soap you could wash the world. Business is bound by the sales dollar. Government does what it wants to do and then sends the bill to the people. It isn't a case of just a one-time hacking away at it. We found this out in California. You've got to ride herd on it constantly. One of the ways to get at this we found in California was to put a freeze on the hiring of replacements for those who left government service."

Asked if he would try such a hiring freeze at the federal level, Reagan responded: "I sure think it's a practical thing to do. Yes."

Reagan Press
Release on
Ocala, Fla.
Remarks
1/9/76

"I believe the American people have had enough of politics as usual. They want government off their backs and out of their pocketbooks."

Interview with
Cronkite--CBS
Evening News
11/24/75

"The greatest dissatisfaction seems to be with Government at the highest level--Federal Government. Maybe some of that's been triggered by the events of the last two years, but I think more of it is due to the fact that Government--We've centralized it so much. We've moved so much to Washington that really belongs at the local level...the people have a sense that they can't influence government, that it is too far away and too big, and it doesn't matter whether they even vote or not."

Speech to
Executive
Club of
Chicago
9/26/75

After asserting that in FY 1976 government at all levels would absorb 37% of the GNP and 44% of total personal income, Reagan continued:

"This absorption of revenue by all levels of government, the alarming rate of inflation, and the rising toll of unemployment all stem from a single source: The belief that government, particularly the Federal Government, has the answer to our ills, and that the proper method of dealing with social problems is to transfer power from the private to the public

Big Government

REAGAN (cont'd)

sector, and within the public sector from state and local governments to the ultimate power center in Washington.

This collectivist, centralizing approach, whatever name or party label it wears, has created our economic problems. By taxing and consuming an ever-greater share of the national wealth, it has imposed an intolerable burden of taxation on American citizens. By spending above and beyond even this level of taxation, it has created the horrendous inflation of the past decade. And by saddling our economy with an ever-greater burden of controls and regulations, it has generated countless economic problems, from the raising of consumer prices to the destruction of jobs, to choking off vital supplies of food and energy.

As if that were not enough, the crushing weight of central government has distorted our federal system and altered the relationship between the levels of government, threatening the freedom of individuals and families."

Reagan Press
Release on Keene,
N. H. Remarks
1/15/76

"To the executive, legislative and judicial branches a permanent structure has been added--a bureaucracy which cannot be removed from office by our votes. It invades every facet of our lives. It covers our nation with a multitude of regulations, and it robs us of our liberties."

Reagan continued, describing his \$90 billion Federal budget cut proposal:

"Last September I proposed that a half-a-dozen functions now being performed by the federal government should be transferred back to state and local governments for administration and control.

I suggested that these programs were not properly the province of federal government and could be more efficiently and economically handled at levels of government closer to the people.

In making this proposal I made it clear that such a transfer should be systematic. It should also be

Big Government

REAGAN (cont'd)

I also made it plain that with the transfer of authority there should also be a transfer of resources, meaning the federal taxes presently used to fund these services.

Those half-dozen programs are education, housing, community and regional development, manpower training, welfare (including food stamps) and revenue sharing."

Business Week
Interview
2/9/76

"There is nothing that says the federal government could not--instead of grants-- earmark a percentage of the federal income tax which, when collected, would remain at the state level. If a state should choose not to do some of these programs--and some might very well so decide--that would be all right."

Boston Globe
1/6/76

Reagan was reported as saying, opening his first campaign swing through N. H., "The people of New

Hampshire, I understand, are worried that I have some devious plot to impose the sales or income tax on them, and believe me, I have no such intention and I don't think there is any danger that New Hampshire is getting one." This response was given to charges by Ford supporters that Reagan's \$90 billion budget cut scheme would result in either the elimination of many necessary programs, a hike in the local property tax, or the need to institute N. H.'s first state sales or income taxes.

St. Petersburg
Times
1/17/76

Responding to a question about his transfer program in terms of the South's history of discrimination against blacks, Reagan said it was possible that some blacks would be forced by necessity to leave states that refused to take over or substitute social welfare programs abandoned by the federal government. Reagan said that state residents unhappy with the situation could "vote with their feet..." Reagan asserted, however, that the South had surpassed the North in its race relations.

St. Petersburg
Times
1/29/76

Reagan asserted at a press conference that the specific list of program cutbacks issued with his \$90 billion proposal last September did not necessarily reflect his thinking. Reagan said "I didn't pay any attention" to the breakdown, which he said was prepared by advisers." I myself saw some items that I disagreed with" on the list, he added.

Big Government

BROWN

Wall St. Journal
2/24/76

According to the Journal, Brown argues that it is vital to "lower expectations" of what government can do because "demands on government are far outrunning the willingness of people to invest (through taxes) in government."

Washington Star
5/2/76

Campaigning in Maryland, Brown attacked Carter's zero-base budgeting proposal, asserting:

"The concept that you can start with ground zero and reorganize every department just isn't so." Brown said Carter's position was an example of oversell, particularly when projected onto the federal government.

Brown also stated: "I often think the best way to change government is to slow it down."

