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Issue Profile #4

INFLATION



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- Some candidates attack government regulation that

limits competition in certain industries

as contributing to inflation. They would eliminate

or reduce such regulation. Others see excessive

INFLATION

regulation as causing higher business costs and thus

higher prices.

General/Economic Concentration/Domestic Monetary Policy/Gov't Spending
Gov't Regulation/Wage and Price Controls/Food Prices

- Wage and price controls are considered by some candidates

to be one means of controlling inflation. Others, who

All recent public opinion surveys have identified inflation as the number one issue bothering Americans. To gain insight into candidates' views on this issue, Common Cause has outlined their positions on the following problems commonly associated with inflation:

- The general category has been used when candidates describe generally the chief causes of inflation and the range of remedies they would apply.

- Current domestic monetary policy is seen by a number of candidates as a cause of inflation, while others consider it a cure. The division is roughly between those who believe that increasing the money supply and keeping interest rates low would reduce inflation and those who think that, to combat inflation, growth of the nation's money supply must be limited.

- Government spending is considered by some candidates to be a principal cause of inflation, and they advocate sharply curtailing federal outlays.

- Some candidates attack government regulation that limits competition and fixes prices in certain industries as contributing to inflation. They would eliminate or reduce such regulation. Others see excessive regulation as causing higher business costs and thus higher prices.

- Wage and price controls are considered by some candidates to be one means of controlling inflation. Others, who would not adopt formal controls, believe that some form of "jawboning" or persuasion can be helpful in preventing unwarranted price and wage increases. Still others reject controls as unjustified or unworkable interference with the free market.

- Food prices (together with energy costs) are cited by many candidates as contributing seriously to inflation. Candidates have suggested a variety of approaches to stabilizing food prices.

* * *

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.

General

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

FORD

State of the
Union Address
1/19/76

"My first objective," Ford states, "is to have sound economic growth without inflation. We all know from recent experience what runaway inflation does to ruin every other worthy purpose. We are slowing it; we must stop it cold."

President's
Budget Message
for FY 1977

"This is not a policy of the quick fix," Ford asserts in his 1977 budget message. "It does not hold out the hollow promise that we can wipe out inflation and unemployment overnight. Instead, it is an honest, realistic policy--a policy that says we can steadily reduce inflation and unemployment if we maintain a prudent, balanced approach. This policy has begun to prove itself in recent months as we have made substantial headway in pulling out of the recession and reducing the rate of inflation; it will prove itself decisively if we stick to it."

"Ford's Steady
Policy" by
Leonard Silk,
NY Times
1/28/76

President Ford and his economic advisers consider inflation to be a cause of recession and believe that the economy must be kept to a moderate or slow rate of growth to check inflation. If this process is followed, they contend, the consumer price index can be expected to increase at a 5.9% rate through 1976 and 1977. By 1980, they believe, the rate of inflation will have dropped to 4%.

Ford Press Conference
4/2/76

Several months later, he appeared more optimistic, stating that the biggest issue of the campaign "is the building up and strengthening, the fortifying of our economy to restore the kind of permanent prosperity that we must have so that anybody who wants a job can have a job, and, secondly, that we can get the rate of inflation down in the range of 2 to 3 percent or less."

General

REAGAN

Response to North
Carolina Common
Cause, 3/17/76

Reagan considers government spending to be the single cause of inflation and the solution to be cutting spending and balancing the national budget.

"The one basic cause of inflation is government spending more than it takes in. When Washington runs in the red, year after year, it cheapens every dollar you earn; it makes a profit on your cost-of-living wage increases by pushing you into higher tax brackets; it borrows in the capital market to cover its deficits, cutting off business and industry from that capital which is needed to fuel our economy and create jobs; it robs your savings of value; and it denies retired people the stability they need and expect for their fixed incomes."

"The cure is a balanced budget. The federal government must set a timetable, a systematic plan, to balance the budget--and it must stick to it."

"Interview with
Ronald Reagan:
Reducing Government's
Role," Business
Week, 2/9/76

Reagan also believes that "Inflation is the cause of recession, and the only cause."

"Ford-Reagan Aims
Alike but Tactics
are Different,"
David E. Rosenbaum
New York Times
2/9/76

Thus, to Reagan, "the long-range solution to unemployment is to bring an end to inflation."
Reagan acknowledges that the process of balancing the federal budget to cure inflation will lead to an economic slowdown.

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General

REAGAN (cont.)

"Reagan's Economic
Ideas" by Hobart Rowen
Washington Post
4/20/76

"In correcting an inflation, I'm afraid there will temporarily be economic dislocation. But we've had economic dislocation, a recession, caused by spending. So spending hasn't solved the problem. Instead of keeping the patient sick and feeding him palliatives, why not cure him? ... You'd cure him, and get back to prosperity and solid values.... But you'd do your best not to let any segment of society suffer unduly."

CARTER

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

Carter believes that inflation has a variety of causes and that it is not necessary to increase unemployment in order to end inflation.

"It will be my responsibility as President to insure that this nation has a coherent, coordinated, short and long term economic policy, geared to achieve full employment, low rates of inflation, and cyclically balanced budgets. To these I am committed. These goals will be achieved," Carter asserts.

According to Carter, "There are far more humane and economically sound solutions to curbing inflation than enforced recession, unemployment, monetary restrictions and high interest rates. Much of the inflation we have experienced was not caused by excessive demand but rather by dollar devaluations, external factors such as the increasing oil prices, and by world-wide increases in food and basic material prices. Furthermore, high interest costs, and the final dismantling of the controls program in 1974 contributed to high inflation rates."

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General

CARTER (cont.)

"We must give highest priority to achieving a steady reduction of unemployment and achieving full employment--a job for everyone who wishes one--as rapidly as possible, while reducing inflation."

Carter believes the expansionary policy he supports "can reduce unemployment without reigniting inflation, because our economy is presently performing so far under capacity."

Carter recommends that "A constant effort to battle inflation must accompany our drive for full employment," including measures to:

- "increase the productive capabilities of our economy, with increased attention to the supply side of our economy, now virtually ignored.
- "insure a steady flow of jobs and output
- "increase productivity so that growth does not become overly inflationary
- "insure a better relationship between the availability of goods and the demand for them. In the agricultural area, the federal government should assume the primary responsibility for establishing reserves of key food-stuffs in the United States
- "reform those governmental regulations, such as the rule prohibiting a truck from carrying goods on its return haul, which unnecessarily add to prices
- "strictly enforce anti-trust and consumer protection legislation and increase free market competition
- "adopt a monetary policy which encourages lower interest rates and the availability of investment capital at reasonable costs.
- "effectively monitor excessive price and wage increases in specific sectors of the economy."

(continued next page)

General

CHURCH

ABC's "Issues and
Answers"
3/21/76

Church believes that the rate of inflation can be reduced. "We rejoice over the fact that last month the price of living went up one-tenth of one percent which was better than the month before, or the two months before," he states. "...You talk about inflation getting better; it is still twice as high as normal. I don't think that the overall performance of the economy is good at all."

The drop in the inflation rate over the past year, Church says, "is a movement in the right direction, but the average rate of inflation in this country has been something like 3 percent, and this is twice as high as average. And I can remember a time when we had a stable economy with practically no inflation and full employment, and those would be the goals of a Democratic Administration."

UDALL

Udall brochure
(undated)

Udall sees many factors as having an effect on inflation and would propose a many-faceted program to deal with it. In general, he believes that an active, growing economy will help to combat inflation. "America can beat inflation by adopting a tough energy-conservation program to break the back of the international oil cartel and bring down oil company profits. We must also place effective price controls on key industries such as steel, food, utilities and prescription drugs. Lower prices and lower interest rates are possible if we get people working again through extended tax cuts, expansion of the money supply, a national jobs program, an all-out federal effort to develop new energy sources, and strong competition in the private sector."

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General

UDALL (cont.)

"Excerpts from
Candidate Interviews"
New York Times
4/2/76

"My remedy (for inflation) includes getting some competition back into our economy. I think we have to keep controls on energy prices. Turn loose the farmers is point three, and point four is, if necessary, go into a vigorous active program by the Government to hold down prices in the industries where there is no competition."

"Whose Issue is the
Economy?" Leonard
Silk, New York Times
2/25/76

Udall does not believe in the "discredited trade off" between unemployment and inflation and thinks that both stable prices and high employment are possible. He believes, however, that the "old economics could not do the job."

"Issues and Answers,"
ABC News
3/7/76

"We have to learn how to have full employment and stable prices," he asserts, "and we are going to have to do things differently and that is what we are going to be talking about in 1976."

Udall describes the present Administration's policy as "you put people out of work and you keep interest rates high and wreck the housing industry and eventually inflation will go away." He, on the other hand, is "prepared to deal directly with inflation, to put people back to work and then if we have inflation...we are going to do something directly about inflation and we will have a special program to deal with it."

Udall statement in
Boston Globe
2/26/76

This, he suggests, would include "Presidential jawboning and delay, price and wage controls if necessary, a sensible energy policy based on cutting waste and lowering costs, and direct, immediate government action to restore competition through breaking up the concentrated industries that now dominate much of the economy."

General

WALLACE

Wallace campaign sheet
March 1976

According to Wallace, "balancing the budget would help to stop inflation."

Wallace advertisement
in Tallahassee (Fla.)
Democrat
3/7/76

"Inflation is caused by runaway government spending. Deficit spending has diluted the dollar. The only answer to inflation is balance the budget. The only way is to cut out the waste, reduce welfare, stop foreign aid giveaways, and scrap all these social scheme programs that have no meaning."

Wallace campaign brochure
on "Jobs, Prices, and the
Tax Load"
(undated)

Wallace asserts. "We feel little is done to curb inflationary trends in the nation's economy merely by taking from the taxpayer in order to enrich the spending programs of big government."

"Selective and prudent reductions in the wasteful expenditures of government," Wallace says, "will be a first order of business when we take office."

* * *

CARTER

Although Carter does not think oil companies should be permitted to also own other types of energy companies such as coal, he would not ban vertical integration of oil companies, as some other Democrats have suggested. He is afraid such forced divestiture would increase consumer fuel prices.

"Democrats Mostly Agree but Stress Differ," New York Times, 2/18/76

Economic Concentration

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

FORD

State of the
Union Address
1/19/76

Ford apparently sees economic concentration as contributing to higher prices, for he says: "I have concrete plans...to foster competition and to bring prices down for the consumer. This Administration will strictly enforce the Federal antitrust laws for the same purpose."

"Ford Would Veto Bill
Against Price Fixing"
Washington Post
3/17/76

Ford is, however, reported to have announced to his staff that he opposes and will veto a bill to deter and punish price fixing and other anti-competitive practices, if it comes to his desk. The Justice Department, with the approval of the Office of Management and Budget, had expressed support for the general concept of the bill, which would permit a state attorney general to sue violators for triple damages in the federal courts.

"Ford Veto of Anti-
trust Bill Seen,"
Washington Post
3/18/76

In a letter to House Minority Leader John Rhodes, Ford said "I support vigorous antitrust enforcement, but I do not believe (the pending bill) is a responsible way to enforce federal antitrust laws."

As his reason for this decision, Ford stated, "The Administration questions whether the Congress should bypass the state legislatures and provide state attorneys general with access to the federal courts to enforce it."

CARTER

"Democrats Mostly
Agree but Stress
Differs," New York
Times, 2/18/76

Although Carter does not think oil companies should be permitted to also own other types of energy companies such as coal, he would not ban vertical integration of oil companies, as some other Democrats have suggested. He is afraid such forced divestiture would increase consumer fuel prices.

Economic Concentration

UDALL

Congressman
Morris K. Udall
on the Economy
1/23/76

Udall sees economic concentration contributing to higher prices. In addition to enforcing existing antitrust laws, he would examine the problems of each industry to determine the appropriate remedy. He would establish a Competition Review Commission for this purpose.

Speech to ABA
Conference of Bar
Presidents
Chicago, 2/21/76

"Concentration means high prices. That is a burden at any time. It is a burden we simply cannot afford at a time when spiralling inflation threatens both progress and prosperity. Concentration can also mean inefficiency, lack of innovation, and stagnation. That, too, is a burden we cannot afford."

Udall says that the answer "lies in approaching the problem industry-by-industry, determining what ails each critical sector, and prescribing the precise remedy that it requires."

Udall response to
Iowa Democratic
Party Poll
1976

According to Udall, "I have authored and introduced two major pieces of legislation designed to return competition to the American economy. One...mandates a case-by-case review of concentrated sectors of American industry...and prescribes specific remedies for each sector, including legislative divestiture, regulatory reform, new antitrust action, etc. -- whatever is necessary to restore competition to that particular industry." A second Udall bill, the Energy Industry Deconcentration Act, would "break up the horizontal and vertical integration that now exists in the energy industry."

"Udall: A Long
Campaign for
Recognition,"
Congressional
Quarterly
11/22/75

Under the latter proposal, instead of the present massive conglomerates, separate companies would explore, produce, transport, refine and market oil.

* * *

Domestic Monetary Policy

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

FORD

Text of Ford Press
Conference of
9/16/75 printed
in Congressional
Quarterly
9/20/75

Ford does not believe that the Federal Reserve Board's monetary policy should be fully responsible for combatting inflation. He sees cuts in government spending as equally important. (see Government spending profile).

"I don't think it is fair to put all of the burden in the battle against inflation on the shoulders of the Federal Reserve Board. I have repeatedly indicated that Federal fiscal policy was as important as monetary policy in the battle against inflation."

REAGAN

"Reagan's Economic
Ideas" by Hobart Rowen
Washington Post
4/20/76

Reagan believes that federal monetary policy, pressured by excessive government spending, also contributes to inflation.

"The increase in the money supply has been a part of the whole inflationary spiral. When the government can't borrow as much as it needs, then it simply increases the money supply."

"Conservative
Blueprint for
1970s, Human
Events
10/4/75

"There is no mystery about inflation. It is caused by spending money that has not yet been earned. Without the enormous pressure of a \$60 to \$80 billion deficit, the Federal Reserve System would have no mandate to pump too many dollars into the economy -- which is the ultimate cause of inflation. The federal deficit provides the chief motive for the debauching of our dollar."

To treat this aspect of inflation, Reagan would limit growth of the nation's money supply. "We must put a statutory limit on the growth of our money supply," he asserts, "so that growth does not exceed the gain in productivity. Only in this way can we be sure of returning to a strong dollar."

Domestic Monetary Policy

CARTER

Response to Common
Cause "Questions
from New Yorkers"
3/20/76

Carter believes that a tight money policy
is not the way to end inflation.

