

The original documents are located in Box 37, folder “Election, 1976 - Common Cause Issue Profiles (3)” of the Ron Nessen Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Copyright Notice

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Gerald R. Ford donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

HOW THEY STAND: PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES' POSITIONS

Issue Profile #1

INTEGRITY & ACCOUNTABILITY IN GOVERNMENT

	page
INTRODUCTION-----	1
ABUSES OF GOVERNMENT POWERS-----	3
Ford, Reagan, Carter, Church, Harris, Jackson, Udall	
ANTI-CORRUPTION ENFORCEMENT-----	8
Ford, Carter, Harris, Jackson	
GOVERNMENT SECRECY-----	9
Ford, Reagan, Carter, Jackson, Udall, Wallace	
SPECIAL INTEREST LOBBYING-----	12
Carter, Jackson, Udall, Wallace	
CONFLICTS OF INTEREST-----	14
Ford, Reagan, Carter, Church, Jackson, Udall, Wallace	
CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM-----	17
Ford, Carter, Harris, Jackson, Udall, Wallace	

Edition II

April 1976



common cause

2030 M STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

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: 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 conspire to assassinate a foreign official in peace time."

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

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

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

Washington Post,
3/24/76

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

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."

ABUSE OF GOVERNMENT POWERS

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

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 Government--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."

ABUSE OF GOVERNMENT POWERS

Church (continued)

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."

HARRIS

New York Times
2/22/76

Harris has pledged to "dismantle the CIA as we know it." He would reduce the agency to a much smaller intelligence evaluation body. Covert CIA intelligence operations would be prohibited.

Harris Issues
Handbook,
undated

"We certainly ought not to have those covert operations as opposed to intelligence gathering. I think Harry Truman was right when he said we probably made a mistake ever setting that agency up to start with."

JACKSON

Jackson response
to Common Cause,
3/19/76

Jackson believes "the best defense against" abuse of power " is the selection of men and women of integrity and principle for public office." He also believes "better Congressional oversight of agencies such as the IRS, the FBI, and the CIA is needed.

Jackson for
President Commit-
tee, A Record of
Public Service,
undated

He has sponsored legislation to establish a new joint congressional committee to oversee the activities of federal agencies in investigating individuals. "The purpose of the Committee would be to prevent abuses of civil liberties such as the Army investigation of alleged subversives in 1970, the 'Plumbers' unit set up in the White House, the use of the I.R.S. to investigate political activist organiza-

ABUSE OF GOVERNMENT POWERS

Jackson (continued)

tions, and the recently revealed 'Cointelpro' Program of the F.B.I."

Jackson response to
Common Cause,
3/19/76

He has also "cosponsored reforms such as limiting the term of the FBI Director to ten years without the possibility of reappointment."

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 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 statements on this issue by: Reagan, 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."

HARRIS

Washington Post
1/12/76

Harris has expressed his opposition to Carter's proposal to make the office of Attorney General independent from the President's Cabinet. "I don't like it. The President ought to be able to choose his Cabinet. It's a time-honored tradition. I don't want it removed from the control of the people."

JACKSON

Jackson response
to Common Cause,
3/19/76

Jackson "supports the concept" in proposed "legislation to provide a mechanism for the establishment of a special prosecutor to investigate charges of official corruption." He is aware of the constitutional problems with the legislation now pending and hopes they can be resolved in a revised draft.

GOVERNMENT SECRECY

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

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."

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



GOVERNMENT SECRECY

Carter (continued)

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."

JACKSON

Jackson for President
Comm., The Truth
About the Jackson
Record, 10/75

"With regard to the conduct of public business, Senator Jackson believes that the maintenance of public confidence in government requires an Administration committed to openness and candor in its relationship with the American people. In both domestic and foreign affairs, recent Administrations have wrapped their policies in a cloak of obsessive secrecy. Needless secrecy has led to flagrant abuses of power at home, and to secret agreements and secret commitments abroad."

"Throughout his career in the Senate, Jackson has been a leader in the movement for open government at every level. He has worked for long-needed reforms in the operations of government. He has pressed for disclosure of agreements with foreign governments to insure that Congress and the American people are not kept in the dark. Senator Jackson believes that the American people have a right to know about the policies that are carried out in their name."

Government in the
Sunshine Act, intro-
duced 1/15/75

Jackson has co-sponsored the Government in the Sunshine Act (S.5). The bill requires congressional committees and certain government agencies to open their meetings to the public. It passed the Senate in November, 1975.

GOVERNMENT SECRECY

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, Church and Harris.