Washington Star
4/29/76

Brown endorsed the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Bill, which seems to indicate an acceptance of a larger role for the federal government in at least one area.

L.A. Times
4/5/76

Brown stated:

"Questions about whether government should be organized in a particular way or whether the boxes on the organizational chart ought to be changed - those are relatively superficial adjustments that will not affect the drift and development of where the country goes.

Playboy Interview
April, 1976

After arguing that Democratic Party programs have worked, Brown continues:

"I do say this: The social programs we're embarked on now cost much more than we thought ten years ago and we have to recognize this."

Big Government

Playboy: "Are you for less government or more government?"

Brown: "It depends upon the situation. I am very concerned about the increasing centralization of social services. Too often the intended beneficiaries get only what is trickled down through the increasingly powerful bureaucracies. I see a new class growing in political power. Instead of trickling the wealth down through the corporations, you trickle it down through the public bureaucracies, but the people at the bottom are still getting drops."

Thoughts
Edmund G. Brown Jr.
CityLights
(Publisher) 1976

"I think there is a sense in America that it is a democracy. The whole Jeffersonian ideal was that people are temporarily in government. Government is not the basic reality. People are. The private sector. And government is just a limited power to make things go better. Now we're inverting that, and government is all-pervasive. Every time you turn around, there's government. I think that's not part of the American character. I'd like to reverse that (process). I think it's an uphill battle, given technology, mobility and information flow. To put government on a smaller scale and still make it work is a pretty good trick if you can do it."

"The federal government is taking onto itself more and more power for local matters for everything from family planning to criminal justice to health service. Clearly, national issues are not being addressed in a straightforward way while everyone on the other side of the Potomac starts meddling in local and state affairs because of the lack of faith in the ability of people to govern themselves. Decentralization of power -- that is important to me. All those things that can be left at a lower level of political organization ought to be."

Big Government

CARTER

Carter statement
on Bureaucracy and
Government
Inefficiency
(undated)

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

"We must give top priority to a drastic and thorough revision of the federal bureaucracy, to its budgeting system, and to the procedures for analyzing the effectiveness of its many varied services. Tight businesslike management and planning techniques must be instituted and maintained, utilizing the full authority and personal involvement of the President himself."

Carter proposals include zero-base budgeting and executive branch reorganization.

Manchester
Union Leader
12/20/75

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

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

Washington Post
1/13/76

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

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

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

Big Government

CARTER (cont'd)

Change
2/76

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Business Week,
Interview with
Carter
5/3/76

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

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

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

Carter: "That's right."

Big Government

CHURCH

Church announcement
of Candidacy
3/18/76

"... we must strive for better, not bigger, government. There is no excuse for having to wait six weeks just to get a reply from a federal agency... Decisions delayed are decisions denied, and the people have a right to demand timely and efficient response from those whom they pay to serve them.

"The problem lies not with the refusal or reluctance of Federal employees to do their best, but rather with a system grown too remote and complex. Today there are more than a thousand Federal grant-in-aid programs, run from Washington. Together, they account for more than \$50 billion in annual expenditures. Nearly all of these programs centralize decision-making at the top, and operate on uniform, national standards that frequently do not fit the localities intended to be served... Far more flexibility in managing these programs must be given to state, county and municipal officials.

Church Campaign
Brochure-undated

"All decisions need not be made in Washington. But we cannot go to the other extreme either. Federal money remains essential. When mixed with state and local matching funds, it can provide jobs for the unemployed, housing for the elderly, rapid public transportation, improved education and other necessary programs. But the administration of these programs, the decisions as to how the shared revenues should be spent, the search for creative applications suited to local conditions, should be passed down to the lowest feasible level of government - that closest to the problem and to the citizens being served."

UDALL

The Capital Times
(Madison, WI)
Interview with
Udall
3/22/76

Asked about candidates playing upon disenchantment with Washington, Udall responded:

"You stop and ask a bricklayer going home tonight, do you dislike Washington? Do we need somebody there to shake them up? He'll say, sure. Do you hate big government? Yes. Do you think government's too damn big? Of course?"

Big Government

UDALL (cont'd)

"Then you say, just a minute. Let's talk about some other things. Should we break up these companies and conglomerates and get some competition? You're damn right we should. That's going to be done in Washington. Do you think we need a national health insurance system? Would you pay a few more bucks in taxes for that? You bet I would. Let's do that. Well, how about doing something about inflation. Do you think the government ought to provide jobs for everybody who wants to work and not have them on the dole? You're damn right. I'd go for that. Well, he's talking about action in Washington."

"It is superficial to run against Washington. I find a good response to my argument that people are not really against Washington or against government. They're against crooked government, wasteful government, unresponsive government, government that can't deliver the mail or process your Social Security application. I'm not running to dismantle government. I'm running to make it work."

Interview on
Meet the Press
1/18/76

Udall's support for the federal government guaranteeing jobs and providing national health insurance was recounted, with the question, "How do you square this with the claim that the American public wants a smaller federal government?"