"A narrow, doctrinaire view that is to be
avoided is that inflation is purely a con-
sequence of excessive expansion of the money
supply and that the only way to deal with it,
once it has occurred is to pursue a restric-
tive monetary policy, come what may to interest
rates, employment and production."

"The policy of monetary restriction to slow
down the economy," he asserts, "was not a
sensible way to try to counteract the price
rises that occurred. There was an unneces-
sary pressure put on the housing market through
the drying up of mortgage funds, a general
scaring of the American consumer, and a set-
back to industrial capital formation."

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

Carter suggests the following changes in
the Federal Reserve:

1. "While the Federal Reserve Board should
maintain its independence from the Executive
Branch, it is important that throughout a
President's term he have a Chairman of the
Federal Reserve whose economic views are
compatible with his own.... To insure greater
compatibility between the President and the
Federal Reserve Chairman, I propose that
subject to Senate confirmation, the President
be given the power to appoint his own Chairman
of the Federal Reserve who would serve a
term coterminous with the President's."

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Domestic Monetary Policy

CARTER (cont.)

2. "To insure better planning both by government and private industry, the Federal Reserve Board through its Open Market Committee should be held responsible for stating its objectives more clearly and publicly. The Federal Reserve Board should be required to submit to Congress and the public a credit market report on past monetary conditions, together with a short-term and a year's outlook. This report, included as part of the Economic Report of the President to Congress, should be a definitive annual statement about monetary affairs. It should be the joint responsibility of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, and the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board to show in their consolidated report that their policies are mutually consistent and, if not, to demonstrate why they are not consistent."

UDALL

Congressman
Morris K. Udall
on The Economy
1/23/76

As part of his comprehensive approach to fighting inflation by getting the economy moving, Udall would expand the money supply. "Recovery demands an expanded money supply to keep interest rates down..."

Udall paper
"Economic Policy for
New England and the
Nation"
2/16/76

"We must end the anarchy of separate economic tools--particularly...monetary policy--which have been diverted to the service of powerful private interests....The Federal Reserve Board still sits in splendid isolation and frustrates or thwarts Congressional intent with impunity."

WALLACE

Wallace campaign
brochure on "Jobs,
Prices and the Tax
Load"
(undated)

Wallace sees domestic monetary policy as one tool to use in fighting inflation. He asserts that "Our administration will be dedicated to the maintenance of prosperity and price stability in our economy. We will institute a strong and anti-inflationary fiscal, monetary and debt management policy in our nation as the first requirement to solving international problems." * * *

Government Spending

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

FORD

State of the Union Address, 1/19/76 Ford believes that the key to ending inflation is to cut back government spending.

"For many Americans the way to a healthy noninflationary 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."

If this is done, Ford believes, "We can achieve a balanced budget by 1979 if we have the courage and wisdom to continue to reduce the growth of Federal spending."

Noting that his 1976 budget of \$394.2 billion would cut in half the recent average annual growth rate of the federal budget, Ford asserts that his policy has already begun to work. "The worst recession since World War II turned around in April. The best cost of living news of the past year is that double digit inflation of 12% or higher was cut almost in half."

Ford Press Conference
4/2/76

Asked whether he would support zero-based budgeting for the Federal Government, Ford responded:

"I am very interested in reducing the expenditures of the Federal Government, and if the Congress would go along with my budget for fiscal year 1977, we would cut roughly \$28 billion out of the projected Federal budget for that fiscal year. And so I am very definitely interested in reducing the growth of federal spending."

(continued next page)

Government Spending

REAGAN

Reagan mailing
11/20/75

Reagan considers government spending to be the single cause of inflation and the solution to be cutting spending and balancing the national budget. "Unless those in Washington finally learn that inflation is a result of government spending more than it takes in, we will never defeat this vicious economic enemy," he states.

"You and I have to live within a budget," Reagan asserts, "Yet our Federal Government has failed to balance its own budget for 17 consecutive years! We as a nation cannot afford to provide all things to all people either at home or abroad. Our government must begin assigning priorities and trimming when and where necessary."

"Reagan Combines Smooth
Talk, Organization in
Primary Drive,"
Chicago Daily News
2/7/76

"Balancing the budget," Reagan says, "is like protecting your virtue--you have to learn to say no."

"Conservative
Blueprint for the
1970s" by Ronald
Reagan, Human Events,
10/4/75

To reduce federal government spending, Reagan originally proposed transferring to the states authority and resources in such areas as welfare, education, housing, food stamps, Medicaid, community and regional development, and revenue sharing. This, he said, would "reduce the outlay of the federal government by more than \$90 billion, using the spending levels of Fiscal 1976."

In discussing this program more recently, he has clarified his position as follows:

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

"I still think that there are a half-dozen areas where the federal government is incompetent to run things, and these should be administered at the state and local levels. It all would have to be phased in over time."

(continued next page)

Government Spending

REAGAN (cont.)

NBC's "Meet the Press"
3/7/76

"I said the \$90 billion figure was used to illustrate the extent of the programs that I believe properly belong back with the state and local government....\$90 billion...is what they cost in the present budget."

"I also, at the same time, said two things. I said that with the transfer of those programs to the states and local governments should go a transfer of the sources of revenue presently used by the federal government. I also said that there would not be a net savings of \$90 billion because very obviously the state and local governments would be taking those same tax sources* and using them to pay for the present federal share, but I said there would be considerable savings, because, No. 1, you would get rid of a layer of administrative overhead at the Washington level and at the same time I believe the states and local governments would run those programs far more efficiently and effectively."

Reagan mailing
11/20/75

As evidence that it is possible to cut spending and balance the budget, Reagan cites his experience as Governor of California. "It can be accomplished," he says. "In California, we took over a state government that was spending a million dollars a day more than it was taking in and heading toward a bankruptcy similar to that now being faced by New York City...Against the will of an entrenched bureaucracy, we balanced the budget and returned an \$850 million surplus to the people."

Congressional
Quarterly
11/15/75

Although Reagan balanced the state budget, an analysis by Congressional Quarterly of his California record notes that, from 1967 to 1974, the total size of the state budget doubled, from \$4.6 billion to \$10.2 billion."

Government Spending

BROWN

"Interview with Gov.
Jerry Brown,"
Playboy
April 1976

"Taxes fund government programs," Brown states, "but most economists say that if we stimulate the private economy, we will generate adequate employment." Asked whether that would not also generate inflation, he replied, "It is a complex equation. If I had a specific program, I would put it forth right now. I have suggested work sharing and flat pay raises as alternatives."

CARTER

Response to
North Carolina
Common Cause
3/17/76

Carter believes that improving the federal budgeting system and reorganizing the government departments can help to combat inflation.

"I think that a strong emphasis toward comprehensive planning and carefully prepared budgets can reduce large deficits and therefore contribute to controlled inflation. We need to institute zero-based budgeting, wherein we strip down the budget each year to zero and start from scratch, and require every program that spends the taxpayer's money to rejustify itself annually. This also automatically insures the reassessment of priorities every year."

Carter response
to Iowa Democratic
Party poll
1976

"The first piece of legislation I will send to Congress will initiate a complete overhaul of our federal bureaucracy and budgeting systems. By executive order, I will require zero based budgeting for all federal departments, bureaus, and boards... The second part, as a follow up to the first, would initiate the reorganization of our federal bureaucratic structure. I believe the present 1900 federal departments can be reduced to no more than 200 with a great savings in tax money and a streamlining of services to our people."

(continued next page)

Government Spending

CARTER (cont.)

"Carter in Lake City,"
Manchester Union
Leader
1/22/76

According to Carter, balancing the federal budget "is one of my major goals." He would not, however, guarantee that it could be accomplished within a specific time. Three steps Carter would take to achieve a balanced budget are: proper budgetary techniques, reform of the bureaucracy, and using long-range methods of financing programs voted by Congress.

"Jimmy Carter on
Economics"
Business Week
5/3/76

"We can have a balanced budget by 1980 if I'm President. There is no way now to estimate benefits to be derived from top competent management of the government."

UDALL

New Hampshire Times
2/11/76

Udall does not see government spending as a problem, although he does favor cutting out government waste.

"By the only valid measure, federal spending is not increasing. In 1953, federal expenditures were 21.2% of GNP; in 1963, they were 19.3%; and in 1973 federal spending amounted to 20.4% of GNP. What is increasing is the federal deficit, and it is rising not because of rising spending or because the government is trying to do too much, but because of falling revenues--the result of bungled economic policies."

He goes on to say, "I do not believe that reducing the size of the federal government is an important issue--or that it would solve any of our difficult problems. I do believe that we should be ruthless with waste and inefficiency wherever we find it--in the Department of Defense or in HEW. I believe that agencies that have failed or outlived their original purpose should be abolished."

Government Spending

UDALL (cont.)

"Government will not work better, or the people's needs be better served, by wholesale cuts in the federal bureaucracy," Udall asserts. "Much more important will be the next president's determination to find and appoint men and women dedicated to restoring our government to the reputation for efficiency and service for which it was renowned only 30 years ago."

Udall paper,
"Economic Policy for
New England and the
Nation"
2/16/76

"We must budget for full use of our capacity and for the accomplishment of our national policy objectives through vigorous government investment, not retrenchment. The size of the federal budget and the nominal growth rate of the national debt are important--but of secondary importance. Let us remember that while plunging the economy into recession, the last two Republican Administrations managed to accumulate in just eight years a debt nearly equal to that accumulated in all the 192 years before."

WALLACE

Wallace campaign
brochure, "Economic
Survival for America"
(undated)

Wallace attributes inflation to excessive government spending and sees a balanced budget as one remedy. "The cause of inflation is clear. When government spends more than it takes in, it weakens the value of the dollar. We have to get to the task of solvent government if we are to heal the cause of inflation."

Wallace campaign
brochure on "Jobs,
Prices and the Tax
Load,"
(undated)

Asserting that "Fiscal sanity must be restored," Wallace states, "We commit to the American people a return to fiscal responsibility and a conscientious and diligent effort toward a balancing of the Federal budget, now operating at a record deficit, and a reduction of the huge national debt with which the nation is burdened."

Wallace says that he "will take immediate, affirmative steps to bring these conditions to an end through selective decreases in the lavish expenditures of our federal government and through the institution of efficiency into the operation of the machinery of government, so badly plagued with duplication, overlapping and excesses in employment and programs." * * *

Government Regulation

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

FORD

State of the
Union Address
1/19/76

Ford recommends regulatory reforms to end the waste of "literally millions of working hours costing billions of consumers' dollars because of bureaucratic red tape."

Ford cites the farmer as an example of a segment of the American economy that can produce effectively "without the shackles of Government control." The segments of the economy in which he recommends regulatory reforms include airlines, trucking, railroads, and financial institutions. "I have concrete plans in each of these areas," he asserts, "not to help this or that industry, but to foster competition and to bring prices down for the consumer."

REAGAN

"Conservative
Blueprint for
the 1970s"
by Ronald Reagan,
Human Events
10/4/75

Reagan believes that regulatory reform can contribute to ending inflation: "By saddling our economy with an ever-greater burden of controls and regulations, it (the centralizing approach to government) 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."

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

"Interview with
Ronald Reagan:
Reducing Washing-
ton's Role,"
Business Week
2/9/76

He does, however, recognize the roadblocks business can be expected to place in the way of such reforms. "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 the competition from having too easy a time getting in. They've got to believe in the marketplace, too."

Government Regulation

BROWN

"Interview with Gov.
Jerry Brown"
Playboy
April 1976

Asked whether he would cut back on government regulation of large corporations, Brown responded, "No. I would like to make the regulators more independent of corporate influence and I would question how big corporations really have to be in order to serve the economy."

CARTER

Congressional
Quarterly
11/29/75

Congressional Quarterly reports that Carter supports restructuring the regulatory agencies.

UDALL

"The Future of
AntiTrust" from
Congressional
Record
2/26/75

Udall blames regulatory practices by three government agencies for fixing prices and keeping prices high. "Transportation economists," he notes, "estimate that price fixing and waste allowed by the three regulatory agencies in this field -- the CAB, the ICC, and the Maritime Commission -- cost consumers between \$8 and \$16 billion a year."

Udall believes that "We need to limit the authority of the regulatory agencies -- to get them out of the business of regulating competition -- whenever and wherever possible."

Udall would abolish the ICC, because its original function has long since ceased to exist and it now stands "firmly and steadfastly -- in the way of competition." He would also end the CAB's authority to set fares and restrict routes. He would let competition set fares instead.

Government Regulation

WALLACE

Wallace campaign brochure on "Economic Survival for America" (undated)

Wallace sees excessive government regulation as a problem and advocates a return to the free enterprise system.

"We must allow the free enterprise system to work," he asserts. "Stifling of the free enterprise system by bureaucrats and others contributes to a poor economy. Red tape, unnecessary restrictions, and constant interference in all phases of business by bureaucrats have played havoc with trust and confidence in the business community."

He believes that "We must allow the free enterprise system to take back functions of the government that were taken away from free enterprise."

Wallace campaign brochure on "Jobs, Prices and the Tax Load" (undated)

According to Wallace, "As a first step the nation's business, industry and other agencies and organizations of production must be freed from the ever increasing intrusions of government."

"We will enforce those laws designed to protect the consumer and wage earner," he asserts, "but will eliminate those programs and agencies serving only to harrass and intimidate our business community."

CARTER

Carter sees wage and price controls as a tool to be used only when absolutely necessary.

"While I oppose across-the-board permanent wage and price controls," he states, "I favor standby controls which the President can apply selectively. I do not presently see the need for the use of such standby authority."

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

Wage and Price Controls

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

FORD

Text of Ford Press
Conference of
9/16/75 printed
in Congressional
Quarterly
9/20/75

Ford is firmly opposed to wage and price controls because he does not believe they work. He also believes they can have detrimental effects on the economy.

"I would like to reiterate my firm opposition to wage and price controls." "We do have a wage-price council that has on some occasions investigated price increases and, on several occasions, have been helpful in trying to get a moderation of a price increase, but I do not believe on the basis of past history of wage and price controls during peacetime that they worked."

Ford adds that, because he thinks controls would have "long-range detrimental repercussions," he is opposed to them. "I think there are better remedies."

REAGAN

"Interview with
Ronald Reagan:
Reducing Washing-
ton's Role,"
Business Week
2/9/76

Reagan does not favor wage and price controls because he believes they do not work. He does, however, think that jawboning and other means of persuasion can be helpful. In general, he supports the carrot and stick approach, offering business and labor something they want in return for limiting their wage and price demands.

"Well, I'm against wage and price controls. They've never worked. They didn't work when Hammurabi tried them, and they didn't work for Diocletian. They didn't work for anybody else who tried them..."