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."

JACKSON

Jackson response
to Common Cause,
3/19/76

Jackson supports public disclosure of lobbying activities. He believes that restrictions on lobbying could, if not carefully drawn, impede the flow of information to Congress and jeopardize the constitutional rights of lobbyists.

"I believe that it is essential to protect the integrity of the legislative process from undue pressures by lobbyists. At the same time, it should be recognized that lobbyists represent many different groups including business, labor, consumers, taxpayers, charitable organizations, environmental groups, and numerous other causes in which the citizen has an interest. Thus, prevention of improper influences on government action by lobbyists must be accomplished in a manner that will not restrict the flow of useful information concerning national problems from the people and groups affected to members of Congress. In addition, it must be remembered that constitutional guarantees of free speech and the right to petition for a redress of grievances properly limit the ability of Congress to pass laws prohibiting lobbyists from communicating with members of Congress."

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

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

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.

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

CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

Carter (continued)

where his or her special interests are so that no conflict with the public interest will exist."

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

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

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 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."

CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

JACKSON

Jackson for President
Comm., The Truth
About the Jackson
Record, 10/75

"Jackson is one of the few members of Congress who has made a full financial disclosure of his own and his family's assets and income. Senator Jackson sponsored an amendment to the 1973 Campaign Reform Act which would have barred Members of Congress from receiving any outside earned income other than their Congressional salary. Senator Jackson has never kept one cent of income he has earned from speaking engagements since his election to the Senate; he has donated all income received from such activities to scholarship funds for needy students."

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."

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

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."

HARRIS

Harris letter
to FEC,
1/14/76

Harris supports the new campaign finance law, which sets limits on campaign contributions and spending, provides for the partial public financing of Presidential campaigns, and establishes an independent enforcement commission.

"Because of the new campaign finance law, for the first time in my lifetime we have a chance to put into practice the 'one person, one vote' principle."

"In the past, some people have had more than one vote because they had the money--and money translated into political power. With the new campaign finance law, people had a right to believe that average citizens had a chance to cut the super-rich and the giant corporations down to size."

JACKSON

Jackson response
to Common Cause,
3/19/76

"I strongly support the recent campaign finance reform legislation which was enacted by Congress. These reforms have made our political system more equitable and open. The potential for abuse by individuals or special interests has been greatly reduced and the broadest possible participation by the public has been encouraged. I was pleased that the Supreme Court upheld the vast majority of the reform provisions it was called upon to consider in Buckley v. Valeo."

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

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 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."

HOW THEY STAND: PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES' POSITIONS

Issue Profile #2

INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS & NATIONAL SECURITY

	page
INTRODUCTION-----	1
OVERVIEW-----	3
Ford, Reagan, Carter, Church, Harris, Jackson, Udall, Wallace	
ARMS CONTROL & NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION-----	9
Ford, Reagan, Carter, Church, Jackson, Udall	
FOOD POLICY-----	14
Reagan, Carter, Church, Harris, Jackson, Udall, Wallace	
COVERT ACTIONS-----	16
Ford, Reagan, Carter, Church, Harris, Udall, Wallace	
MILITARY SPENDING & MILITARY ASSISTANCE-----	19
Ford, Reagan, Carter, Church, Harris, Jackson, Udall, Wallace	
DETENTE-----	27
Ford, Reagan, Carter, Church, Jackson, Udall, Wallace	
THE MIDDLE EAST-----	32
Ford, Reagan, Carter, Church, Harris, Jackson, Udall, Wallace	
ANGOLA-----	38
Ford, Reagan, Carter, Jackson, Udall, Wallace	
CUBA-----	42
Ford, Reagan, Harris, Jackson, Udall, Wallace	
PANAMA-----	44
Ford, Reagan, Udall	

Edition II

April 1976

common cause

Introduction

INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS AND NATIONAL SECURITY

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

* * *

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.

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 Communique.

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."

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.

N.Y. Times
3/16/76

In a major speech to the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations 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, Pakistan, 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.

HARRIS

Campaign press
release,
3/5/76

Speaking before the Chicago Focus-Forum, Harris characterized U.S. foreign policy as wrong in "construction, goal and method." He called for a foreign policy that is "open with our own people and open with the governments of the world." He also advocated normal relations with the Soviet Union and People's Republic of China.

JACKSON

Jackson lecture at
Kansas State Univ.,
1/21/76

Jackson charged that the Government lacks "the will power to take a strong stand (on foreign policy) and hold to it. There is nothing mysterious about international negotiations. You are supposed to get something for what you give. Yet the Kissinger-Ford foreign policy has helped the Soviets become more powerful, more adventurous, and more threatening to American interests and to the international order than at any time since the Stalin era."