Udall replied, "I don't think the public wants a smaller federal government. I think people are angry about crooked government, dishonest government, unresponsive government, wasteful government. I get angry when people have a Social Security claim and can't get it processed. I think people want national health maintenance; they want the federal government playing a role to see that people get jobs, but they want it done in an efficient way...I'd like to see the federal government try to do fewer things and do them well...People will support this. What they will not support is a continuation of wasting money on old programs that have failed."

Udall Interview
Meet the Press
11/30/75

"MR. MONROE: Congressman Udall, there is a perception, right or wrong, that voters these days want to get away from big government and big spending. Aren't you talking in favor of big government and big spending when you advocate a full employment act, nationalized welfare, nationalized health insurance?"

Big Government

UDALL (continued)

MR. UDALL: Yes. You show there are two cross-currents out here. People want the government to solve their problems, but they also want to get rid of waste and bureaucracy and government that doesn't work, and I think we have got to show the American people that government can work. We have also got to change some priorities, this old cliché, or get rid of it. We are spending too much on national defense. We could safely cut 10 or 15 percent of the fat out of that defense budget and be better off, but I think the American people are willing to support programs, government programs that are going to work."

WALLACE

Wallace Advertisement
Tallahassee Democrat
3/7/76

"Big government must go home and get out of the lives and happiness of our people. We must have integrity and honesty in our government. We must return to common sense and stop all these blunders that are weakening our country. These bureaucrats have got to respect the people and stop harassing them on their jobs, in their business, in their schools and homes, and in their unions."

Interview with Wallace
"Face the Nation"
3/7/76

Asked how much he would cut the federal bureaucracy, Wallace responded: "Well, at least ten per cent ... in my judgment that in itself would be a great step in the direction of getting the bureaucracy cut down to size."

Wallace added: "Everyone recognizes that you need people in the federal government. But HEW, for instance, has 400,000 people working for it. I would daresay that's 200,000 more than they need." Wallace goes on to argue that money wasted on the bureaucracy could be used for the elderly, social security, new water and sewage systems, and housing.

Later, after asserting that cuts would have to take place throughout the federal government, Wallace states: "I'm not sure exactly (which) agencies are more bloated than others, but I can assure you that when I become elected President, I'm going to find out very quickly..."

Big Government

WALLACE (cont'd)

Congressional
Quarterly
11/8/75

CQ cites a Wallace speech to the National
Legislative Conference in the summer of 1974.

Wallace said that Americans are tired of "a
faceless, aimless government that today has
more authority and power over our lives than
we do ourselves." He continued, "The average
citizen has already found tht the answer is not .
in a big national government. But this local
control can be restored in a strong, viable,
responsible state government that knows the
needs and the wishes of the people it serves
and is responsible to them."

* * *

Aid to Cities

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

FORD

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

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

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

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

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

Ford then presented his "seasonal" assistance plan:

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

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

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

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

Aid to Cities

FORD (cont'd)

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

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

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

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

REAGAN

Business Week
Interview
2/9/76

In response to the question, "If you had been President in 1975, what help would you have given to New York City?"

Reagan responded: "On the basis of what I know now, and with the caveat that there may be other factors in the field of high finance involving other sectors of the country that I may not be aware of (I don't think there are, but there could be): No. I think New York's problem had to be settled by New York."

"Governor Reagan's
Stand on the Issues"
Florida Citizens for
Reagan
1/5/76

"New York City has given us a picture on the wall of where the nation is heading if we don't quit following the same path they followed. I think it is wonderful that the Democrats are holding their convention there. They'd better take a look and see that this is what their philosophy has brought about. New York City for the last twenty (20) years or so has been increasing its revenues by about eight percent (8%) a year. Before anyone talks about bailing out New York City, we'd better wait and find out if New York City will revamp its style and set up a program to live like the rest of us and get themselves out of trouble."

Aid to Cities

CARTER

New York Times
Interview with
Carter
3/31/76

"I don't think these local governments ought to pay any portion of welfare costs. And as President, I'll encourage that change. I think all revenue-sharing money should go to local governments ..."

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

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

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

Washington Post
Interview with
Carter
3/21/76

Speaking of urban problems, Carter said:

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

Aid to Cities

CARTER (cont'd.)

Asked to elaborate on the prospects of balancing the New York City budget, Carter replied:

"Well, I don't know how long it would take. I'll say this. As soon as I'm President, if I'm elected, I would ask Mayor Beame and Governor Carey to come to the White House, and I would say, look, I'm willing to join you as an equal partner to work out New York City's problems. And I would try to discern a time schedule during which that could be consummated. It would probably take, I would just guess, eight years."

CHURCH

Church speech to
California League of
Cities,
10/20/75

"I submit to you, that even if the American people liked the government in Washington, they couldn't make much sense of it. Why should our own cities be of less concern to the Federal government than the preservation of some faltering foreign principality? If, during the past demented decade, the Federal government had spent a tenth as much salvaging our own biggest city as it squandered on Saigon, New York would not be teetering on the brink of bankruptcy today."