CARTER

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

Carter sees wage and price controls as a tool to be used only when absolutely necessary.

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Wage and Price Controls

UDALL

Udall brochure
(undated)

Udall believes that some effort must be made to control prices as one means of combating inflation. "We must...place effective price controls on key industries such as steel, food, utilities and prescription drugs."

"Don't Bury Udall
Yet" by
Robert Healy
Boston Globe
1/21/76

To lower prices Udall would use jawboning and even price regulation in certain concentrated industries. "I don't like price fixing but if prices are going to be fixed in this country, then it is better that they be done by the people than by the Shah of Iran and seven oil companies."

ABC's "Issues
and Answers"
3/7/76

In discussing the possibility of price controls, Udall said, "I am not talking about barber shops and beauty shops and every little corner store. I am talking about these two or three hundred giant corporations that preach competition and run full-page ads and wouldn't recognize it if they saw it at high noon on Wall Street. I am talking about a very small staff that can control prices and do something for the consumer in this whole administered price field."

WALLACE

Wallace campaign
brochure on "Jobs,
Prices and the Tax
Load"
(undated)

Wallace does not support use of wage and price controls, because he thinks they do not work. "Efforts at control of wages and prices has proven ineffective. Prices continue upward in a never ending spiral, while wages fail to keep pace."

Wallace campaign sheet
March 1976

According to Wallace, "We propose to rely heavily upon a competitive market structure rather than upon prices administered or fixed by bureaucratic procedures."

"I believe wage and price controls should be used only as a last resort," he asserts. "Profiteers should be put behind bars. The best wage and price control is to get our economy moving again."

Food Prices

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

FORD

Ford speech, Ft. Myers
Florida, 2/14/76

Ford sees increased farm productivity as one way to slow the rise in food prices and blames the "middleman" for much of that rise.

"It is true that in 1973, just about the time we had the oil embargo, food prices soared. In the meantime, the farmers of this country have really turned to, and last year we had an all time record of wheat production, an all time record of corn production, and the net result is that instead of the increase in food prices of 15 to 20 percent in 1973, they are down now to an annual rate of about four to five percent. That is still too high.

"But I can tell you that the farmers are producing. Our big problem--let's be frank about it--it is the middleman profit. The farmer doesn't get it and the consumer doesn't get it, and one of the jobs that the Department of Justice must do, the Federal Trade Commission must do, and others, is to find out why there is such an abnormally high differential between what the farmer gets and what the consumer pays, and we are going to go after it."

CARTER

Common Cause
"Iowa Asks"
response
2/1/76

Carter blames high food prices on national agricultural policies. He believes that concern for the consumer and the family farmer, coupled with national reserves of agricultural products, would help to stabilize food prices.

"The United States is the greatest agricultural producer in the world. Yet we now find ourselves in the ridiculous position of seeing the family farmer going broke trying to produce food the consumer cannot afford to buy."

Food Prices

CARTER (cont.)

"A first requirement is a Secretary of Agriculture who is inclined towards stability, predictability and honest concern for the needs of family farmers and consumers. This has not been the case in recent years under Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz whose orientation is toward grain speculators and food processors."

"We need a national food policy that will assure the consumer abundance of supply at prices he or she can afford and will avoid the shortages that drive prices higher. Such a policy can also assure farmers that they can produce abundantly at a fair price to them. We can do both, if we have national leadership dedicated to the interests of the people."

Carter response to Iowa Democratic Party poll 1976

Carter believes "We should maintain a predictable, reasonably small and stable reserve of agricultural products. ...This carefully managed reserve would support farm incomes when prices are low, help avoid boosts to the inflationary spiral, provide assurance of supplies to our foreign customers and facilitate a regular flow of food aid.... We must strive to give farmers incentives to produce abundantly."

"Jimmy Carter on Economics" Business Week 5/3/76

Defending his position on price supports, Carter asserts, "If you establish price supports for domestic crops equivalent to production costs, I don't consider that inflationary. The inflationary aspect comes in when you have wild fluctuations in price."

CHURCH

Church campaign piece, "Frank Church's Record on the Issues" March 1976

According to his campaign literature, Church "has strongly supported efforts to keep America's family farms viable and the bulk of agriculture out of the hands of giant corporations."

He has "sponsored legislation to update inheritance tax provisions with the goal of maintaining the integrity of small family-owned and operated farm and business operations."

Food Prices

UDALL

Udall literature, "The High Cost of Everything and What We Can Do about It" (undated) Udall believes that economic concentration in the food industry contributes to high food prices that are not connected to shortages or increased demand. As a solution, he would devise specific remedies to restore competition to such concentrated industries as food marketing.

Udall response to Iowa Democratic poll, 1976 Udall would also seek to stabilize food prices by establishing government grain reserves, encouraging family farms through amendments to the estate tax, and cutting down "the share of the food dollar that now goes to middlemen and supermarket chains where the competition is a thing of the past."

Common Cause "Iowa Asks" response 2/1/76 "Food prices have shot up 35% in the last two years, severely hurting consumers. At the same time many farmers--particularly beef and dairy producers--are facing ruin. Why? Part of the answer is that more than two-thirds of the American food dollar now goes to middlemen and supermarket chains where competition is a thing of the past."

Common Cause "Iowa Asks" response 2/1/76 Udall also believes in full farm production with federal government protection for farmers against the dangers of excess production. "This means that when good weather cooperates and production outruns demand, guaranteed floors should be provided through non-recourse loans, increased target prices or other means as appropriate for different commodities."

Udall also expresses concern for the consumer. "Similarly, consumers both here and abroad should be protected against exploding prices and nutritional disaster in the event of food shortages. This means that reserves of basic food and fiber commodities should be maintained to assure adequate supplies."

"I believe that the policies outlined above, and the appointment of a Secretary of Agriculture who cares more about the welfare of farmers than the profits of agribusiness, will hold down consumer prices and re-establish the natural alliance between farmers and consumers."

Food Prices

WALLACE

Wallace campaign
brochure on "U.S. Food
and Agriculture Policy"
(undated)

Wallace believes that "U.S. consumers should be protected from serious food scarcities. If a cheap food policy is to be encouraged, the burden should be shared equally by all."

He recommends increasing farm productivity and would take the following steps: improve loan programs to farmers, establish a national food strategy that would encourage abundant agricultural production, encourage stable prices to producers; double U.S. agricultural research to help U.S. farmers double their present efficiency, and encourage food exports.

Wallace asserts that "It is only through increased productivity that American consumers can continue to be fed at a reasonable price. For without abundant production and export sales, we can't have reasonable domestic supplies and reasonable prices for the American consumer."

Wallace also expresses concern for the farmer. "The American public can't and no longer does expect this nation's farmers to subsidize it. For decades, farmers have operated at subsistence levels. But the American farmer has to make a living and realize a profit just as does any businessman. Bread went up 11 cents a loaf over the past three years but wheat prices from the farm added only 1½ cents per loaf. Non-farm costs added more than 9 cents."

* * *

Issue Profile #5

JOBS & UNEMPLOYMENT

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Introduction

JOBS AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Public Service-Guaranteed Jobs/Incentives for Private Sector Jobs
Labor Issues/Minority-Youth Employment/Job Training
Structural Unemployment/Unemployment Benefits

With the national unemployment rate at 7.8% in January 1976, jobs are a major issue in the Presidential campaign. A February 1 Gallup Poll reported that 23% of the respondents listed unemployment as the nation's top problem--second only to inflation.

In outlining Presidential candidates' views on jobs and unemployment, Common Cause has used the following categories:

Overview - The candidates' general approach to the jobs and unemployment issue, including views on broad economic principles, such as the employment-inflation tradeoff, the role of monetary policy and economic growth.

Public Service/Guaranteed Jobs - Candidate positions on public service jobs (including the numbers and types of such jobs) and the concept of an enforceable right to a job. Where available candidate positions are given on the Humphrey-Hawkins Equal Opportunity and Full Employment Act, the \$5.3 billion Emergency Employment Act (H. R. 4481) vetoed by President Ford in 1975, and the \$6.1 billion Public Works Employment Act of 1975 (H. R. 5247) vetoed by President Ford in February.

Incentives for Private Sector Jobs - Candidate proposals designed to stimulate employment in the private sector, including tax preferences, tax credits, federal matching money and investment incentives.

Labor Issues - Business-union issues, including collective bargaining, right to work, occupational health and safety and minimum wage. Where available, candidate positions are given on the Common Situs Picketing Bill (H.R. 5900) vetoed by President Ford in January.

Minority/Youth Employment - Candidate proposals to increase employment opportunities for minorities and youth. Topics include affirmative action programs, public service jobs, job training and minimum wage.

Job Training - Candidate proposals for manpower training, vocational training and incentives for private sector job training.

Structural Unemployment - Candidate proposals to deal with employment problems related to long-term shifts in the economy, including proposals for economic conversion and matching jobs with the unemployed in different trades and geographical areas.

Unemployment Benefits - Candidate proposals to change the amount and duration of unemployment benefits.

* * *

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

Jobs & Unemployment: Overview

FORD

State of the
Union
1/19/76

"My first objective is to have sound economic growth without inflation."

Washington Post
5/2/76

"Since March of last year, we have had a steady increase in jobs and a downward trend in the unemployment rate."

New York Times
4/27/76

"If Congress has its way, there is every reason to expect that our present recovery will be followed by a new round of inflation and then another recession, with higher unemployment in the same roller coaster pattern of the postwar years."

Ford Campaign
Handout

"President Ford's primary goal has been to increase job opportunities in your home town. The President realizes that short-term public employment programs often postpone the real solution of the unemployment problems. Therefore, President Ford has directed his efforts towards curbing inflation and stimulating private industry, aiming for longer-term, more permanent results. As a result, the newly created jobs provide better income and are more lasting than temporary public service jobs."

Washington Post
1/22/76

The administration's forecast is that unemployment--8.3 percent last month--will drift down to average 7.7 percent this year and 6.9 percent in calendar 1977 under the influence of the President's budget. The anticipated inflation rate is about 6 percent both years.

Washington Post
2/1/76

In a speech to Republican leaders from 13 Midwestern states Ford stated: "It is true that what I am proposing is not going to get the unemployed back to work overnight. But it will get them back to work, with lasting and secure jobs--not dead-end jobs supported by the government...One cannot promise full employment overnight, and I hope nobody does in the upcoming debate, because it is a cruel illusion."

Jobs & Unemployment: Overview

Ford (continued)

Veto Message
2/13/76

"My proposed economic policies are expected to foster the creation of 2 to 2.5 million new private sector jobs in 1976 and more than 2 million additional jobs in 1977. These will be lasting, productive jobs, not temporary jobs payrolled by the American taxpayer.

"This is a policy of balance, realism, and common sense. It is an honest policy which does not promise a quick fix."

St. Petersburg Times, 2/19/76

"When I became President, we had over 12 per cent inflation, we were on the brink of a serious recession with unemployment going up and employment going down. In the 18 months I have been President, we have cut inflation in half...and it's going down.

"At the same time, since March of last year, we have had a steady increase in jobs and a downward trend in the unemployment rate. I am very proud of the fact that we didn't panic. We were able to convince the American people that our policies were the right ones, and they have produced results."

REAGAN

Reagan Speech,
"Let the People Rule," Chicago
9/26/75

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

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

"It's like a long illness. You can treat that illness by just trying to ease the pain, or you can get at the cure of the disease, and not have the pain any more. In the meantime, naturally there's going to be some suffering. But I think our problem has been that unemployment becomes so political, politically unpopular, that we turn to palliatives, turn to fighting that, fighting the recession, fighting the unemployment--and, in so doing, put ourselves back on the same inflationary spiral that caused it in the first place."

Jobs & Unemployment: Overview

Reagan (continued)

U. S. News &
World Report
3/1/76

"The only answer of any duration to unemployment or recession is going to be elimination of inflation. To do this, the marketplace is the best place to provide jobs...Inflation has one cause and one cause only: Government spending more than Government takes in. There is only one answer: a balanced budget."

NBC's Meet the
Press 3/7/76

"I disagree with the idea that prosperity is evidently at hand. I know that just recently some figures have been released to indicate that possibly the cost-of-living is going down and that unemployment is dropping and so forth, at the same time that some areas of the country, particularly in the northeast, have seen an increase in tens and tens of thousands of unemployed.

"Isn't it possible that we are much in the same position we were at the time of the so-called Nixon recession? In 1970, the bi-election that year found the Republican Party suffering because we were in a recession. We had unemployment of about six or seven percent, and we had inflation of about six and a fraction percent, and then, with the 1972 election coming on they started emergency measures, anti-recession measures, not righting the original cause of all of this, which is the inflation. They brought inflation down to 2.4 percent; they brought unemployment down; and everyone went into the '72 election and the campaign year talking prosperity and business upsurge. Then in 1973 the roof fell in. Only this time inflation was 12 percent and unemployment was ten percent.

"I fear very much that we may be in exactly the same position. We have been resorting to recession emergency measures. Nothing has been done yet to fight the real cause of this, which is inflation.

"When the roof falls in again, after the '76 election, as a result of this, is it going to double again? Is this time the inflation going to be 25 percent? Is the unemployment going to be double the ten percent that we had the last time?"

Jobs & Unemployment: Overview

BROWN

New York Times
3/14/76

Brown has said that the two biggest issues facing the nation are "full employment and the husbanding of limited resources."

Washington Star
4/28/76

"The fact is this country is being pulled apart because men and women are unable to find a decent job. Certainly I want the private sector to provide that. If it can't, the government has to intervene in a way that makes that possible. Democracy can't survive with increasing numbers of people having no constructive role, having no possible way of making their contribution. No civilization can stand on that kind of basis. That kind of commitment to full employment is a necessity. It's critical."

CARTER

Carter Interview
Business Week
3/3/76

Q: What is your priority for the U.S. in economics?
A: I think the major priority of the next Administration has got to be employment. My own belief is that we can get the adult unemployment rate down to 3%, or the overall rate down to 4.5%, without any adverse effect on inflation.

Carter Position
Paper: The Economy
1/76

- "(1) We must develop a sensible, steady, fair, humane, well-coordinated national economic policy...
- "(2) We must give highest priority to achieving a steady reduction of unemployment and achieving full employment -- a job for everyone who wishes one -- as rapidly as possible, while reducing inflation.
- "(3) We must insure a better coordination between fiscal and monetary policy and insure a closer working relationship between the Executive Branch and the Federal Reserve Board.
- "(4) Given the present state of the economy, we must pursue an expansionary fiscal and monetary program in the near future, with some budget deficits if necessary, to reduce unemployment more rapidly. But with a progressively managed economy we can attain a balanced budget within the context of full employment by 1979, prior to the end of the first term of my Administration...