He emphasized the dangers to American freedom if the USSR should become the strongest military power in the world, praised UN Ambassador Pat Moynihan and endorsed the importance of human rights.

Congressional
Quarterly
8/30/75

In contrast to his attitude toward Russia, Jackson is friendly to the People's Republic of China. Upon his return from a visit there in July 1974, Jackson called for full diplomatic relations with Peking and withdrawal of the U.S. embassy from Taiwan.

OVERVIEW

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.

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.

OVERVIEW

Wallace (continued)

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: Harris and 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.

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.

ARMS CONTROL/NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

Carter (continued)

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.

JACKSON

Congressional
Quarterly
11/29/75

A critic of the SALT agreement, which he said gave Soviet Russia an edge over the U. S., Jackson won acceptance by Congress and the President of an "equality" amendment to the resolution approving the agreement. It declared that any permanent treaty on nuclear offensive arms must "not limit the U. S. to levels of intercontinental strategic forces inferior" to those of the Soviet Union.

It was Jackson's principle of equivalence that was followed by President Ford at his meeting with Brezhnev at Vladivostok in 1974.

Since then Jackson has proposed that 700 of the 2,400 offensive launch vehicles allowed by SALT I not be modernized, as the agreement allows. He says this would lead to a phase-out of older weapons and a real hope for strategic force reductions.

ARMS CONTROL/NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

Jackson (continued)

Campaign issues
summary, 7/75

His campaign literature describes this proposal as "a far-reaching proposal for mutual and reciprocal reduction of U. S.-Soviet strategic forces to a sharply lower level of equivalence."

ABC "Issues
and Answers,"
2/29/76

The Russians got " a definite advantage in SALT I and it will increase unless we get them to build down," Jackson said. He declared that secret agreements made by Nixon and Kissinger with Soviet leaders limited the U.S. to fewer submarines and allowed the USSR more missile-carrying submarines than the SALT agreement specified.

Jackson "on
National De-
fense,"
undated

In a statement put out by his campaign committee Jackson says that the Ford and Nixon Administrations have never offered at SALT talks a "serious" proposal "for mutual reductions in strategic forces." The Vladivostok agreement permits both sides' force levels to go higher than they are today, he said.

Interview with
Cronkite, CBS
Evening News
11/10/75

Asked if he saw much opportunity for a disarmament agreement with the USSR, Jackson replied: "I believe that we can bargain with the Russians. They're in such deep economic trouble"--in "desperate" need of food and technology.

"I get accused of being the representative of the military-industrial complex, but I want to lower this threshold" of arms. Jackson said he would tell the Russians, "We will help you raise the standard of living of your people provided that you reorder your priorities along with us."

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."

ARMS CONTROL/NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

Udall (continued)

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: Ford

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.

HARRIS

Harris Issues
Handbook 12/75

"We should help set up a world emergency food bank, multilaterally controlled, and put in up to half of its food reserves."

Harris reply to
Iowa Democratic
Poll, 1976

Harris replied, when asked if U. S. food exports should be used as a diplomatic tool: "U. S. food exports should not be used as Secretary Kissinger has used them to promote dictatorships and the interests of multi-national corporations."



FOOD POLICY

JACKSON

Jackson answer
to Iowa
Democratic Poll,
1976

When asked if he favored use of U. S. food exports as a diplomatic tool, Jackson replied: "Yes. And we can do it in a way that will actually expand farm exports and improve farm prices." He did not spell out his ideas further.

NBC "Meet
the Press,"
1/18/76

Asked how he would have responded as President to the Soviet role in Angola, Jackson said he would have used as economic weapons the food and technology the USSR wanted from the U.S.

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

At a rally in Fort Lauderdale, Jackson advocated the use of American food as a bargaining weapon, saying: "The Russians would starve to death if it weren't for the United States."

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."

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: Jackson
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."

HARRIS

Harris Issues
Handbook 12/75

The CIA "must be cut back." There is a question as to whether it is needed at all. "We certainly ought not to have those covert operations (he mentions financing a truckers' strike in Chile) as opposed to intelligence gathering."

N.Y. Times
news story from
Manchester, N. H.
2/22/76

In his New Hampshire campaign Harris pledges to "dismantle the CIA as we now know it," prohibiting covert operations and reducing the agency to a much smaller body evaluating intelligence.

COVERT ACTIONS

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, 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.