Pointing out that many local governments and some states are in "desperate straits," Church proposes a federal guarantee for municipal bonds and elimination of the "bureaucratic maze" which complicates the federal government's efforts to help the cities. Church states: "Perhaps the best way to cut the Gordian knot is to move from specific, strings-attached, Washington-administered grants-in-aid programs toward more general bloc revenue sharing. That would accomplish two goals: (1) It would give the cities the flexibility to buy what they need, rather than what Washington decides they need. And (2) it would trim back administrative expenses at both ends."

Finally, Church adds: "We must anticipate and prepare for a reversal of the middle-class flight from the central cities." The main problem here, according to Church, is the decay of housing--a problem he doesn't expect HUD to handle effectively.

Aid to Cities

UDALL

New York Times
Interview with Udall
3/29/76

Asked about the fiscal crisis of the cities, Udall responded: "My program would be in several directions. I think you first have to get your priorities straight. You can't be for the Pentagon and be for the cities. We don't have enough for guns and butter any more. We're going to have to make that fundamental choice, and then we'll have some of the resources we need.

"My overall goal would be to give the cities a chance to cope and to survive and to solve their own problems. And I would do that through a three-point program.

"The first is to federalize the welfare system. I was for that very early on. It ought to be federalized; it's a national problem and it's a national obligation.

"Second is help in some employment act. So many of the cities' problems are compounded by lower employment, less taxes, higher welfare and related causes.

"And the third is national health insurance. If we had it, you wouldn't be closing hospitals and a billion dollars or more would be provided for New York City's budget.

"If the Federal Government did those three programs and did them right, the cities could probably cope with their problems. But I would give them additional help in transportation. I've been in the forefront of trying to break up the Highway Trust Fund and give aid to mass transit. I would give them help with some sensible housing programs and stop the rot and decay and cancer that's spreading through the South Bronx and Bedford-Stuyvesant and other areas."

Udall position paper,
"The Future of New
England's Cities"
(undated)

To improve the market for state and local bonds, Udall would institute "a federal subsidy of 40% of the interest cost of taxable bonds offered by states and cities instead of tax-exempts. This program would create a new market for moderate income investors, and broaden the long term market to include investors such as life insurance companies and pension funds whose own tax exempt status has previously made municipals unattractive."

Aid to Cities

Udall Statement to
Democratic Governors
Conference
12/3/75

Udall proposes several steps to "restore life and fiscal health" to the cities:

The federal government should take over welfare costs. "The duty of caring for the poor is a national responsibility which cannot be adequately dealt with at the local level without causing insurmountable population shifts and overburdening those local jurisdictions which attempt to provide adequate levels of support."

A system of national health care. "I am tired of apologizing as year after year we fail to achieve it."

Full funding of existing housing programs, especially Sec. 202 housing for the elderly. Also, new programs to provide funds for maintenance and rehabilitation of existing housing.

A program of "emergency aid" (unspecified) to cities and states.

Continuation of general revenue sharing, with removal of ceiling that limits assistance to biggest and neediest cities.

A Comprehensive Transportation Fund financed from fuel and user taxes and existing highway and airport trust funds, to rebuild railroads, improve and expand mass transit, and complete Interstate highway construction.

(Fuller discussion, including cost estimate, in Transportation policy profile)

WALLACE

New York Times
11/12/75

The Times reported the following Wallace remarks, made during his announcement of his '76 candidacy, regarding federal aid to New York City:

"There are gray areas. I do think the default of the city would have economic consequences for all the American people -- and Western

Aid to Cities

WALLACE (cont'd.)

Europe. If that's going to happen, we can't say absolutely no. But they have to get their own house in order. That's a good example of what liberalism can do for an American city. You've got to live within your means, pay for what you get."

Wallace material
prepared for
Common Cause
3/19/76

"I support aid to the cities to provide mass transit, to help to stop the decay and to prevent the destruction of our cities. With the present changes of citizens moving away from the cities leaving only the poor and the many burdens that go with crime, decay, etc., in the inner city without adequate tax revenues, our cities are faced with chaos. We must design a new spirited program that will reinvigorate our cities and without strings attached. Unless we treat the problems of the inner city, we will have to pay a far greater price in the future."

Wallace brochure
"Problems of the
Inner City" undated.

"Problems of the inner city will have a high priority in our administration.

We must first tackle the huge problem of overcrowded housing, a major problem of the inner city.

We must root out decay and provide modern decent facilities for people as an important step toward curbing crime.

Mass transit must be provided so that those who live in the inner city can move to and from jobs in a modern orderly way.

National educational programs on the importance of police and fire protection to law-abiding citizens must be created and firemen and policemen must receive respect and adequate compensation and benefits.

Environmental improvements must be made in the inner city. It is in metropolitan areas where pollution is growing and living conditions are often intolerable. These environmental problems present the greatest challenge that we must face head on.

A massive national program must be created to attack the overall problems of illegal drugs."

Revenue Sharing

Common Cause has found no campaign statement on this issue by Brown and Church.