Jobs & Unemployment: Overview

Carter (continued)

"(5) We need better economic coordination and planning through an expanded role for the Council of Economic Advisors, to aid government, business, and industry in making intelligent decisions."

"A constant effort to battle inflation must accompany our drive for full employment."

League of Women
Voters forum
Boston
(NYT 2/25/76)

"I'd put my emphasis on employment and take my chances on inflation."

ABC's Issues and
Answers
2/22/76

"I think the major thrust ought to be the strengthening of the private sector, not guaranteeing everybody they will get a job from the federal government. The only ones that I see that can pay salaries in the federal government are the ones who are working outside the federal government. But there are a lot of things that our government can do to inspire job opportunities in the private sector. One would be the research and development allocation of funds to a new industry like solar industry.

"Another would be to recognize when we spend \$1 million on things to give our people a better quality of life, like health, education, day care centers, recreation, railroad repair, rapid transit systems, pollution control, we provide almost a million dollars worth of jobs either private or public money.

"If we spend the same million dollars on another atomic bomb, we don't get very many jobs.

"Another thing to do is to change the federal bureaucracy which is now so horribly bloated, confused, overlapping and wasteful."

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

"The idea that an end to unemployment automatically means a period of increasing inflation is, in our opinion and that of a growing number of economists, a myth.

"In order to reduce inflation and strive for a more controllable budget the single domestic economic thrust should be toward employment."

Jobs & Unemployment: Overview

CHURCH

Frank Church's
Record on the
Issues, 3/76

"What this country needs is not more welfare. We need more work."

Church response to
Iowa Democratic
Party Poll, 1976

In response to the question "What do you think is the most important need in America today?" Church answered: "The restoration of public confidence in the integrity of the federal government and work for the unemployed. In short--justice and jobs."

Church Brochure
4/76

"After twenty years in the United States Senate, he knows what could be done--and what isn't being done--to reverse the trend of the past few decades. A trend which is increasingly leading to a type of domestic economy and a dual set of standards which is producing accelerated urbanization, leaving--in the midst of affluence--a hard pressed middle class, large pockets of poverty-stricken people, electoral and social dropouts, an army of the unemployed, and a growing number of unemployables.

"The United States--the wealthiest country in the world--has the largest unemployment rate of any industrial country in the world, while large corporations and the multinationals are gobbling up independent corporations at an alarming rate, more and more power is being concentrated into fewer and fewer hands, with complete indifference for domestic needs.

"Unemployment with its deprivations, loss of dignity, purchasing power, and tax revenue is causing mass migration into the cities--burdening them with crushing costs of public relief programs--poisoning the large urban centers and making them unmanageable."

ABC's Issues and
Answers
3/21/76

"The Ford Administration projects 5 percent unemployment for the rest of the decade. That is nonsense. We don't have to have that. And you talk about inflation getting better; it is still twice as high as normal. I don't think that the overall performance of the economy is good at all."

Jobs & Unemployment: Overview

Church (continued)

Church Speech to
Mass. labor leaders
Boston Globe
1/17/76

In regard to multinational corporations: "There is no bigger issue in this campaign, and labor should insist that candidates declare themselves on it... We have been losing jobs at the rate of 120,000 to 180,000 a year and the effect is cumulative... We know the multinationals own the current Administration, but labor should make sure they don't own the next one."

Church Announce-
ment Speech, Idaho
City, 3/18/76

"If big businesses wish to invest in foreign lands, where labor is cheap and special arrangements can be made with the host government--even by bribes and pay-offs of the kind exposed by my recent investigations--I say let them do it at their own risk. We need their investment here--to provide jobs for American workers and to speed the recovery of our own economy. The time has come for us to stop paying them to leave!"

UDALL

Udall Issue Paper
12/75

"I believe that full employment is the key to steady, balanced economic growth and an end to poverty and discrimination. I believe that under proper economic management full employment can be achieved soon, and without inflation."

Congressional
Quarterly, 3/6/76

"The first priority of a Udall administration will be jobs. We need a frontal attack on unemployment and a legislative mandate to create the machinery that will fulfill the goal of full employment set 30 years ago. This is not an impossible dream... We can begin by enacting the Humphrey-Hawkins bill."

ABC's Issues and
Answers, 2/22/76

"The President has a big stamp that says "No", every time we create some jobs he vetos, and most of the time he gets by with it. I will tell you what I wouldn't do. The old economics isn't working any more. Reagan and Ford and these people really believe the only way you are going to get back to full employment is to keep interest rates high that have wrecked the housing and construction industry, keep people out of work, and eventually you blow up the balloon and inflation will recede a little bit,

Udall (continued) .

and people will go back to work. They don't even have a program in this decade for full employment.

"I have been working with Senator Humphrey and Congressman Hawkins in H.R.50, the Full Employment Act, and it is going to cost some money, but we are going to put people back to work. People in this country who want to work are going to have jobs. And that Act is a little bit complicated and it costs some money and that's why I am not in favor of tax cuts.

"We have got to have that money. The old business of cutting taxes every time, the economy slows down. We don't have the money to cut any more. This bill works on three levels - on the federal level, a set of policies have been discussed here for housing, railroads and the help that will put people to work. Full employment councils in every community. Look around. Get people to work in your community and see how you can help an employer to put 100 more people to work, and job training programs and all of the rest. And at the bottom, instead of leaving people on welfare and unemployment compensation, we are going to have a standby job corps and an urban conservation corps, where young people in their own communities doing things to make communities better. We don't let them starve now, 8 million people out of work, we provide benefits for them. A few more dollars will put them to work."

...

"The old economics of the 1960's aren't working any more. You deal with employment directly and don't wait to pump up the balloon and get employment. You deal with these concentrated industries and monopolies; you deal with health care where costs are doubling every eight years and get some cost controls and you would control inflation directly, that's the way you go at it."

Udall (continued)

Udall Press
Release
Undated

"The fact is that we are fighting inflation with the bodies of the unemployed - men and women drafted for selected sacrifice to the misguided policies of Wall Street and the tight money men of the Federal Reserve Board. It's too high a price to pay."

ABC's Issues and
Answers, 3/7/76

"We are going to have jobs for Americans who want to work, and we are not going to play around with numbers and tell people how comforting it is that it is 7.5 percent instead of 9. It ought to be down around 3, and it ought to be down there in two or three years."

WALLACE

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

"The priority problems, of course, are the matter of presenting programs that would deal-- insofar as government ought to deal -- with the matter of inflation and unemployment."

"Frankly, I think that we must have a reformation of the tax structure in the country... so as to relieve the middle class of the heavy burden of federal taxes so that they can then spend their money, instead of the government giving it away to some country in which it brings no tangible return to the United States. And if the average mass citizen, who are made up in the millions, could keep the several billions of dollars that they ought to keep, they would spend it for consumer goods, which, in my judgment, would be...one of the ways to attack the unemployment problem."

Materials prepared
for Common Cause
3/19/76--

"Unemployment must be resolved by tax incentives in businesses and through government supported job programs."

Advertisement Paid
for by The Wallace
Campaign
Tallahassee (Fla.)
Democrat, 3/7/76

"I support government sponsored and free enterprise programs to get our jobless back to work. The jobless want a paycheck, not a handout. It's about time Washington recognized this fact. If we are to have a stable economic recovery, we must have full employment. Our working people must not be allowed to suffer because of more Washington blundering on this matter."

Public Service/Guaranteed Jobs

FORD

State of the
Union
1/19/76

"One test of a healthy economy is a job for every American who wants to work.

"Government--our kind of government--cannot create that many jobs. But the Federal Government can create conditions and incentives for private business and industry to make more and more jobs."

Boston Globe
1/28/76

The Ford Administration, in its fiscal 1977 budget, proposes to reduce the number of public service jobs from the current level of 320,000 to about 40,000 by September 1977.

Washington Star
9/5/75

The President said the government has been offering too many jobs in recent years. "The result has been the creation of a bureaucracy that contributes little to America's prosperity and productivity--it just shares in it," he said.

} question #3-

Washington Post
2/1/76

In a speech to Republican Party leaders from 13 Midwestern states, Ford attacked proposals for what he called "another quick fix public-jobs program."

Veto Message
5/28/75

President Ford vetoed the \$5.3 billion Emergency Employment Appropriation Act (H.R.4481). In his veto message, Ford stated that the bill authorized spending \$3.3 billion above his budget request.

Veto Message
2/13/76

President Ford vetoed the \$6.1 billion Public Works Employment Act of 1975 (H.R.5247). In his veto message, Ford explained:

"The truth is that this bill would do little to create jobs for the unemployed. Moreover, the bill has so many deficiencies and undesirable provisions that it would do more harm than good. While it is represented as the solution to our unemployment problems, in fact it is little more than an election year pork barrel. Careful examination reveals the serious deficiencies in H.R.5247."

Congressional
Quarterly, 2/21/76

Ford has endorsed legislation to authorize \$780 million for one year for areas of high unemployment.

Public Service/Guaranteed Jobs

Ford (continued)

New York Times
4/27/76

Ford opposes the Humphrey-Hawkins bill which he has described "a vast election year boondoggle." Ford asks: "How much all this would cost, how long such public payroll jobs would continue, what the added inflationary impact would be, really defies rational calculation...the law would get the Federal government deeper and deeper into social and economic planning on a national scale unprecedented in all our history."

St. Petersburg Times
2/19/76

"If we pile onto the federal spending all kinds of quick-fix, election-year, so-called job bills, we're going to add to the federal deficit. The federal deficit is too high already. Any additions to it would absolutely re-ignite the inflationary problems we have had. What we are trying to do is to keep a responsible handle on the federal deficit leading to a balanced budget in three years in order to control inflation."

REAGAN

Reagan Interview
Business Week
2/9/76

"My quarrel is with the creation of jobs at the government level. I don't think anyone has ever explored the idea of stimulating employment in the private sector."

Orlando Sentinel
2/15/76

Regarding President Ford's veto of the \$6.1 billion Public Works Employment Act of 1975, Reagan said: "I would have vetoed the public works bill, too. Congress is trying to solve the problem of unemployment the way it always has--by spending money. The \$6 billion for the public works bill would be better spent in tax incentives to business and industry to hire more people."

Washington Post
4/20/76

Reagan opposes the Humphrey-Hawkins bill.

Public Service/Guaranteed Jobs

BROWN

Baltimore Sun
5/3/76

"I think the federal government has to make a commitment to full employment...We really don't have much of a choice. Full employment would begin, as a first step, with the Humphrey-Hawkins bill. I think a national public service jobs program for young people is another. We have to provide an opportunity for work, for discipline, for contributing to the society."

Washington Star
5/2/76

On the Humphrey-Hawkins bill: "We should work toward it. I think we have to set the country on record as to full employment." Brown said that he thinks Congress would have to pass some form of restraints, such as wage-price controls, if the bill became law and generated more inflationary pressure.

Washington Star
5/1/76

Brown would create a domestic peace corps to create jobs.

CARTER

Carter Position
Paper: The Economy
4/76

"To supplement our effort to have private industry play a greater role, the federal government has an obligation to provide funds for useful and productive public employment of those whom private business cannot or will not hire. Therefore we should:

--create meaningful public jobs in the cities and neighborhoods of the unemployed adjusted to solving our national needs in construction, repair, maintenance, and rehabilitation of facilities such as railroad roadbeds, housing and the environment.

--improve manpower training and vocational education programs to increase the employability of the hard-core unemployed.

--provide 800,000 summer youth jobs.

--pass an accelerated public works program targeted to areas of specific national needs.

--double the CETA (Comprehensive Educational Training Act) program from 300,000 to 600,000 jobs, and provide counter-cyclical aid to cities with high unemployment.

--develop more efficient employment services to provide better job counseling and to match openings to individuals, and consider establishment of special Youth Employment Services especially geared to finding jobs for our young people. "

Boston Globe
4/17/76

Carter has endorsed the Humphrey-Hawkins bill.

Public Service/Guaranteed Jobs

Carter (continued)

Carter Interview
Business Week
7/3/76

Q: You recently endorsed the Humphrey Hawkins full employment bill. Why did you wait so long?
A: I didn't approve of it the way it was originally written. With a mandatory total unemployment goal of 3%, taking in all age groups, most of my economic advisers thought that would mean double-digit inflation. And although in its original form the bill professed to make the government the employer of last resort, in effect it placed the government almost as an employer of first resort.

ABC's Issues and
Answers, 2/22/76

"In certain categories I would provide direct federal assistance. For instance, if an industry has to lay off ten per cent of its workers, we might have it employ one hundred per cent of the workers for a shorter work week and let the federal government share the extra expense. In some areas of high unemployment, young people, where the unemployment is 20 or 25 percent, black young people make 40, 45 percent, there a direct job opportunity program from the federal government would be a very advantageous thing."

Congressional
Quarterly
3/6/76

"As a last resort, public employment jobs need to be created similar to the CCC and the WPA during the depression years, particularly for young Americans who have an extremely high unemployment rate--in excess of 40 per cent for black young people."

Carter Answer to
New York/Common
Cause Questionnaire
3/20/76

"For areas and groups afflicted by acute unemployment, I favor federally created jobs. According to a recent M.I.T. study, the cost would be only slightly higher than existing relief programs. The benefits in additional national productivity, taxes paid, and human dignity would be enormous."

New York Times
2/18/76

"I don't think the Federal Government ought to be the major place for people to go to get jobs when they're out of work."

Manchester (N. H.)
Union Leader
12/8/75

"Government should be the employer of the last resort. There are many things it can do to create jobs without having to go to the Humphrey-Hawkins bill for full employment."

New York Times
12/26/75

Carter would offer public service jobs to welfare recipients unable to find any work.

Public Service/Guaranteed Jobs

CHURCH

Congressional
Record, 2/19/76

Voted to override the President's veto of the \$6.1 billion Public Works Employment Act of 1975 (H.R. 5247).

Congressional
Record, 4/25/75

Voted for the \$5.3 billion Emergency Employment Appropriation Act subsequently vetoed by the President.

Church response to
Iowa Democratic
Party Poll, 1976

Church responded "Yes" to the question "Do you support a guaranteed job for every American able to work, with the Government as the employer of last resort?"

ABC's Issues and
Answers
3/21/76

Q: You have been goading the other Democratic candidates about not addressing themselves to critical domestic issues such as unemployment. There has been in recent days a coalescing of Democratic candidates around Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill, so-called, that is aimed at reducing unemployment to three percent over the next four years. First, do you support that?