N.Y. Times
3/27/76

Speaking at a fund-raiser in San Francisco, Ford assailed plans of House Budget Committee Democrats to cut \$7 billion from his defense budget. He described such cuts as playing "Russian roulette" with national defense.

MILITARY SPENDING & MILITARY ASSISTANCE

Ford (continued)

Washington Star,
2/21/76

Speaking at Dover, N.H., which is near the ship-building area of Portsmouth, Ford promised a modernization of the U.S. Navy so it would be second to none. "We're on our way to being the best Navy in the world," he said, and added that he had asked Congress for large appropriations for ship construction.

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.

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.

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.

CARTER

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.

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

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 authoritiarian governments, the paper says.

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."

HARRIS

Harris Issues
Handbook, 12/75

Harris charges that U. S. foreign policy is run by an "elitist crowd" for the benefit of multinational companies. He says the U. S. has had "an isolationist foreign policy...(that) has isolated us from peoples and governments all over the world."

The U. S. goal should be to spend about 1% of our gross national product on foreign aid and to get other countries to do the same, he says.

Harris favors substantial cuts in the defense budget. The first need, he says, is to "define the real security interests of our country and then put the dollars with it."

He says the U. S. has too many forces overseas and opposes the B-1 bomber and MIRVs on all land-based missiles.

MILITARY SPENDING & MILITARY ASSISTANCE

Harris (continued)

Harris answer
to Iowa Democratic
Poll, 1976

Asked if he would support a reduction of 10% in the \$90 billion fiscal 1976 defense budget, Harris answered: "Yes, the defense budget can and should be cut significantly without endangering America's vital security interests."

JACKSON

Congressional
Quarterly
8/30/75

CQ observes that Jackson's hawkish image is hardened by his predilection for expensive weaponry. Breaking ranks with his liberal colleagues in the Senate, Jackson consistently has supported such costly weapon systems as the Sentinel antiballistic missile (ABM), the Trident submarine and the F-111 fighter-bomber. "The only way you get the Soviets to the conference table is from a position of strength," he has said. He resents being referred to as the "senator from Boeing," a reference to the largest corporation in his state.

As a high-ranking member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Jackson has been a bulwark of strength for the Pentagon. Recently, however, he has opposed some Pentagon programs, leading opposition in 1974 to a Pentagon plan to test a Minuteman IBM over the western United States. He supported some Armed Services Committee cuts in defense procurement in 1975 but voted against further reductions on the floor of the Senate.

Campaign issues
summary, 7/75

Jackson's campaign literature describes him as a supporter of "a strong and efficient national defense--which includes trimming billion of funding for some unnecessary military programs."

Congressional
Quarterly
6/7/75

On June 5, 1975, Jackson voted against a McGovern amendment to eliminate \$840 million for continued development of the B-1 supersonic bomber.

Jackson answer
to Iowa Democratic
Poll, 1976

Asked if he as President would terminate the B-1 bomber, Jackson replied: "Probably. I have voted to reduce R&D funding for the B-1 because of my concern that its proposed mission could be better accomplished by other less expensive means. The question now is to determine whether this is the case."

Transcript of
"Meet the Press"
1/18/76

Wherever there is fat in the defense budget it should be cut out, Jackson said, adding, "I don't think we need a supersonic bomber."

MILITARY SPENDING & MILITARY ASSISTANCE

Jackson (continued)

Jackson answer
to Iowa
Democratic Poll
1976

Jackson said he would not cut the \$90 billion fiscal 1976 defense budget by as much as 10%, saying, "Though I have voted for substantial cuts in military spending, I believe we are now coming very close to a margin of safety." No totalitarian country should be allowed to gain "a dominant military position," he said.

Jackson "on
National
Defense,"
undated

Jackson supports the level of defense spending in President Ford's fiscal 1977 budget "with some modifications," notably in the Navy. He favors tightening up procurement policies and less "gold plating" of weapons systems.

Jackson paper on
"American Seapower
and the U. S. Navy"
2/18/76

"Our position as a seapower has declined to a critical point" while the Soviet navy and merchant marine have grown markedly.

"The Ford Administration, by continuing to make public claims about America's naval superiority, is perpetrating a dangerous misconception. These claims are untrue and they obscure a dangerous reality. The President's defense budget does not guarantee adequate naval strength for America's future."

Jackson said the number of Navy ships had gone down from 976 in fiscal year 1968 to 477 this year and the President was recommending about 500 ships for the mid-1980s. "As President of the United States. I will not take irresponsible risks which the country cannot afford. I will aim for a Navy of 650-700 ships, the minimum number that can provide us with adequate security," Jackson said.