FORD

State of the
Union Address
1/19/76

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

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

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

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

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

Revenue Sharing

REAGAN

The Daily Gazette
Sterling-Rock Falls, Ill.
2/25/76

In response to a question on revenue sharing, Reagan responded that federal funds come back to the states "with strings attached". Reagan said it costs Illinois \$1.27 for every dollar returned to the state by revenue sharing. "I propose that we keep the funds at home in the first place with no strings attached."



New York Times
1/9/76

In a speech to the Executive Club of Chicago on 9/26/75, Reagan proposed a \$90 billion reduction in federal outlays, using President Ford's FY 76 proposals as the base. Reagan included in his proposal the elimination of federal revenue sharing.

Business Week
Interview
2/9/76

Reagan identifies revenue sharing as one of the federal programs he would eliminate as part of his \$90 billion cut in the federal budget, saying, "I throw in revenue sharing because that would be taken care of by turning back the revenue sources."

Reagan's position on revenue sharing as a discrete federal program should be put in the overall context of his (90 billion federal budget cut proposal. A big assumption of this proposal is that some federal sources of revenue (e.g. some earmarked percentage of the federal income tax) would be transferred directly back to the states for them to use as they see fit.

Reagan Press
Statement
1/15/76

"To the extent that we can systematically transfer appropriate federal programs back to the states and localities, we can:

1. increase the responsiveness of government to our needs,
2. save the 'freight charges' on the money we send to Washington, and
3. make the programs more efficient.

Revenue Sharing

CARTER

Carter statement on
Revenue sharing
12/3/75

Carter is essentially in favor of continuing the federal revenue sharing program: "It should be continued because it is a mechanism that combines effectively local needs and decision-making processes with the federal government's powers of coordination and revenue-raising."

Washington Post
12/3/75

This support is coupled with several criticisms and/or suggestions for improvement. Responding to the Democratic Governors in Washington, D.C., on 12/2/75, Carter said that federal revenue funds should go direct to local governments: "There's no sense beating around the bush, I think the money should go to local governments. They're much more deserving of it." Carter also asserts that revenue sharing has not really achieved its goals because increases in revenue sharing funds have been offset by reduction in categorical grants to the detriment of social programs of national concern. Carter said the money that went into revenue sharing "was stolen from the poor people, and too much of it has been used to build dance halls, or golf courses or jail-houses."

Carter Statement
on revenue sharing
12/3/75

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

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

Revenue Sharing

UDALL

Udall position paper,
"The Future of New
England's Cities"
(undated)

"On the whole, revenue sharing has been a successful experiment. Reviewing criticism of the program, I find that much of it concerns goals that GRS was never intended to accomplish. Judged on the basis of its original goals -- to relieve hard-pressed local governments, to substitute the more progressive Federal tax base for heavier state and local taxes, and to give people at the local level the opportunity and the resources to develop their own solutions to their own problems -- the record has been good. However, there are at least two crucial reforms that should be made before the program is extended. First, both the 145% per capita ceiling, and the 20% per capita floor should be repealed. This will increase the funds going to the big cities - the areas of greatest need, and would decrease the flow to very wealthy communities. Second, in the area of civil rights, the sanctions for non-compliance need to be greatly strengthened, as does the enforcement of these provisions."

WALLACE

Wallace material
prepared for
Common Cause
3/19/76

"Revenue sharing is one of the best programs yet devised. I believe we should increase revenue sharing. The best way to balance the federal budget is to return control of government to the local level wherever possible. At the local level, program can be administered for much less than by a Washington bureaucracy."

* * *

Regulatory Reform

FORD

State of the
Union Address
1/19/76

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

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

Washington Star
9/5/75

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

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

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

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

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

Increase understanding of the costs of regulation. Often the real costs of regulatory activities are

Regulatory Reform

FORD (cont'd)

hidden from public view. Inefficient and out-dated regulation costs consumers billions of dollars every year in unnecessarily high prices. The Administration believes that these costs should be subject to the same critical attention devoted to the Federal budget.

Improve methods of achieving the objectives of regulation. In many instances, regulation is necessary, particularly in the health, environment and safety areas. However, regulation can impose a considerable cost burden on the consuming public and on the economy. The Administration is concerned that public protection be achieved in the most efficient manner.

Substitute increased antitrust enforcement for administrative regulation. In the past, regulation has often been a substitute for competition. The Administration is seeking to reverse this pattern and believes that antitrust enforcement has an important role in keeping costs and prices down."

Washington Post
Colman McCarthy
column
9/20/75

McCarthy reports President Ford telling hardware manufacturers in Chicago: "My objective is to get the federal government as far out of your business, out of your lives, out of your pocketbooks and out of your hair as I can."

And at the Iowa state fair, "I am trying to free American business from the shackles of government over-regulation...to free the individual citizen from the pressures of a faceless bureaucracy."

Wall St. Journal
3/12/76

The Journal reports that the Ford Administration is strongly opposing proposed legislation to merge the three federal bank regulatory agencies.