A: Of course I support that bill. When unemployment benefits are exhausted I think we should be providing work, not welfare. But I don't think it is any long-term solution, because we don't want the government in the role of permanent--of providing permanent jobs. When it is necessary, yes, I support the bill. But let's get to the root of why it is in this country that we have a higher rate of unemployment, twice as high as that of any other industrial nation. Let's get to the root of the problem, let's talk about the causes. Then we can bring free enterprise back, rejuvenate the economy in such a way that the private sector can furnish the jobs instead of the taxpayer.

Congressional Record
4/14/76

Church sponsored an amendment to provide \$55.9 million for the Title IX Older American Community Service Employment program. He points out:

"Under existing manpower programs, the needs of older workers have been largely overlooked or ignored. Persons 55 or older, for example, account for only about 3 percent of all participants in the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act public service jobs and training programs. Yet, they

Public Service/Guaranteed Jobs

Church (continued)

represent almost 10 percent of the total unemployment, 15 percent of the long-term joblessness (15 weeks or longer), and 16 percent of the very long-term unemployment (27 weeks or longer).

"Title IX, however, provides a jobs program tailor-made for the needs of low-income persons 55 or older.

"It also offers a dignified way for the elderly poor to work their way out of poverty while helping others in their communities at the same time.

"Older persons do not want a handout. But those who are able to do want an opportunity to move off the unemployment rolls and on to the payrolls.

"Many elderly persons--particularly those struggling on limited incomes--need to work to supplement their Social Security.

"For many older Americans, Title IX provides a new and rewarding second career."

UDALL

Udall Campaign
brochure

"There are things which desperately need doing in this country. And there are people desperately looking for things to do. It is sound economics to guarantee that every American who wants a job can get one. Unemployment now costs the American people \$50 billion a year in additional welfare and lost taxes. The Udall Administration will use that money to put the unemployed to work; in health and child care, rebuilding the railroads, recycling materials, constructing and rehabilitating housing, in solid waste management, and in home care for the aged."

Congressional Record
6/4/75

Voted to override the President's veto of the \$5.3 billion Emergency Employment Appropriations Act.

Congressional Record
2/19/76

Voted to override the President's veto of the \$6.1 billion Public Works Employment Act of 1975 (H.R. 5247).

Public Service/Guaranteed Jobs

Udall (continued)

Washington Star
1/12/76

Udall would like to see \$10 billion spent for one million public service jobs "right now" (rebuilding railroad beds).

ABC's Issues and
Answers, 2/22/76

"I have been working with Senator Humphrey and Congressman Hawkins in H.R.50, the Full Employment Act, and it is going to cost some money, but we are going to put people back to work. People in this country who want to work are going to have jobs. And that Act is a little bit complicated and it costs some money and that's why I am not in favor of tax cuts."

"The Full Employment Act can guarantee that within two years you go from eight million unemployed down to three million unemployed and it can be done and it can be financed and it can be paid for and we will be better off and this Republican dogma that we have just got to sit there and maybe some day ten years from now people are going to have jobs is wrong."

Udall Interview
New York Times
3/29/76

"Let's take a \$40 billion program just as an example, because the relationships are complex and no one knows just where all the money comes from if you have a full employment act and how much the multiplier factor is. But I said, to illustrate, let's take a hard case of four million public-service jobs at \$10,000 a job--that's \$40 billion.

"I don't advocate that, I don't think it's necessary. I think the number of public-service jobs would be much, much smaller than that. But if you spend \$40 billion you would immediately get back another \$10 billion minimum in increased taxes paid by these people, plus the multiplier on it. You get another \$10 billion in not having to put out the direct Federal costs of welfare and so on...You get another \$10 billion out of the Pentagon and you get another \$10 billion out of tax reform. So you get your \$40 billion back."

Public Service/Guaranteed Jobs

Udall (continued)

Udall interview
Washington Post
4/25/76

"The traditional economics that we all accepted in the Sixties, and that Ford and Nixon finally came around to, says you put people back to work through indirect action: tax cuts and business depreciation allowances, this kind of thing, and eventually it trickles down; eventually the black kid in the ghetto is going to get a job. Humphrey-Hawkins challenges that. It says we've got to go to some kind of national economic planning, we've got to have full employment programs on a federal level that will put people to work now and not a decade from now. Humphrey-Hawkins operates on three levels: On the national level, a whole set of federal investment programs, railroads and national health care and day care and all of this, an attack on the Federal Reserve Board's total independence of control over monetary policy, all designed to get people to work. On a second level, full employment councils in each community designed to put people to work, what employer in that community could do something to help. On a third level, instead of unemployment compensation and welfare, you have a standby Job Corps--government as the employer of last resort. Help in schools and police and parks and day care and older people and all the rest. We're going to have people doing useful things to work. Now that's a direct attack on unemployment, and it's directly contrary to this whole indirect sort of economics."

"...Carter seems to be saying that it isn't really very desirable to be doing things in the public sector, that this is a last resort, that this is leaf-raking and so on. I take the view, the Ken Galbraith view, that the public sector's been starved. It's not only good to give people jobs, from the standpoint of doing something about destroyed lives and hopes and dreams, but it's good for society to have people doing the kinds of public service jobs that we're talking about."

Udall on Economic
and Labor Issues
1/23/76

"We should expand the funding for public service jobs under the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA). The bill I am co-sponsoring would create at least 500,000 new public service jobs next year. And we can change the law to make sure that these jobs do not become political favors or a threat to civil service employees."

Public Service/Guaranteed Jobs

Udall (continued)

CBS' Face the
Nation, 2/29/76

Regarding the revised Humphrey-Hawkins bill, Udall said: "Well, Congressman Hawkins, who's accepted this new compromise--and I'm certainly going to accept it--this is going to be the Democratic platform when we get through, for 1976--that's what the campaign is going to be all about, but Gus Hawkins looks around, as I do, and sees 35, 40 per cent of the black teenagers unemployed, and I ask, can we really wait four years to say to these people that we're going to have some useful job for you to perform? I think it's probably realistic to say that maybe 18 months is too quick, but let's try--let's begin. I think you could go from eight per cent down to five very quickly, and without much consequence. Getting it down the other two points may be a little bit harder, but let us begin--let us at least try. Let us not take the position Gerald Ford does, that we can't hope for full employment this decade. That's what Gerald Ford's promise to us is."

WALLACE

Wallace Response
Common Cause
Budget Question
3/22/76

"We must create a strong works program to provide jobs for the jobless. Getting people back to work is our number one national priority. I believe this works program should be in the environmental field and in improvement programs."

Business Week
2/23/76

According to Business Week, Wallace is not opposed to having government become the employer of last resort, but only for "public improvement projects, not just pushing a broom around."

ABC's Issues and
Answers, 3/14/76

Q: But you alone of the major Democratic candidates do not have a specific program to create jobs and put people back to work. Aren't voters entitled to know a little more about just what you would do if you become Vice President?

Public Service/Guaranteed Jobs

Wallace (continued)

A: I have a specific platform, a specific position paper on any of the rest of them.

Q: Sargent Shriver has a 22-page program, Mo Udall is supporting the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Bill.

A: I support the Full Employment Bill and I feel as an employer of last resort that the government itself, but the private sector in the final analysis is going to have to provide the employment. The government cannot provide all of the employment in this country and a reduction of the taxes on middle-class America is going to enhance consumer confidence and create employment in the United States. That is the key to it. That is the No. 1 key and all of these folks who have written their position papers have been in the Congress all these years, that we have had these high regressive taxes on the average citizen.

Q: But, Governor, you just said that you support the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Bill. You also said the private sector is going to have to supply most of the problems.

A: That is right. The Humphrey Bill and the bill you are talking about is a temporary matter. The government cannot, and I do not expect them to have a permanent system because everyone will be working for the government.

Q: It would lean very heavily on public service jobs and you just said--

A: Well, Public Works jobs, building highways, rapid transit, sewage disposal, water systems.

Q: Public service. Government is an employer whose last resort is to give jobs to everybody--

A: But not a job to dust off books in a library. To build highways and rapid transit systems which enhances the economy and the wealth that produces jobs and providing materials that go into the building of rapid transit and water systems which improves the quality of life. That is entirely different, from some of the checks that go to people for doing nothing.

* * *

Incentives for Private Sector Jobs

FORD

State of the
Union
1/19/76

"The Government must stop spending so much and stop borrowing so much of our money. More money must remain in private hands where it will do the most good..."

State of the
Union
1/19/76

★ "One test of a healthy economy is a job for every American who wants to work.

"Government--our kind of government--cannot create that many jobs. But the Federal Government can create conditions and incentives for private business and industry to make more and more jobs.

★ "Five out of six jobs in this country are in private business and industry. Common sense tells us this is the place to look for more jobs and to find them faster.

★ "I mean real, rewarding, permanent jobs.

★ "To achieve this we must offer the American people greater incentives to invest in the future. My tax proposals are a major step in that direction.

★ "--To supplement these proposals, I ask that Congress enact changes in Federal tax laws that will speed up plant expansion and the purchase of new equipment. My recommendation will concentrate this job-creation tax incentive in areas where the unemployment rate now runs over 7 per cent. Legislation to get this started must be approved at the earliest possible date."

Veto Message
2/13/76

In explaining his veto of the Public Works Employment Act of 1975 (H.R.5247), Ford explained his proposals:

★ "My proposed economic policies are expected to foster the creation of 2 to 2.5 million new private sector jobs in 1976 and more than 2 million additional jobs in 1977. These will be lasting, productive jobs, not temporary jobs payrolled by the American taxpayer.

Incentives for Private Sector Jobs

Ford (continued)

★ "This is a policy of balance, realism, and common sense. It is an honest policy which does not promise a quick fix.

"My program includes:

- Large and permanent tax reductions that will leave more money where it can do the most good: in the hands of the American people;
- Tax incentives for the construction of new plants and equipment in areas of high unemployment;
- Tax incentives to encourage more low and middle income Americans to invest in common stock;
- More than \$21 billion in outlays for important public works such as energy facilities, wastewater treatment plants, roads, and veterans' hospitals representing a 17 percent increase over the previous fiscal year;
- Tax incentives for investment in residential mortgages by financial institutions to stimulate capital for home building."

REAGAN

Reagan Interview
Business Week
7/9/76

Reagan supports tax incentives with "firm controls so a guy can't just dump his load on government but has to prove that this is additional employment he's putting in."

Q: "What tax incentives would you propose for job creation?"

A: "I'd like to turn a task force loose on this sector, just as we did in California [on welfare]. I believe that the tax structure should be studied in depth. For example, isn't it about time that we faced up to the fact that business taxes are in reality just hidden sales taxes, imposed on the consumer? Here's what a task force could look at: the double taxation on business when you get to the corporate income level and the dividend level. Shouldn't the tax be collected only when it is paid in dividends, when it is paid to those earning it from the company?"

Incentives for Private Sector Jobs

Reagan (continued)

Washington Post
4/20/76

"Of course we want to get back to full employment but based on employment in the private sector." Reagan argues that it is better to spend money on "incentives to business and industry to hire more people" than to spend money creating public jobs. Also, Reagan favors subsidies for job training in private industry.

BROWN

Washington Star
4/28/76

"The fact is this country is being pulled apart because men and women are unable to find a decent job. Certainly I want the private sector to provide that. If it can't, the government has to intervene in a way that makes that possible."

Baltimore Sun
5/3/76

"If people are all working, that creates a vitality of its own. I'd hate to see the whole thing done on government service programs. We have to invest, we have to stimulate the economy, we have to encourage modernization, we have to get the productive capacity of the country working."

National Journal
4/10/76

Brown has proposed a \$25 million program in California to provide private sector jobs to people on welfare who volunteer for them.

CARTER

Carter Interview
Business Week
5/3/76

Q. How would you attack unemployment?
A. My thrust would be in the private sector. Wherever there is a choice between channeling jobs in the private sector or the public, I would favor the private. Quite often, you can get a great magnification of benefits from public money by spending it in the private sector. You don't get much magnification in jobs provided within the federal government.

Carter Position
Paper: The Economy
4/76

"Specific stimulation should be given to private industry to hire the unemployed through
--an increased commitment by the federal government to fund the cost of on-the-job training by business
--encouragement by the federal government to employers to retain workers during cyclical downturns including reforming the unemployment compensation tax paid by employers.

Incentives for Private Sector Jobs

Carter (continued)



--public programs to train people for work in private sector jobs.

--incentives specifically geared to encourage employment, including incentives to employers who employ young persons and persons with lengthy records of unemployment, and to those employers who provide flexible hours of employment and flexible jobs, to aid access by women to the market place."

ABC's Issues and
Answers, 2/22/76

"I think the major thrust ought to be the strengthening of the private sector, not guaranteeing everybody they will get a job from the federal government. The only ones that I see that can pay salaries in the federal government are the ones who are working outside the federal government. But there are a lot of things that our government can do to inspire job opportunities in the private sector. One would be the research and development allocation of funds to a new industry like solar industry.

"Another would be to recognize when we spend \$1 million on things to give our people a better quality of life, like health, education, day care centers, recreation, railroad repair, rapid transit systems, pollution control, we provide almost a million dollars worth of jobs either private or public money."

...

"Well, I hate to destroy the private enterprise system that can work for us. If we enforce anti-trust laws and break up the sweetheart arrangement that exists between the regulatory agencies and the industries being regulated and have a truly competitive society without the domination in Washington and the confused Washington by outside forces even including the special interest groups and business (sic).

"I think this is the best way to go about it. Let the federal government be designing its programs to incur more growth and stability in the private sector.

"The thing that I have learned in the last 13 months traveling around this country is that we don't have a weak country. We still have the same capacity to

Incentives for Private Sector Jobs

Carter (continued)

produce agricultural goods and manufactured products. We have the same purchasing power among our consumers in this country. We have the same potential foreign market, and maybe even better, and the same basic natural resources. God hasn't done anything to us to make us a weak country. It is still a tremendous reservoir of economic strength there waiting to be released, and I think that the federal government ought to do what it can to inspire the private sector to be strong, and in some instances cooperate, like on pollution control, repair the railroads, preventive health care, education programs, day care centers and so forth. But the major thrust in my opinion ought to still be outside federal government jobs and private sector jobs."

Time
3/8/76

According to Time, in some cases Carter would have the government make direct payments to industry to subsidize more jobs. If a company had to lay off workers, the government could offer to pay part of their wages for a limited period. Time says that Carter believes this would reduce the need for welfare and unemployment compensation and would be far less costly than public service employment.

CHURCH

ABC's Issues and
Answers
3/21/76...

Q: You have been goading the other Democratic candidates about not addressing themselves to critical domestic issues such as unemployment. There has been in recent days a coalescing of Democratic candidates around Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill, so-called, that is aimed at reducing unemployment to three percent over the next four years. First, do you support that?