He emphasized the program would provide more work for shipyards and also called for "revitalization of the maritime industry."

N. Y. Times news
story, 2/18/76

The Ford budget proposed a five-year plan calling for construction of 111 Navy ships costing about \$35 billion, to bring the fleet to slightly more than 500 ships by the mid-1980s. The Navy is seeking a \$50 billion program for a 600-ship fleet. Jackson offered no estimates of the cost of building the fleet up to 650-700 ships.

MILITARY SPENDING & MILITARY ASSISTANCE

UDALL

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.

* * *

DETENTE

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

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.

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."

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."

Wash. Post,
3/16/76

Speaking to the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, 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."

DETENTE

Carter (continued)

Los Angeles
Times,
3/16/76

At a press conference after his Chicago speech Carter was asked if he thought Sen. Jackson would return the U.S. to a cold war position. Carter answered, "I can't say that he would," adding: "I want to go a second mile to get along with Russia... but I don't think Scoop has the same attitude....He is much more bellicose, much more distrustful of the Soviet Union."

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.

JACKSON

N. Y. Times
news story,
2/1/76

Campaigning in Massachusetts, Jackson found one issue above all that he could make his own: detente. In an interview he said his audiences found "no word more provocative--just the mention of the word sets off a reaction." He said it has become "a code word for having been taken." In his speeches he promises that if he is elected he will take a hard line toward Russia, with "no more giveaways" like the grain deal.

Jackson "on
Foreign Policy"
undated

A paper issued by Jackson's campaign committee quotes him as saying: "It's not the concept of detente which is at fault; it's the way the Nixon and Ford Administrations have mismanaged it. Detente has become a one-way street, with a one-way flow of benefits based on unilateral American concessions."

The concessions he criticizes are the "great grain robbery" of 1972, exchange of U.S. scientific and technological advances in space, the Helsinki accords and "a SALT I agreement full of loopholes which the Soviets are actively exploiting in a massive build-up of their nuclear arsenal."

DETENTE

Jackson (continued)

Congressional
Quarterly,
11/29/75

Jackson protested Ford's dismissal of Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger, who he said favored hard bargaining with the USSR. Ford apparently believes that "Soviet restraint can be purchased by American wheat (and) by American economic largesse and diplomatic passivity," Jackson charged.

Campaign issues
summary, 7/75

Jackson's campaign literature says he: "advocates a mutually beneficial 'human detente', recognizing that if there is to be a long-term peaceful cooperation there must be progress toward the freer movement of peoples and ideas between East and West." That is his campaign's explanation of the reasons for the Jackson amendment on Jewish emigration from Russia that he successfully attached to the 1974 Trade Act. Irked by the amendment, the USSR canceled its 1972 economic agreement with the U. S.

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."

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."

- 51 -
DETENTE

Wallace (continued)

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.

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.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Carter (continued)

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.

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.

THE MIDDLE EAST

Church (continued)

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.

HARRIS

Harris Issues
Handbook, 12/75

Harris favors continuing U. S. commitments of economic and military supplies to Israel so that country can continue to exist. He warns against an arms imbalance against Israel and says the U. S. and Russia should "stop arming the other side." He has criticized the UN's anti-Zionist resolution as "untrue and unjust."

Transcript of
"Meet the Press"
1/11/76

Asked how he thought negotiation of a peace settlement in the Middle East should be pursued, Harris said that instead of step-by-step negotiations there should be another Geneva conference to try for an over-all agreement.

JACKSON

Article by Mike
Barnes, Democratic
Review, 8/9/75,
reprinted by
Jackson Committee

A major cornerstone of Jackson's foreign policy is U. S. unswerving support of Israel, not only on principle but to preserve the West's position in the Middle East.

A key to Jackson's remarkable success in raising campaign funds is the intense support he receives from the Jewish community because of his 30-year record of unfaltering insistence upon American aid for Israel, according to the article.

Statement by
Jackson on the
Middle East
1/27/76

"The greatest chance for a durable peace in the Middle East lies in agreements that the parties themselves can oversee and defend--agreements that leave Israel with borders that Israel can protect

THE MIDDLE EAST

Jackson (continued)

and that incorporate the fundamental political reconciliation on which--alone--a lasting peace must be based."

Jackson said the Ford Administration "has already gone much too far" in selling sophisticated weapons "to countries that are committed to using them against Israel. For practical considerations of the military balance and for moral reasons as well, I believe that the U. S. must not continue the present Ford-Kissinger policy of profligate military support to countries which still pledge to continue their war against Israel."