New York Times
2/22/76

Writing to Senator Kennedy in praise of a Kennedy subcommittee report on airline regulation, President Ford added that he "firmly believed that fundamental changes are required in the regulations governing our transportation system" and that greater reliance on competition "should assist our railroad, airline and motor carrier industries in providing more efficient transportation services to the public."

Regulatory Reform

REAGAN

- Business Week
Interview
2/9/76

In response to the question, "Do you have any specific ideas of how to get government out of business activities?

Reagan replied, "Yes. That means that you have to go to war with bureaucracy...I think you've got to go at the regulatory agencies. But again, I think you've also got to go at business, because business is guilty also. Business likes the regulatory agencies that support them and that keep competition from having too easy a time getting in. They've got to believe in the marketplace, too."

More generally, Reagan proposes ending controls in the energy sector and decries the "regulations and federal controls" that accompany federal programs such as welfare and education assistance.

"Governor Reagan's
Stand on Issues",
Florida Citizens
for Reagan
1/5/76

"In our regulatory agencies dealing with non-monopoly industries, we must set a date certain for an end to federal price fixing and an end to all federal restrictions on entry."

Reagan Fundraising
Letter
11/20/75

"Reams of regulations flow from the Washington bureaucrats, designed to control every aspect of our lives. We must stem this tide of red tape before we lose all our individual freedom."

BROWN

Playboy Interview
April, 1976

PLAYBOY: You have attacked Big Government; what about Big Business? Are you for cutting back on Government regulations of the large corporations?

BROWN: "No, I would like to make the regulators more independent of corporate influence and I would question how big corporations really have to be in order to serve the economy."

Regulatory Reform

CARTER



Carter release
Highway Trust Funds
undated

"...we need to review and change the complex regulatory system with which our transport industries must contend."

Carter release
Railroad Reorgani-
zation
undated

"Part of the problem facing the railroad industry has resulted from the haphazard pattern of regulation in the transportation industry." Carter feels that government regulation has benefitted airlines, barges and highways more than railroads. "We must...modify the present regulatory structure to encourage better coordination among modes."

CHURCH

Church Announcement
of Candidacy
3/18/76

"There are reasonable limits which should apply to the scope of government regulation. The national government reaches too far when it attempts to regulate the conditions of work in every mom-and-pop store and every family farm!

"Give free enterprise some breathing room. That is what is needed. Retain those controls essential to the public interest; up-date and vigorously enforce the anti-trust laws; but abolish those regulations that stifle competition, and dismantle the commissions that enforce them. Many a vested interest survives today on the protection given by regulatory agencies, which have been pre-empted by the very industries they are supposed to regulate, other than by the needs of the people they were created to serve."

Regulatory Reform

UDALL

Udall Statement on
Consumer Interests
(undated)

"Federal regulatory agencies have too often become the captive of the industries they were intended to regulate. Particularly in the transportation sector, federal regulatory agencies have more often prevented competition than promoted it. The ICC and the CAB should be abolished and a new regulatory agency should be established with substantially reduced regulating authority for all modes of transportation."

"On the other hand, Federal regulatory authority to protect consumers from health and safety hazards that exist in automobiles, food, drugs, and other household products, needs to be strengthened." Udall specifically mentions FDA, CPSC, FTC and auto standards as bodies/areas needing strengthening, and calls for new conflict of interest rules and streamlining of regulatory procedures.

Udall Speech to 1976
Consumer Assembly
1/22/76

"In the name of regulatory reform, the president has promised to get government off the back of American business. By this, he apparently means to put flammable pajamas back onto the backs of American children; carcinogenic chemicals into the bloodstream of American workers; unsanitary food on American dinner tables; and the visible hand of concentrated Big Business into the pockets of American consumers..."

"So I think it is important that we clarify the debate over government regulation--that we look to the kind of regulation going on, and define precisely what we want it to do..."

"Nearly a year ago, I called for abolition of the rate-and-route making functions of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Civil Aeronautics Board. However well-intentioned they may have been at the outset, they have become classic cases of captive agencies serving private rather than public interests. If we wish to subsidize some services, let us do it directly and honestly, not by hidden cross-subsidies that keep competitors out and inflate the cost to everyone else. I am pleased that the President has made proposals toward this end. But we must resist his efforts to lump these kinds of invidious schemes with much-needed efforts to protect our air and water, to assure clean foods and safe products to prohibit unsafe working conditions and unfair practices."

Regulatory Reform

UDALL (cont'd.)

In this speech, Udall also assigns a high priority to reform of utility regulation, calling for "lifeline" rates, peak load pricing, and termination of declining block rate structures and automatic fuel adjustment clauses.

WALLACE

Wallace Material
prepared for
Common Cause
3/19/76

"We must end all of this over-regulation that is destroying the happiness of our people, our businessmen, our farmers and our unions. Big government must go home and get out of the lives and happiness of our people. The budget can not be balanced so long as the bureaucracy continues to bloat at the expense of the taxpayers."

Business Week
2/23/76

According to Business Week, Wallace says, "I'm opposed to government regulation that causes a businessman to throw up his hands and say the heck with it, the heck with spending all the money he makes to hire people to fill out the forms that government requires."