A: Of course I support that bill. When unemployment benefits are exhausted I think we should be providing work, not welfare. But I don't think it is any long-term solution, because we don't want the government in the role of permanent--of providing per-

Incentives for Private Sector Jobs

Church (continued)

manent jobs. When it is necessary, yes, I support the bill. But let's get to the root of why it is in this country that we have a higher rate of unemployment, twice as high as that of any other industrial nation. Let's get to the root of the problem, let's talk about the causes. Then we can bring free enterprise back, rejuvenate the economy in such a way that the private sector can furnish the jobs instead of the taxpayer.

Q: Senator, I think you have just given a clear definition of the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill as I would read it. You have gone into great detail about relating the overall economic problems to unemployment and providing jobs.

A: Yes, but the question is, what is causing unemployment in this country? I have been the only one who has looked into the big companies, the biggest in the world, the export of capital, \$225 billion to build the most modern and efficient manufacturing plants in foreign countries that American technology can design. That is costing us 150,000 jobs a year in this country, and it is cumulative. And yet all public policy is directed in the way of providing incentives and subsidies to encourage our companies to go elsewhere, making profits more lucrative, making profits more advantageous if they are earned abroad than if they are earned at home.

Q: But how do you stop that, Senator? You can't snap your fingers, even if you are elected, and say--

A: If you wanted to face up to these companies-- and I know that is hard because they are tremendously influential and powerful, but a President who took this case to the people would win it. He would win it. And once he took the case to the people the Congress would start representing the people here. After all, the Government of the United States was not established to maximize profits for General Motors. It was established to promote the welfare of the American people.

Incentives for Private Sector Jobs

Church (continued)

Now, what should we do? The present tax laws give all kinds of preferred treatment for profits earned abroad. You don't have to pay them on April 15 like every American has to pay his taxes. You can wait and pay your taxes when you wish, if you earn them abroad.

Risk, they talk about risk. Who assumes the risk? Not the big companies. It is the federal government who assumes the risks through a heavily subsidized insurance program against any loss in high risk areas abroad. There is no comparable insurance for business in this country. Take the --- out of public policy, give the American economy a chance to come back. It will come back. It will furnish jobs if you give it half a chance.

Q: How do you account for the argument that if you do away with some of these tax breaks for the big companies the people are not going to invest, they are not going to buy stocks and the companies aren't going to have the capital they need.

A: Big companies can make profits in this country. There is no reason to make it more advantageous for them to make their profits abroad. There is no basis to that argument, at all.

UDALL

Congressional Record
10/1/75

"It is time to set up the machinery for achieving full employment by drawing on the combined resources of the private economy and all levels of government."

Washington Star
1/12/76

"We Democrats have become addicted to the tax cut remedy for every economic ailment. This steady stream of tax reductions, which mostly benefit the relatively affluent, has cut deeply into the federal tax base....We cannot cure inflation by cutting spending if we are curing unemployment by cutting taxes at the same time."

Incentives for Private Sector Jobs

Udall (continued)

Udall on Economic
and Labor Issues
1/23/76

"We must stimulate new and vitally needed housing construction by offering Federal low interest loans for mortgages."

ABC's Issues and
Answers, 2/22/76

"The old business of cutting taxes every time, the economy slows down. We don't have the money to cut any more."

Udall Interview
Washington Post
4/25/76

Q: To go back to jobs for a minute, some people in this country feel that the principal problem facing it is capital formation. One alternative is to make business more profitable, perhaps by lowering taxes; another, and it's the (Henry) Reuss proposal, would be to go toward capital allocation. Do you accept this as a problem, and which way does Udall go?

A: If we go any way we go toward Reuss. I happen to believe, strangely enough, in the old economics. I like simple economics, and I think they work where you give them a chance, and where we make a mistake is applying simple economic doctrines in complex situations that no longer apply. I've always looked askance at this whole capital formation flap. If you need money for railroads or you need money for oil development or you need money for anything else, the system will produce the capital, and the idea that somehow we've got to restructure everything and make another generation of multi-millionaires in order to get the capital America needs has always seemed unnecessary to me.

WALLACE

Materials prepared
for Common Cause
3/19/76

"I support private sector incentive tax programs to provide more jobs and better paying jobs."

ABC's Issues and
Answers, 3/14/76

"I support the Full Employment Bill and I feel as an employer of last resort that the government itself, but the private sector in the final analysis is going to have to provide the employment. The government cannot provide all of the employment in this country and a reduction of the taxes on

Incentives for Private Sector Jobs

Wallace (continued)

middle-class America is going to enhance consumer confidence and create employment in the United States. That is the key to it. That is the No. 1 key and all of these folks who have written their position papers have been in the Congress all these years, that we have had these high regressive taxes on the average citizen."

Business Week
2/23/76

"I don't want to see business and industry taxed to the point that they cannot expand, because in the final analysis, it is the private sector that creates employment, and not the government."

* * *

Labor Issues

FORD

Veto Message
1/2/76

President Ford vetoed the Common Situs Picketing Bill (H.R.5900). In his veto message, he explained: "The collective bargaining provisions have great merit. It is to the common situs picketing title that I address my objections...There are intense differences between union and nonunion contractors and labor over the extent to which this bill constitutes a fair and equitable solution to a long-standing issue. I have concluded that neither the building industry nor the Nation can take the risk that the bill, which proposed a permanent change in the law, will lead to loss of jobs and work hours for the construction trades, higher costs for the public, and further slowdown in a basic industry."

Washington Post
1/22/76

The Ford budget calls for expanded enforcement in the Occupational Health and Safety Administration, adding fifty new compliance officers.

REAGAN

Washington Post
1/13/76

"I would have to say that right now my leaning is very heavily toward right-to-work, and I think that's the feeling of the rank and file of labor."

Radio Broadcast
11/5/75

In his nationally syndicated radio broadcast on November 5, 1975, Reagan said that Ford should veto the Common Situs Picketing bill on the grounds that it would enhance compulsory unionism. He stated: "At stake is a person's right to a living, whether or not he chooses to join a union."

Baltimore Sun
2/29/76

"I don't think that I would appoint two secretaries of labor in a row" who believe that government employees have the right to strike and support the controversial bill to allow unions wider picketing rights at construction sites (John T. Dunlop and W. J. Usery, Jr.).

Labor Issues

Reagan (continued)

Reagan Interview
Business Week
2/9/76

"I think the thing to do is get some labor leaders, sit them down in a room, and point out to them that every increase in the minimum wage has increased unemployment among teen-agers. That is, we've made many jobs uneconomic. Now, why can't we have a waiver? Let's say that for any kid who's still in school--so that he's not a substitute for the regular work force--no minimum wage applies."

BROWN

Evening Sun
(Baltimore)
1/30/76

Brown cites 24 bills he signed last year "sponsored by a strong coalition of AFL-CIO leaders and the Governor's office." Brown said the labor-related legislation passed in California last year included bills that would allow secret ballots for farm workers, coalition bargaining for school employees, an increase in the unemployment insurance benefits and a workmen's compensation bill to cover domestic workers and others in the secondary labor market.

New York Times
Magazine
6/24/75

One of Brown's major achievements was the state's first agricultural labor relations act. Modeled after the National Labor Relations Act, the law gives farm workers the same collective-bargaining rights as other American workers.

Baltimore Sun
5/1/76

Brown opposes the right-to-work provision of the Taft-Hartley law. He supports collective bargaining for public employees but has refused to take a stand on binding arbitration for public employee negotiations. In labor negotiations, Brown says: "I'm not conservative, I'm cheap."

Washington Star
5/1/76

Brown told Maryland labor leaders: "Labor has its enemies but I respect what you do and I sympathize with it...But I don't want you to be misled. I have opposed labor on some issues, such as with the environment."

National Journal
4/10/76

Brown believes that people should share the available work so that everyone can have a job, even if that means people work fewer hours and accept less pay. When 3,000 employees of California's transportation department were scheduled to be laid off, Brown suggested that the other employees reduce their work load. The workers' representatives said no.

Brown proposed flat salary increases of \$65 for all state employees on the theory that the higher price of food and fuel affects the poor the same as the rich.

Labor Issues

CARTER

New York Times
12/26/75

According to the New York Times, except to come out in favor of common situs picketing legislation, Carter has made no noticeable overtures to labor, and the fact that he was Governor of one of the few states that still have a right-to-work law could be an important drawback.

Carter Answer to
Iowa Democratic
Party Poll 1976

In answer to the question "Do you believe in comprehensive collective bargaining for all employees, including governmental?" Carter answered: "Yes, but I favor arbitration for public safety employees."

CBS' Face the
Nation 3/14/76

"Well, when I was running for Governor of Georgia, I told the labor leaders and also the public that if the Georgia legislature repealed the right-to-work laws that I would be glad to sign it into law. Now that was when my responsibilities were in Georgia. At that time I did not favor a repeal of 14-B, which is a national law. Now that I approach the presidency, as a potential president, I've taken the same position, which I think is fairly consistent, although there is some inconsistency there, I admit, but I want everybody to understand that if the Congress passes a repeal of 14-B, that I'll be glad to sign it into law."

Atlanta Journal
and Constitution
3/7/76

About right-to-work, Carter said: "I don't think it affects anyone very much anyway."

Carter Interview
Business Week
5/3/76

Q: Would you lower the minimum wage for teen-agers?
A: No. Quite often they are not part of a family structure. There is no unemployment compensation for them; there is no welfare program when they reach the age of 18. They're forced out into the world [with] the same economic needs as a 45 year old.

Labor Issues

CHURCH

Church response to
Iowa Democratic
Party Poll, 1976

In response to the question "Do you believe in comprehensive collective bargaining for all employees, including governmental?" Church answered: "Yes. However, the law must provide an alternative to the strike in those areas that are vital to the public safety and public health. If the police may strike, then the Army will be next. The same holds true for fire departments and hospitals where the suspension of vital services could result in the death of patients. In these areas, a mechanism must be provided by law for settling wage disputes in lieu of striking."

Congressional
Record, 12/15/75

Voted for the Common Situs Picketing Bill subsequently vetoed by the President.

Frank Church's
Record on the
Issues, 3/76

--"Has consistently favored expansion of the minimum wage to help those on the lower end of the economy in their struggle to keep pace with the demands on their income.

--"Backed legislation to raise the minimum wage for non-agricultural employees covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

--"Has strongly advocated repeal of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, the authority for state right-to-work laws.

--"Urged passage, over the President's veto, of legislation extending and expanding rehabilitation programs for the physically handicapped.

--"Voted against an amendment to add compulsory arbitration for the transportation industries.

--"Supported legislation for effective health, safety and pension programs for the working man."

Labor Issues

UDALL

Washington Post
12/28/75

In 1965, Udall voted against repeal of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, which authorizes state right-to-work laws. Udall says that he would emulate Lyndon Johnson "who voted for right-to-work as a senator and led the fight to repeal it as a President."

Congressional Record
12/11/75

Voted for the Common Situs Picketing Bill subsequently vetoed by the President.

Udall Handout,
"Issues of Special
Concern to Women"

"In many pension plans women receive lower benefits than men because of sex-based actuarial tables, which give averages for the entire female population. This is an outdated practice which should be eliminated. The law should also be amended to provide for pro-rata benefits for part-time workers, and a fair system of portable pension credits."

Udall on Economic
and Labor Issues
1/23/76

"At present, only 26 States have laws requiring good faith bargaining with public employees. While we all rightly view with alarm teachers' strikes and walkouts and slowdowns by policement and firemen, the fact is there are real grievances which cannot be ignored or left to be settled in the streets. The right to collective bargaining for all public employees is essential.

"For too long, farm workers have been denied the fundamental protection provided by the NLRA (National Labor Relations Act). We should extend the NLRA to farm workers on large farms.

"Remedies under the NLRA are generally too little and too late; penalties are inadequate to deter violations. It now takes two to three years to process a case, and some employers find it more profitable to risk a small fine rather than comply with the law. We can expediate claim processing by increasing the NLRB staff; and we should toughen the penalties."

"The Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 was landmark legislation to protect American workers from the many health and safety hazards that exist on the job. Despite many criticisms by the business community, it is a good law and now covers 65 million

Labor Issues

Udall (continued)

employees. If administered properly by the Labor Department, it can provide vastly increased protection by requiring both large and small businesses to meet minimum health and safety standards. Occupational health and the hidden dangers that now exist are among the most important problems we must deal with in the next few years.

"We need to upgrade the research arm of OSHA, the National Institute of Occupational Safety. At the present time, the Federal government spends only 43¢ per worker a year on research for occupational health hazards. We don't know enough about respiratory diseases among grain workers, the effects of vinyl chloride on plastics workers, and other occupational health hazards. New research is
"We need new legislation to upgrade health and safety standards for both metallic and non-metallic mine workers.

"We need a noise level standard that fully protects workers from this serious hazard. A minimum standard of 85 dBA is essential."

WALLACE

Materials prepared
for Common Cause
3/19/76

"We must have the best labor relations program between industries and working people. I oppose Right to Work Laws as infringements on rights of individual workers. I have long supported continuing increases in unemployment benefits. Unemployment must be resolved by tax incentives in businesses and through government supported job programs.""

ABC's Issues and
Answers, 3/14/76

Q: I would like to know how do you stand on the right-to-work clause?

A: I opposed them in the legislature of Alabama and voted against them.

Q: Would you do so as President?

A: Yes, sir, I sure would.

Q: Governor, perhaps I am wrong, but I thought in 1975 you pledged to the Alabama Labor Council that you would vote, you would sign a--

A: I did.

Q: Oh, you made that pledge in 1974?

A: I did. That is correct. They endorsed me unanimously in Alabama. AFL, CIO, Buildings and Trade, Steel, the whole labor movement endorsed George Wallace in Alabama for Governor and supported me unanimously

Minority & Youth Employment

FORD

State of the
Union
1/19/76

"We need more and more jobs every year. Today's economy has produced over 85 million jobs for Americans, but we need a lot more jobs, especially for the young."

Question and
Answer Session
Northern Illinois
Newspaper Ass'n.
3/12/76

"That is a serious matter because approximately one million-eight to two million new job applicants come into the labor market every year and they primarily come from high schools and colleges. The youth unemployment rate is higher than the national average for everybody. We have got to expand the economy, the domestic or the private sector of the economy, to absorb that influx. I think the best place to do it is in the private sector where five out of six jobs in our society now exist."

"In the meantime, I think we have to fully fund what is called the Comprehensive Education Training Act, CETA, so that those who graduate without a skill can be trained for a skill where there is a demand, and there are areas in our employment across the country where there is a shortage. That particular legislation and the funding we have provided will help in that regard."