N.Y. Times
3/9/76

Protesting Ford's plan to sell six C-130 military transport planes to Egypt, Jackson said that to provide military equipment to Egypt was "cynical and dangerous" and "can only increase the chance of war in the Middle East."

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

Speaking at Temple Emanu-El in Miami Beach, Jackson described third-party negotiations between Israel and the Arabs as "a Mickey Mouse operation." He called for direct negotiations between the two sides, something Israel has wanted since 1948.

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, and 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.

* * *

ANGOLA

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

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.

ANGOLA

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.

ANGOLA

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."

JACKSON

Congressional
Record, 1/8/76

Jackson was absent from the Senate on Dec. 19, 1975, when a vote was taken on Sen. Tunney's amendment to forbid use of CIA or Defense Department money for aid for Angola. Although he was announced as opposed to the Tunney amendment, Jackson said later that he was incorrectly recorded. He was for the Tunney amendment.

Jackson state-
ment on Angola,
2/6/76

"I supported Senator Tunney's amendment restricting so-called 'covert assistance' to political groups in Angola. Soviet behavior in Angola should be addressed in the Soviet-American context."

Transcript of
"Meet the Press"
1/18/76

Asked how, as President, he would have responded to the Soviets' role in Angola, Jackson said he would use as economic weapons the food, technological and scientific items the USSR wanted from the U. S. He said he would tell the Russians, "if we are going to have a real detente, it ought to start right here and now."

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.

ANGOLA

WALLACE

Washington Star
review of candi-
dates' 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: Carter 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."

HARRIS

Chicago Tribune,
3/6/76

At a press conference after his foreign policy speech in Chicago, Harris declined to answer specifically when asked what he would do if Cuba continued to send troops into Africa. In his speech he called for normalization of U.S. relations with Cuba.

CUBA

JACKSON

Jackson "on
Foreign Policy"
undated

A paper issued by Jackson's campaign committee declares that "the Administration's policy of wooing Havana has failed completely." He calls for thorough review of the August 1975 Administration decision to lift somewhat the restrictions on trade with Cuba.

Jackson says that Cuba has not only intervened on behalf of Russia in Angola, Cuban troops are also "training Syrian tank brigades to operate the most sophisticated new Soviet armor." He says that Cuba continues to try to undermine democracies in the Western Hemisphere.

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, Harris, Jackson 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 dead-locked. I can assure you that I will not do anything that will jeopardize the defense of the canal or the operations of the canal."

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

According to the author, retired Navy Captain Franz O. Willenbucher, 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.

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."

* * *

HOW THEY STAND: PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES' POSITIONS

Issue Profile #3

THE ROLE OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

	page
INTRODUCTION -----	1
BIG GOVERNMENT -----	3
Ford, Reagan, Carter, Church, Harris, Jackson, Udall, Wallace	
AID TO CITIES -----	14
Ford, Reagan, Carter, Church, Harris, Jackson, Udall, Wallace	
REVENUE SHARING -----	23
Ford, Reagan, Carter, Harris, Jackson, Udall, Wallace	
REGULATORY REFORM -----	28
Ford, Reagan, Carter, Church, Harris, Jackson, Udall, Wallace	
TRANSPORTATION POLICY -----	34
Ford, Carter, Harris, Jackson, Udall, Wallace	
ECONOMIC PLANNING -----	40
Carter, Harris, Udall, Wallace	

Edition II

April 1976



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.

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

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

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

(continued next page)

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 phased in over a period of time, possibly, in some

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

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."

(continued next page)

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."

New York Times
2/11/76

According to the Times, Carter pledges that no civil servant will lose his job because of Carter's executive branch reorganization plans.

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."

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."

Big Government

HARRIS

Fred Harris
Issues Handbook

Harris supports an activist federal government that would, for example, create a public corporation for energy development on public lands, break up monopolistic industries or place price controls on them, guarantee jobs for every American, and provide federally financed universal health care.

In general terms, Harris asserts, "The basic issue in 1976 is privilege--whether the government will begin to look after the interests of the average family, or whether it will continue to protect the interests of the super-rich and the giant corporations. What we're up to is based on two assumptions: one, that people are smart enough to govern themselves, and two, that a widespread diffusion of economic and political power ought to be the expressed goal of government."