* * *

Transportation Policy

Common Cause has found no campaign statement on this issue by: Reagan Brown and Church.

FORD

Boston Globe
2/6/76

On Feb. 5, President Ford signed the \$6.4 billion Railroad Revitalization and Regulatory Reform Act. The measure, a compromise between the Administration and Congress, includes \$1.6 billion to improve rail service in the Northeast corridor and makes it possible to reorganize bankrupt railroads in the Northeast and Midwest.

Ford said the measure "permits us to begin an overdue program of improvements in rail passenger service in the densely populated Northeast Corridor." He also pointed out that the measure will remove many unnecessary regulatory restrictions which "for too long have hindered the ability of our railroads to operate efficiently and competitively."

CARTER

Carter release
Highway Trust Funds
undated

"The Highway Trust Fund has served as an outstanding and successful mechanism for constructing an extensive and effective highway network in the United States...

"We need to reevaluate the Highway Trust Fund and consider whether its past success might be extended to other modes of transportation. What we need most today is a balanced multi-modal approach to maintaining and improving the nation's transportation system...

"The concept of a total transportation trust fund is especially appealing in that it would support and facilitate this balanced approach. At the same time, we need to review and change the complex regulatory system with which our transport industries must contend."

New York Times
Interview with Carter
3/31/76

"I favor the allocation of Federal funds for mass transit. In case the mass transit system has been completed, then a city's allocation of their proportion -- of its share -- could be used for operation... I think it's inevitable in the future that the Federal Government increase its allocation of transportation funds for rapid transit."

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Transportation Policy

CARTER (cont'd.)

Carter release
Railroad Reorgani-
zation
undated

Carter seems to approve in general the formation of Amtrak and Conrail. He continues:

"The problem of transportation services to communities that are to be left without rail service under Conrail makes evident that the problem of railroad reorganization cannot be analyzed in a vacuum but must be treated as one part of a larger transportation problem. We need a national comprehensive transportation policy and it is obvious that the savings in fuel, operating, and pollution costs from intensive use of railroads should provide them with a competitive advantage over other forms of transportation...

"The current transportation policy has been to subsidize airports, highways and canals while railroad roadbeds receive no subsidies for reconstruction. In addition, railroads pay a greater proportion of their revenues in taxes on their right-of-way facilities and have until recently received little federal aid.

"It is no wonder then that the reorganization and revitalization of our railroad system remains one of the most important and pressing issues in transportation today...

"The key to success in railroad reorganization will be establishment of a system which makes greater use of inter-modal coordination and which provides support for the substantial effort required to

put the system back in shape...Government policies which provide a billion dollars a year for air travel but demand that railroads pay their own track and railbed expenses cannot continue."

Transportation Policy

UDALL

Udall Statement
to Dem. Governors
Conference
12/3/75

I have proposed a Comprehensive Transportation Fund, financed by the revenue now going into the Highway and Airport Trust Funds plus fuel and user taxes on railroads and waterways. The money would be used to rebuild our battered railroads, improve and expand mass transit service, complete construction of the Interstate Highway System, and for other transportation needs."

Udall Statement
on the Highway
Trust Fund
(undated)

Udall elaborates on his CTF proposal projecting that revenues derived from transportation trust funds and user charges would amount to about \$10 billion per year, and noting, "Most important, highways, airports, railroads and mass transit would all be subject to the annual scrutiny of the appropriations process, and would all take part in a healthy competition for the available funds."

Udall continues, "Under the CTF, I would favor adequate financing for completion of the essential elements of the Interstate System, and for urgently needed secondary roads. However, I believe that Federal matching ratios for non-essential highways should be substantially reduced, and that funds for additional non-essential roads be placed low on the list of priorities."

"Funds should be made available for a variety of programs to shift the current imbalance in Federal support away from the automobile and towards mass transit."

New York Times
3/24/76

Campaigning in New York City, Udall, according to the Times, promised more Federal money for mass transit systems such as the New York subways.

Udall Statement
on Railroad
Reorganization
(undated)

"I believe that the best plan for attacking this problem is that put forward by the New England Regional Commission. Under the Commission's proposal, carriers would voluntarily turn over their property to the government at

Transportation Policy

UDALL (cont'd)

no cost, in return for a long-term lease and guaranteed maintenance. The economic benefits of repaired railroad beds, the Commission reasoned, would make this an attractive plan for the carriers, as well as for the communities they serve. The government would lease the property back to the companies and require them, as a contractual obligation, to make all the necessary repairs at government cost. The railroads would maintain full control of operations and employment and maintenance workers would have to live up to the high standards for maintenance spelled out in the lease."

Udall continues: "The regional approach to railroad structure cannot go on forever. ConRail may result in a viable Northeastern Railroad System, but many of the factors which led to the Northeastern bankruptcies are present, in a more subdued form, in railroads all across the United States. Ultimately, I believe that the best structure may well be found in four to seven transcontinental railroads, eliminating much (though not all) of the redundancy and inefficiency of today's largely regional systems. In the meantime, we should not foreclose such future possibilities by adopting a stringent anti-merger policy or by locking in ConRail to a fixed set of routes."