REAGAN

Reagan Interview
Business Week
2/9/76

"There are other things the government can do. Maybe in the teen-age unemployment sector, there is room for government. Maybe a thing like the CCC [Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930s], some projects of this kind, are an answer to that. I'll tell you what I think is a better answer. I think the thing to do is get some labor leaders, sit them down in a room, and point out to them that every increase in the minimum wage has increased unemployment among teen-agers. That is, we've made many jobs uneconomic. Now, why can't we have a waiver? Let's say that for any kid who's still in school -- so that he's not a substitute for the regular work force -- no minimum wage applies."

Minority & Youth Employment

BROWN

Baltimore Sun
5/3/76

"Full employment would begin, as a first step, with the Humphrey-Hawkins bill. I think a national public service jobs program for young people is another."

Washington Post
3/29/76

Brown has appointed a high number of blacks, women, and Mexican-Americans to state posts.

CARTER

Congressional
Quarterly
3/6/76

"As a last resort, public employment jobs need to be created similar to the CCC and the WPA during the depression years, particularly for young Americans who have an extremely high unemployment rate--in excess of 40 per cent for black young people."

Carter Interview
Business Week
5/3/76

Q: Would you lower the minimum wage for teen-agers?
A: No. Quite often they are not part of a family structure. There is no unemployment compensation for them; there is no welfare program when they reach the age of 18. They're forced out into the world [with] the same economic needs as a 45 year old.

CHURCH

Frank Church's
Record on the
Issues, 3/76

"Has always advocated and sponsored the Equal Opportunity Employment Act and its strengthening amendments."

UDALL

Udall on Economic
and Labor Issues
1/23/76

"We can, as FDR did during the Great Depression, put people to work in constructive ways to improve the quality of our rural and urban environment. The CCC was one of the great legacies of the Roosevelt years and I think it should be revived, with a focus on jobs for young people."

WALLACE

Materials prepared
for Common Cause
3/19/76

"I want jobs for every sector of our economy. I recognize that there is a great employment problem for unskilled and untrained. They should be put to work in government programs so they can receive a paycheck for work, and not a handout on welfare. We should provide youth job corp programs as we once did that would provide employment in environmental programs."

Job Training

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

FORD

State of the
Union
1/19/76

"In my fiscal 1977, I am also requesting funds to continue proven job training and employment opportunity programs for millions of other Americans."

Question and
Answer Session
Northern Illinois
Newspaper Ass'n.
3/12/76

"In the meantime, I think we have to fully fund what is called the Comprehensive Education Training Act, CETA, so that those who graduate without a skill can be trained for a skill where there is a demand, and there are areas in our employment across the country where there is a shortage. That particular legislation and the funding we have provided will help in that regard."

REAGAN

Reagan Interview
Business Week
7/9/76

"The best job training in the world is on-the-job training within industry. Now, what if the federal government said to a company that has a real problem finding skilled workers, 'O.K., we'll go into partnership with you, and we'll subsidize your training on the basis that, when they complete their training, in return for the subsidy you'll put them to work, either in your plants or other plants'?"

Washington Post
4/20/76

Reagan favors subsidies for job training in private industry.

CARTER

Carter Answer to
New York/Common
Cause Questionnaire
3/20/76

"About half of the approximately 25 million Americans who are classified as poor receive welfare payments of some kind on a regular basis. Roughly ten per cent of these recipients are able to work full time. Those who are able to work should be separated from the other ninety per cent and treated as part of our unemployed work force. They should be treated with dignity and respect. The private and public training and educational programs of this country should be marshalled to prepare them for employment commensurate with their ability and talent."

Job Training

Carter (continued)

Carter Position
Paper: The Economy
4/76

Carter favors:
"--an increased commitment by the federal government to fund the cost of on-the-job training by business.
--public programs to train people for work in private sector jobs.
--improve manpower training and vocational education programs to increase the employability of the hard-core unemployed.
--double the CETA (Comprehensive Educational Training Act) program from 300,000 to 600,000 jobs, and provide counter-cyclical aid to cities with high unemployment."

UDALL

Udall on Economic
and Labor Issues
1/23/76

"We should expand the funding for public service jobs under the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA). The bill I am co-sponsoring would create at least 500,000 new public service jobs next year. And we can change the law to make sure that these jobs do not become political favors or a threat to civil service employees."

WALLACE

Materials prepared
for Common Cause
3/19/76

"Job training programs must be maintained. I have always supported this type of program. I believe it is needed at all times."

* * *

Structural Unemployment

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

REAGAN

Reagan Interview,
Business Week
2/9/76

Reagan favors a job data bank. "I've never understood why labor was kind of opposed to this. There's no place in the United States where a guy can go and find out where there is a surplus or a scarcity of certain job skills."

CARTER

Carter Position
Paper: The Economy
1/76

"I favor coordinated government planning to attack problems of structural unemployment, inflation, environmental deterioration, exaggeration of economic inequalities, natural resource limitations, and obstructions to the operation of the free market system. "I believe that this type of planning can be carried out without the creation of a new bureaucracy, but rather through well defined extensions of existing bodies and techniques. I propose that the role of the present Council of Economic Advisors, established under the Full Employment Act of 1946, be expanded to include this type of coordinated planning and to deal with long range problems of individual sectors fitted into an overall economic plan for the economy as a whole, as well as to deal with considerations of supply, distribution, and performance in individual industries."

UDALL

New York Times
1/1/76

Udall has suggested that the slack in automobile production might be taken up by putting people to work building or improving mass transit systems in the nation's 100 largest cities.

Udall Interview
Washington Post
4/24/76

"The traditional economics that we all accepted in the Sixties, and that Ford and Nixon finally came around to, says you put people back to work through indirect action: tax cuts and business depreciation allowances, this kind of thing, and eventually it trickles down; eventually the black kid in the ghetto is going to get a job. Humphrey-Hawkins challenges that. It says we've got to go to some kind of national economic planning, we've got to have full employment programs on a federal level that will put people to work now and not a decade from now."

Unemployment Benefits

FORD

State of the
Union
1/19/76

"As we rebuild our economy, we have a continuing responsibility to provide a temporary cushion to the unemployed. At my request the Congress enacted two extensions and expansions in unemployment insurance which helped those who were jobless during 1975. These programs will continue in 1976."

Washington Post
1/22/76

In Ford's budget, there would be an increase in the federal unemployment insurance tax rate from 0.5 per cent to 0.65 per cent on a \$6,000 wage base (up from \$4,200), effective next January 1. These steps would increase tax receipts by \$2.1 billion.

REAGAN

Reagan Interview,
Business Week
2/9/76

Q: "You would have hung tough and let unemployment go?"

A: "No, when you say 'hang tough,' that doesn't mean that you totally ignore the problem of those people that have to bear the brunt. And I think there are things you can do to help them -- the extension of unemployment insurance and so forth."

Q: "But according to one of the fact sheets your office put out, one of the programs you would turn back to the states is unemployment compensation."

A: "You're talking about that detailed plan. I quarrel with that, too. That was a footnote put out by some of the people who worked on the economics of this for me. I am in disagreement with some of the things on that list, too. You've got to take each one of these programs on their own...All of these things have to be worked out, program by program, as you make the transfer."

BROWN

Evening Sun
Baltimore
4/30/76

Last year, Brown sponsored and signed a bill to increase unemployment insurance benefits.

Unemployment Benefits

CARTER

Carter Answer to
New York/Common
Cause Questionnaire
3/20/76

"About half of the approximately 25 million Americans who are classified as poor receive welfare payments of some kind on a regular basis. Roughly ten per cent of these recipients are able to work full time. Those who are able to work should be separated from the other ninety per cent and treated as part of our unemployed work force. They should be treated with dignity and respect. The private and public training and educational programs of this country should be marshalled to prepare them for employment commensurate with their ability and talent. Private job opportunities should be identified and encouraged. Public jobs should be created as necessary for those who are able and willing to work. If a job is offered and not accepted, benefits should be terminated."

CHURCH

Frank Church's
Record on the
Issues, 3/76

--"Supported legislation in 1966 to require state laws to provide benefits equal to at least 50% of an employee's normal wage or the state maximum weekly benefit.

--"Voted to include migrant farm workers among those covered by unemployment insurance."

UDALL

Udall on Economic
and Labor Issues
1/23/76

"There is a very real need to upgrade and extend coverage under both the workmen's compensation and unemployment compensation systems. Under 50 different State programs, many thousands of workers do not receive adequate coverage of benefits. We need new minimum Federal standards and we need to expand the coverage to include farm workers, domestics and other workers not presently covered. The unemployment compensation legislation should also establish a Federal weekly benefit standard of at least 66 2/3 percent of the average weekly wage."

WALLACE

Materials prepared
for Common Cause
3/19/76

"I have long supported continuing increases in unemployment benefits."

* * *

Issue Profile #6

TAXES

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- Social Security Taxes. Some candidates have proposed changes in the payroll tax because of projected deficits in the social security trust fund, or because they believe this tax to be highly regressive. This category

Introduction

TAXES

- Capital Formation/Business Taxes
- General Tax Burden & Structure/Loopholes
- Social Security Taxes/Capital Formation-Business Taxes

Taxes, a perennial campaign topic, are in 1976 among the top concerns of citizens, as reported by public opinion pollsters. The issue of taxes has been discussed in every past Presidential campaign, and 1976 will be no different. Already major issues with the candidates are social security taxes, capital formation and tax equity. In approaching the subject of taxes, Common Cause has attempted to catalog candidate positions on four aspects of tax policy:

- General Tax Burden and Structure. Included here are candidates' overall views on distribution of the federal, state and local tax burden as well as on tax simplification.
- Loopholes. This category includes statements by the candidates on the so-called "loopholes" or tax preferences they wish to modify or eliminate.

- Social Security Taxes. Some candidates have proposed changes in the payroll tax because of projected deficits in the social security trust fund, or because they believe this tax to be highly regressive. This category contains candidate views on social security taxes.

- Capital Formation/Business Taxes. Included in this listing are statements by candidates on use of federal tax incentives to encourage investment, together with their positions on the appropriate taxing of business profits.

* * *

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.

General Tax Burden & Structure

FORD

New York Times 10/7/75. Ford speech on economy "I propose permanent tax reductions totalling \$28 billion - the biggest tax cut in history...by raising everyone's personal tax exemption from \$750 to \$1,000; by making the standard deduction for single taxpayers a flat \$1,800 and for every married couple \$2,500, and by lowering our basic personal income tax rates. Under my proposal, a typical family of four with a total of \$14,000 a year would get a permanent tax cut of \$412 a year - a 27% reduction."

Boston Herald American 2/4/76 "It is clear that the Federal tax law must be reformed in the interests of achieving greater fairness among taxpayers, and I have submitted legislation to that end - legislation that would require high income tax payers to pay a reasonable tax, that would restrict the use of artificial accounting losses as tax shelters, and would gradually reduce the double taxation on corporate dividends so that we might encourage greater investment in the country's future."

Testimony of Secy. of Treasury William Simon before Senate Finance Committee 3/17/76 Presenting President Ford's proposals to the Finance Committee, Simon said that Ford favors a tax incentive to encourage broadened stock ownership by low and middle income working Americans by allowing deferral of taxes on certain funds invested in common stocks. He also proposes estate tax relief which will alleviate the effect of inflation by increasing the estate tax exemption from \$60,000 to \$150,000. Estate tax relief is being sought especially for farmers and owners of small businesses to make it easier to continue the family ownership of a small farm or business after the owner's death.

Wall Street Journal 3/18/76 The Ford Administration wants to let husbands give or leave their wives--or wives their husbands--as much money as they like tax-free.

REAGAN

Interview, Business Week 2/9/76 In regard to the proposal to remove \$90 billion from the federal budget, Reagan stated, "The \$90 billion only illustrated the point that if the Federal government had not gone this path of taking over activities that are not its proper province, the present budget would be \$90 billion less than it is."

(continued next page)

General Tax Burden & Structure

Reagan (continued)

"My proposal was that there are five areas that should be transferred to the states)...Along with the programs, transfer back the sources of revenue...The transfer of resources means making the taxes people are presently paying for these programs available at the local level without having the money collected, sent to Washington, a freight charge taken off of it there, then sent back in grants with regulations and federal controls that interfere with the orderly running of these programs."

"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."

Manchester Union
Leader
2/11/76

"The rich wage earners are not the problem when it comes to taxes." Reagan said that only 1% of the wage earners in 1974 made over \$50,000. "If every penny they earned was used to run the government, it would be gone in a week." He added that many of those people in the upper income bracket had come from poverty, worked hard, and had made it financially. "Should they be taxed at a rate that would bring them back to poverty?"

Reagan also said that the tax system was based on the earnings of the middle class, the financial majority.

Washington Post
4/20/76

Reagan would create a task force to report to him on tax simplification, which he says is urgently needed. He also recommends an inflation "adjustment" in the tax system. "Unless we cure inflation," he said, "we should 'index' the tax brackets to cover inflation." He said the Internal Revenue Service last year collected \$7 billion in taxes caused by the fact that inflation pushed taxpayers into higher tax brackets.

General Tax Burden & Structure

BROWN

Thoughts, Gov.
Jerry Brown
1976

"I wouldn't minimize the avoidance of tax increases as a contribution to human welfare. I propose that state income taxes be eliminated for those making \$5,000 or less or \$10,000 for a married couple. These citizens spend all they make."

The Nation
3/27/76

Governor Brown's 1976 program for California continued some real, if modest commitments to the low income. He cut \$50 million in income taxes off the bottom segment.

Wall Street
Journal 2/24/76

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

CARTER

Jimmy Carter
leaflet "Why this
Democrat should be
our Next President"
12/75

"Our tax system is a disgrace. The average family earning \$10,000 or less pays a larger portion of its income in taxes than a family with an annual income of \$1,000,000 or more. We need a fair tax system NOW."

Washington Post
3/15/76

Carter contends that tax reform is "too complicated and too important to do even piecemeal." He favors an all inclusive tax reform bill which would result in "a simple structure with all income treated the same, with income being taxed only once, with a truly progressive tax rate so that those who made the most ... paid the higher percentage in total taxes."

Chicago Tribune
2/29/76

Referring to his plan to simplify the tax system by eliminating many tax incentives and adjusting rates, Carter mentioned the tax deduction for home mortgage interest payments: "In general, along with the elimination of hundreds of other tax incentives, those would be among the incentives I would like to do away with."

(continued next page)

General Tax Burden & Structure

CARTER (cont.)