Harris' plans to reduce government spending and eliminate waste include: abolishing the ICC and hundreds of federal advisory committees, reducing the White House staff, streamlining management of federal programs such as the Supplemental Security Income program, eliminating subsidies for "undeserving" corporate interests (unspecified), and cutting unjustified defense spending (e.g. B-1 bomber, cost controls on defense contractors).

JACKSON

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

In the context of discussing federalism, Jackson says, "Education and welfare are both national problems, especially since Americans move from state to state freely and often. One state may eventually pay in welfare costs what another did not pay to educate its citizens. Therefore, it seems to me only logical that the federal government should assume greater responsibility in these areas."

(continued next page)

Big Government

JACKSON (cont'd)

Washington Post
3/2/76

The Post reports that Jackson, at a televised Miami forum sponsored by the League of Women Voters, called HEW "the greatest monstrosity of the federal government" and said he favored splitting it up into three separate departments.

UDALL

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

Udall would have the federal government take over welfare costs and provide national health insurance. On welfare reform, Udall says, "The duty of caring for the poor is a national responsibility which cannot be adequately dealt with at the local level without causing unwarranted population shifts and overburdening those local jurisdictions which attempt to provide adequate levels of support."

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 (cont'd)

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..."

(continued next page)

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

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."

(continued next page)

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."

(continued next page)

Aid to Cities

REAGAN (cont'd)

"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."

CARTER

Carter Statement
on Revenue Sharing
12/3/75

Stating his support for federal revenue sharing, Carter said that such 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."

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."

(continued next page)

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

HARRIS

Harris Issues
Handbook

"The best way to fight crime, blight and other urban problems is to launch an immediate full employment program. Federal agencies particularly should recruit and train unemployed people in the inner cities."

After asserting that New York City ought to get immediate relief, Harris continues:

"A federal government which served the people instead of the giant banks and corporations would first of all bring down interest rates. It would take health and welfare burden off the backs of cities and states, since these are national problems. And it would provide emergency financial assistance for hard-pressed city governments through an urban bank."

"We must have federal assistance for improved salaries and training for policemen and better police-community relations. The policeman is the only representative of government that many urban people ever see."

Boston Globe
2/12/76

According to the Globe, Harris backs some form of countercyclical revenue-sharing to concentrate aid in cities and states with the highest unemployment rates.

Boston Globe
2/26/76

Writing in the Globe, Harris states:

"Jobs and income are primarily what people in the cities need. Our main emphasis ought to be in getting people back to work and providing a decent income for those who cannot work and those who cannot find work. This is the first step to help the cities. We should also put particular new emphasis on education in the central cities, universal health care, housing and transportation and federalization of welfare. Revenue sharing should be changed to provide for payment on the basis of need, rather than on population, with two of the prime need factors being level of income and level of unemployment."

(continued next page)

Aid to Cities

HARRIS (cont'd.)

Harris statement
Cities: building
communities
undated

"In large cities, it is reasonable to provide citywide jurisdiction for taxation and basic governmental services. But it is unreasonable to centralize in one city hall control over the delivery of services that can easily be decentralized to the neighborhood level--law enforcement and garbage collection, for example."

JACKSON

Jackson release
10/9/75

Jackson has introduced a bill (S 2372) that would provide Federal guarantees for municipal bonds in much the same way that the FDIC insures bank deposits. Testifying on behalf of this bill before the Senate Banking Committee, Jackson declared: "To show callous indifference to the fate of the nation's largest city --- its greatest city --- as the Ford Administration is doing, is beyond comprehension.

"If New York City goes under, no city in the nation is safe.

"If New York City goes under, the State of New York may well go under --- and no state in the nation will be safe.

"This is truly a national problem, and it demands a national solution. Inflation and recession grip the national economy, and cannot be combatted on a local level.

"I find the indifference of the Ford Administration to this national crisis shocking and irresponsible. At a time when our economy is already fragile, this kind of indifference is especially indefensible."

Aid to Cities

UDALL

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)

Aid to Cities

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 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.

(continued next page)

Aid to Cities

WALLACE (cont'd.)

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 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

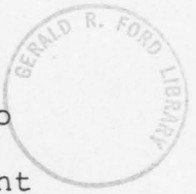
Reagan identifies revenue sharing as one of the federal programs he would eliminate as part of his \$90 billion cut in the federal budget, saying, "I throw in revenue sharing because that would be taken care of by turning back the revenue sources."

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.

HARRIS

Boston Globe
2/26/76

Describing his proposals for aid to the cities, Harris asserted:

"Revenue sharing should be changed to provide for payment on the basis of need, rather than on population, with two of the prime need factors being level of income and level of unemployment."