Udall also supports regulatory reforms in the transportation sector: "Complete de-regulation would lead to chaos, but expediting the merger process somewhat, giving the railroads the flexibility to raise or lower rates within a moderate specified range without ICC interference, and preventing ICC blockage of promising technological innovations, would all be good policies.

"In addition, we need more equitable ICC regulation of different transportation modes so that railroads are not set at a disadvantage. Most importantly, we need modification of current ICC rate-setting policy which bases prices on cargo value relative to weight, and thereby unduly favors trucks over the more fuel-efficient railroads."

Transportation Policy

WALLACE

Wallace materials
prepared for
Common Cause
3/19/76

"I support the completion of our interstate highway system and the planning of new programs that will improve this system. We must prepare for increased population, increased number of vehicles, and increased use of our highways. The airline problems in our country must be resolved. More and more Americans use airlines for travel and it is urgent that we expand the system and make it profitable. We must not allow our airlines to go the way of our railroads. The railway system must be improved and can be improved with proper planning. It is ridiculous that we allowed railways to get in the state of affairs that they have. The government should allow the free enterprise system to operate completely in the transportation field with as little governmental interference as possible."

* * *

Economic Planning

FORD

Washington Post,
"Ford's Economic
Views Pragmatic,"
5/2/76

According to the Post, Ford rejects economic planning. In general, he sees such planning as just another intrusion of government in to the private sector.

REAGAN

Washington Post,
"Reagan's Economic
Ideas"
4/20/76

The Post quotes Reagan: "Planning scares the hell out of me. It's the same thing that under Mussolini they called fascism--or at least, it turns into fascism.

"When the government plans--the more they have to plan, the more they have to regulate."

BROWN

Thoughts
Edmund G. Brown Jr.
City Lights
(Publisher)
1976

"The reason why everybody likes planning is because nobody has to do anything."

...

"All there is to planning is thinking ahead intelligently. Planning has become a whole world by which planners pad payrolls in the public sector but do very little to provide a vision for where we ought to be going.

They speak in the alphabet soup. Planning is just wheel spinning. It proliferates options at the highest level of abstraction such that no one can perceive that very little is being said.

The thing that boggles my mind is when there's no real clear thinking going on. I'm taking a hard look at anybody who tells me he has a comprehensive plan. I want to be able to read it and understand it."

Economic Planning

CARTER

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

Carter proposes that the federal government budget on a three-year cycle, "rolling forward three years at a time when the budget is prepared each year," as a means improving both business and government planning.

Carter continues:

"I oppose the type of rigid, bureaucratic centralized planning characteristic of communist countries.

"But better general economic planning by government is essential to insure a stable, sensible, fair, humane economic policy, without the roller-coaster dips and curves we have faced in the last eight years. Government must plan ahead just like any business...

I favor coordinated government planning to attack problems of structural unemployment, inflation, environmental deterioration, exaggeration of economic inequalities, natural resource limitations, and obstructions to the operation of the free market system.

I believe that this type of planning can be carried out without the creation of a new bureaucracy, but rather through well defined extensions of existing bodies and techniques. I propose that the role of the present Council of Economic Advisors Advisors...be expanded to include this type of coordinated planning and to deal with long range problems of individual sectors fitted into an overall economic plan for the economy as a whole, as well as to deal with considerations of supply, distribution, and performance in individual industries.

Many of the economic shocks of the past eight years have come on the supply side of the economy. It is imperative that we study ways to anticipate problems rather than await their arrival and once again react with ill-conceived solutions in a crisis environment. Such detailed studies will be an important new task for the Council of Economic Advisors.

Economic Planning

CARTER (cont'd)

We have no discernible economic goals. Goals must be established and clearly enunciated, so that our programs can be developed within a planned, orderly context.

The techniques I have outlined can and will be carried out within the framework of our present private enterprise system, free market institutions and administrative structures."

CHURCH

Issues and Answers
Interview with
Church
3/21/76

Church endorsed the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Bill, which includes requirements for preparation, by the President, of an annual economic plan focused on reducing unemployment and maximizing production potential.

UDALL

Udall Statement
on Economic and
Labor Issues
1/23/76

Udall addresses planning in the context of reaching full employment. He endorses the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, saying, "This bill (the Equal Opportunity and Full Employment Act of 1975) will establish the means to reach full employment through planning, stimulating the private sector, and public employment."

Economic Planning

WALLACE

Wallace material
prepared for
Common Cause
3/19/76

"Economic planning thus far has resulted in economic chaos. The government seems to be fooled by its own statistics which are seldom correct. For example, unemployment is higher than statistics show and any citizen knows this. The so-called rises and drops in food prices are not accurate. When government says food is going down, the housewife sees prices up. And the increases are always more than the government says. Washington economic planning has failed because the government has played games with its own figures. We need to get back to common sense economic planning and end this bureaucratic brain-washing program on the economy that nobody really believes."

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