Revenue Sharing

JACKSON

Jackson statement
on Revenue Sharing
11/75

"I support prompt Congressional action on legislation to renew the Federal Revenue Sharing Program.

Revenue Sharing is ultimately an expression of confidence by the Federal government in the ability of state and local government to effectively meet the needs of the people if given the proper resources. Revenue Sharing gives to state and local government the flexibility to develop programs which are needed but which may not fit within narrower Federal categorical programs. I have confidence in the capacity of state and local officials to do their jobs in a manner reflective of popular needs and priorities at those levels of government. Revenue Sharing has proved to be a valuable tool in helping state and local government to accomplish this important task."

Jackson calls for a multi-year extension of revenue sharing, and adds: "There may well be areas where the Congress should strengthen the Revenue Sharing program, e.g. improving the effectiveness of civil rights enforcement. I believe that these objectives can and must be accomplished, but without causing unnecessary delay in re-enacting the Revenue Sharing program itself."

UDALL

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

"The General Revenue Sharing program should be continued with a few important reforms. The 145% per capita ceiling -- which limits assistance to the biggest and neediest cities-- should be removed, tougher civil rights compliance guidelines should be added, and rules for broader public involvement should be made mandatory."

Revenue Sharing

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

(continued next page)

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."

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."

Regulatory Reform

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."

HARRIS

Harris Issues
Handbook

Harris would abolish agencies like the Interstate Commerce Commission and Civil Aeronautics Board to encourage competition.

JACKSON

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

Discussing railroad reorganization, Jackson said "the Congress should consider legislation to reform inefficient and delay ridden Federal rail regulatory practices in order to encourage railroads to compete more effectively with other modes of transportation."

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."

(continued next page)

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 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."

(continued next page)

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

HARRIS

Harris Press
Release
1/24/76

Harris criticized President Ford's planned \$90 million budget cut for Amtrak, characterizing the proposal as "completely off the track." Harris continued, "We ought to completely restructure the rail system so that it serves the interests of shippers and passengers. We need a train system in this country that works. People want and need more rail service, not less, and routes to such major cities as Oklahoma City and Houston certainly should not be eliminated."

Harris Issues
Handbook

"Transportation service in America today displays a strong economic class bias. Privately owned mass transit systems go where there are people who have the money to pay. So do public transit systems." Eg. Westchester County commuters ride the trains to NYC; but those coming into Westchester for low-income jobs have to drive.

JACKSON

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

"I want to make it clear that we must not lose sight of the continued need for an effective highway program... Our national transportation program should not be a 'zero sum game' in which mass transit gains are highway losses. Rather, we must make a coordinated effort to achieve the right decisions in the allocation of resources between highways and mass transit so that the mixture of our investment benefits the whole nation over the long haul."

Jackson did support the 1973 amendments that gave states and localities greater discretion to use for bus or rail mass transit programs the money available for "urban systems" through the Highway Act.

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

Speaking of rail operations in the Northeast, Jackson said, "Unless a realistic alternative can be found -- and none has been suggested as yet -- the Federal government must be willing to spend several billion dollars to prevent a shutdown and to speed the reorganization."

Transportation Policy

JACKSON (cont'd.)

Jackson criticized the Ford Administration for not being "forthright" in addressing the costs of rail rehabilitation. "No one is saying we do not need the service, but President Ford is saying he does not want to pay for it."

Jackson also says Congress should consider legislation to reform "inefficient and delay ridden" Federal rail regulatory practices.

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."

(continued next page)

Transportation Policy

UDALL

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 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

Common Cause has found no campaign statement on this issue by: Ford, Reaga . Church, and Jackson.

CARTER

Washington Post
Interview with
Carter
3/21/76

Asked how he would deal with problems like housing, unemployment, welfare, health and education, Carter responded, in part:

"One thing you haven't mentioned is long-range planning. When I was elected governor of Georgia we wrote down exactly what we wanted to accomplish in mental health, physical health, education, alcoholism, drug control, prison reform, tax reform, transportation and so forth at the end of a year, two years, five years, 20 years. We put estimated cost figures on it the first five years. This is the kind of approach I would bring into the White House. I'd say, this is what our nation hopes to achieve at the end of these periods of time."

HARRIS

Harris Interview
Rolling Stone
5/8/75

Responding to the question: Would you include a program of public planning? Harris replied, "Oh sure, you've got to have it. I don't think of it in terms of planning, just in terms of common sense...Now everybody accepts that the government has to intervene. That's a dead issue. The question is how are you going to intervene and on whose side?"

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."

* * *