Baltimore Sun
3/2/76

Carter explained that the mortgage interest deduction costs the federal government \$10 billion a year. He said the deductions apply to second homes, vacation homes, and summer homes. "I would rather see that \$10 billion spent, used to help homeowners" but not the rich. Carter called it an upside-down proposal that individuals paying a higher percentage of income in tax, receive a larger percentage deduction on home-mortgage interest payments.

Washington Post
3/21/76

On the subject of sources of revenue for areas like education, Carter said, "I think the regressive taxes, sales taxes, and property taxes from which local revenues are derived, are overburdened. I think the natural growth in revenue in the future is inevitably in the federal structure."

Washington Post
3/6/76

Carter also favors an increase in the dollar-value exemption from inheritance taxes on farms. The amount of the increase over the current \$60,000 has not been specified.

Interview with
Carter, Business
Week 5/3/76

"I believe the next President ought to assume the responsibility for complete tax reform. One provision would be to tax capital income and earned income in the same way. I'd also seek a drastic simplification of the tax system by removing many of the incentives that have been added over the past 70 years to cover transient circumstances. I would go to direct grants that could be reconsidered annually. I also favor taxing income only once, and would want to reconstitute a progressive tax rate."

Baltimore Sun
3/27/76

Jimmy Carter said that he would have to be in the White House a year before he could propose a detailed comprehensive tax reform plan.

CHURCH

Frank Church's
Record on the
Issues
March 1976

According to the Church campaign document:
"For years it has been known that the American income system is shot through with inequities. Yet, there has been no action - even though it has been clearly demonstrated that the American people demand a change.

"Church advocates a comprehensive tax reform which faces the realities of present American public policy - inequitable taxes tilted in favor of the large and strong rather than the poor and weak - and endeavors toward honest reform."

General Tax Burden & Structure

UDALL

"Udall Along Campaign for Recognition," Congressional Quarterly 11/22/75

Udall's positions on energy and the environment are inextricably linked with his economic proposals. As early as 1963, he cosponsored a major tax-reform bill calling for adjustment in taxes and exemptions. He has supported Internal Revenue Service amendments to double the "inadequate" personal exemptions allowed each taxpayer.

Udall Issue Paper 3/22/76

Congressman Udall proposes to eventually gain \$20 billion by plugging tax loopholes and returning the money to middle and low income citizens. He proposes the following measures to accomplish this goal:

Annual congressional review of federal tax expenditures -- loopholes, subsidies and other incentives.

Phase out of preferential tax treatment of capital gains and replace with fair income averaging provisions.

Revise corporate tax laws to eliminate provisions which encourage economic concentration.

Put teeth into the minimum tax by repealing the present exemption of the first \$30,000 of loophole income as well as the deduction for regular taxes paid.

Move toward greater utilization of tax credits rather than personal exemptions.

Deductions must be allocated between taxable and tax exempt income so that they do not inadvertently afford a double benefit.

Simplification and shortening of the Internal Revenue Code.

Valley News Lebanon, N.H. 2/18/76

Udall feels that the present estate tax procedures discourage the passing of a family business from father to son.

Washington Post 3/6/76

As a change in the present \$60,000 exemption from inheritance taxes, Udall favors an increase to about \$120,000.

Washington Post 4/5/76

When pressed for specific costs of his program of economic recovery, Udall estimated that putting 4 million people to work would cost \$40 million, and that defense cuts and tax reform each would realize the government \$10 billion in savings. The remaining \$20 billion, he said, would be equally divided in taxes paid by newly employed workers and from reduced social services cost.

General Tax Burden & Structure

UDALL (cont.)

When asked if he would increase federal taxes as an alternative to tax reform, Udall said, "I'd like to go the other route, but I'm not going to sell the American people any soft soap. We've got tough choices: yes, if it's necessary to get health care, I think the American people would pay a few extra bucks to get a uniform, universal system of health insurance."

WALLACE

Congressional
Quarterly 11/8/75

Wallace thinks that states should keep a greater share of tax revenues. In a 1974 speech he said "As long as the federal government continues to absorb such a disproportionate amount of the revenue that can be devoted to governmental purposes, states will remain the slaves of the national government."

CBS Evening News
"The Candidates
and the Issues"
Interview with
Roger Mudd 12/30/75

Talking with Roger Mudd, Wallace said "Frankly, I think we must have a reformation of the tax structure in the country so as to relieve the middle class of the heavy burden of federal taxes so that they can then spend their money instead of the government giving it away to some county in which it brings no tangible return to the U.S."

Chicago Tribune
1/21/76

Wallace urged a major overhaul of the nation's tax structure to eliminate loopholes including those involving properties owned by churches and other charities. Wallace said that \$150 billion of properties owned by these religious and charitable organizations are involved. Wallace mentioned the Ford and Rockefeller foundations as two of the tax shelters that should be eliminated. Wallace also said he would propose an individual tax exemption of \$1,200 per person.

Washington Post
3/6/76

Wallace supports a boost in the current \$60,000 exemption from inheritance taxes on farms to \$200,000.

* * *

-10-
-9-
Loopholes

FORD

Industry Week
2/3/76

In a written interview Ford remarked that one of his proposals for tax reform is "to restrict artificial accounting losses which are used by some as tax shelters."

REAGAN

LA Times
3/19/76

Reagan said that a drastic revision of income tax laws to eliminate presetn deductions for charity and interest payments in favor of a tax on a flat percentage of gross income deserves "very deep study."

BROWN

NY Times
8/24/75

Governor Brown, with the cooperation of a heavily Democratic Legislature, eliminated the state oil-depletion allowance and three other business-oriented tax breaks.

CARTER

Jimmy Carter
leaflet "Why this
Democrat should
be our Next
President
12/75

"Our tax system is a disgrace. The average family earning \$10,000 or less pays a larger portion of its income in taxes than a family with an annual income of \$1,000,000 or more. We need a fair tax system NOW."

Washington Post
3/15/76

Carter contends that tax reform is "too complicated and too important to do even piecemeal." He favors an all inclusive tax reform bill which would result in "a simple structure with all income treated the same, with income being taxed only once, with a truly progressive tax rate so that those who made the most ... paid the higher percentage in total taxes."

Chicago Tribune
2/29/76

Referring to his plan to simplify the tax system by eliminating many tax incentives and adjusting rates, Carter mentioned the tax deduction for home mortgage interest payments: "In general, along with the elimination of hundreds of other tax incentives, those would be among the incentives I would like to do away with."

Loopholes

CARTER (cont.)

Baltimore Sun
3/2/76

Carter explained that the mortgage interest deduction costs the federal government \$10 billion a year. He said the deductions apply to second homes, vacation homes, and summer homes. "I would rather see that \$10 billion spent, used to help homeowners" but not the rich. Carter called it an upside-down proposal that individuals paying a higher percentage of income in tax, receive a larger percentage deduction on home mortgage interest payments.

Atlanta Journal
and Constitution
3/7/76

Carter explained that the elimination of exemptions for interest paid on home mortgages would have to be tied with other changes to insure that middle-income home owners would be more than compensated. "I would never, never do anything that would hurt the middle American wage earner."

Wall Street
Journal
4/26/76

Carter was quoted at a news conference as saying that he did not advocate doing away with the tax deduction for home mortgage interest. That was one "incentive I would consider modifying...if I change the deduction it would be increased and not decreased."

CHURCH

Frank Church's
Record on the
Issues 3/76

According to a Church campaign document: "Church has led the struggle to close tax loopholes used by domestic and multinational corporations."

UDALL

Washington Star
2/2/76

In a campaign position paper, the Arizona congressman said Congress should be required to review annually every tax preference ranging from tax-free sick pay to deductions for home mortgage interest to fast depreciation writeoffs to deferral of taxation on

(continued next page)

Loopholes

Udall (continued)

the income of foreign subsidiaries of U.S. corporations. Loopholes would close automatically if the lawmakers did not vote yearly to keep them open.

"Economically, it makes little difference whether the federal government provides subsidies through direct grants and treasury checks or by failing to tax someone who would otherwise be taxed," Udall said.

But he said while appropriations must be passed each year by Congress, "tax expenditures are self-perpetuating, remaining on the books long after their original justification has disappeared."

Udall said he would not want to repeal all of the tax preferences which cost the treasury more than \$90 billion annually. He said there is little argument about exemptions for sick pay, workmen's compensation benefits, welfare benefits and the like. But he said Congress should put an end to a list of esoteric exemptions enjoyed by business and by wealthy individuals.

Congressman Udall proposes to eventually gain \$20 billion by plugging tax loopholes and returning the money to middle and low income citizens. He proposes the following measures to accomplish this goal:

Annual congressional review of federal tax expenditures -- loopholes, subsidies and other incentives.

Phase out of preferential tax treatment of capital gains and replace with fair income averaging provisions.

Revise corporate tax laws to eliminate provisions which encourage economic concentration.

Put teeth into the minimum tax by repealing the present exemption of the first \$30,000 of loophole income as well as the deduction for regular taxes paid.

Move toward greater utilization of tax credits rather than personal exemptions.

Deductions must be allocated between taxable and tax exempt income so that they do not inadvertently afford a double benefit.

Simplification and shortening of the Internal Revenue Code.

Udall Issue
Paper
3/22/76

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Loopholes

Udall (continued)

Washington Post
4/5/76

Udall acknowledged that increasing federal revenue by closing tax loopholes is a goal that has eluded Congress for years, and that it will be difficult to achieve now.

WALLACE

Washington Star
2/2/76

On the subject of tax loopholes, Governor Wallace said that the rich "have loopholes to keep from paying any tax at all, but the only hole the average working man knows is the hole in his paycheck where they keep taking out more and more for taxes." Wallace wants to revoke the tax free status of foundations and he believes that the "income producing" property of churches and other charitable institutions should be taxed on the same basis as commercial enterprises.

Wallace material
prepared for
Common Cause
3/19/76

"Loopholes have become a cancer on our tax system I believe we need a full tax reform program that would tax the super rich and allow tax relief for the average person."

* * *

Social Security Taxes

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

FORD

Boston Herald
American
2/4/76

"I have proposed that the full cost of living increase be paid to all Social Security beneficiaries."

State of the
Union Address
1/19/76

"I am concerned about the integrity of our Social Security Trust Fund...Simple arithmetic warns all of us that the Social Security Trust Fund is headed for trouble. Unless we act soon to make sure the Fund takes in as much as it pays out, there will be no security for old or for young. I must, therefore, recommend a .3% increase in both employer and employee Social Security taxes effective January 1, 1977."

White House Fact
Sheet on the State
of the Union Ad-
dress 1/9/76

The current Social Security tax rate is 5.85% for each employee and employer of covered wages. Under this proposal, in 1977 the tax rate would be 6.15% on a maximum wage base of \$16,000. This increase will cost workers with the maximum taxable income less than \$1 a week and will help stabilize the trust funds so that current and future recipients can be assured of the benefits they have earned.

NY Times
3/5/76

Responding to Reagan's proposal to invest Social Security funds in the "industrial might of America", Ford remarked that it would be irresponsible to jeopardize Social Security funds through speculation.

REAGAN

Wall Street
Journal 2/11/76

Reagan at a Daytona Beach, Florida press conference on 7 February noted that, "One of the failures of Social Security as a pension program is that the funds don't grow." He also pointed out that the Social Security funds, "are not invested, as they could be invested, in the industrial might of America, and this has been one of the things that has been suggested by some of the economists who are talking about this program - that this could meet the long-range needs for capital on the part of business and industry, if a portion of this money could be invested in the economy and grow as other pension funds."

Reagan also said he was clearly mentioning this only as one of a number of ideas that might be studied, rather than as a firm recommendation. Moreover, they added, the investment could take other forms, instead of just stocks.

Social Security Taxes

Reagan (continued)

Los Angeles Times
3/5/76

Speaking about the Social Security System, Reagan said "it is in need of a major overhaul, but one thing must be made unmistakably certain - any reform must have as its first priority the guarantee that all those on Social Security for their livelihood will continue to receive their monthly check and that their benefits won't decline in purchasing power but will keep pace with inflation."

CARTER

New York Times
3/5/76

Mr. Carter believes that the least regressive way to raise more money for the Social Security system is to raise the wage base because only those at higher income levels would be taxed more heavily.

CHURCH

Congressional
Record
2/25/76

Church responded to the Ford payroll tax proposals: "He (Ford) made no new recommendations to improve social security coverage. He could have proposed low cost, high yield improvements.

"I also have misgivings about President Ford's proposal to meet the short term financing problem confronting the social security tax This appears to be the most regressive approach to provide revenue for the social security trust funds ... and would fall heavily upon low income wage earners ... and may intensify our already high unemployment ... (by) discouraging employers from hiring new workers because their payroll costs would be boosted.

"I plan to consider other alternatives to place the social security trust funds in actuarial balance."

UDALL

Udall Issue
Paper, 1/23/76
"Congressman
Morris K. Udall
Addresses the
Issues"

"The most regressive tax of all is the payroll tax. Personal exemptions and a low income allowance must be provided under this tax, and above all, the income ceiling must be raised."

New York Times

Udall suggests that the payroll tax be levied at a somewhat progressive rate to ease the burden on the poor. Further, he would consider having employers pay higher social security taxes than their employees.

Social Security Taxes

WALLACE

Wallace material prepared for Common Cause 3/19/76

Wallace states that "We cannot afford more and more Social Security taxes. In the end, it will work new hardships on the working class citizen." He supports the use of general revenue funds "if necessary to bolster Social Security which must be made crisis proof." He adds that the extra revenue could be obtained "by cutting foreign aid programs and getting cheats off the welfare rolls."

New York Times 3/5/76

Still on the subject of the use of general revenue funds, Wallace said "I would much rather see general revenues going as stop-gap dollars to Social Security than to many of the crackpot schemes for which funds are being budgeted."

* * *

REAGAN

Reagan proposed tax incentives to business to create jobs. He argues that it is better to spend money on "incentives to business and industry to hire more people" than to spend money creating public jobs.

Washington Post 4/20/76

BROWN

Governor Brown doesn't think our problems will be solved by new Republican programs of tax incentives to create jobs.

NY Times 2/18/76

Capital Formation/Business Taxes

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

FORD

New York Times
10/7/75. Ford
speech on economy

Ford proposes a "tax reduction directed at business in a way that creates more jobs. The tax cuts that I propose, including a permanent increase in the investment tax credit (10%) and a 2% reduction in the corporate tax rate, are specifically designed to increase employment."

State of the
Union Address
1/19/76

"I propose tax changes to encourage people to invest in America's future and their own, through a plan that gives moderate income families income tax benefits if they make long-term investments in common stock in American companies."

White House
Fact Sheet on
the State of the
Union Address
1/19/76

To encourage investment, the President has already proposed a phased integration of the corporate and individual income tax which will eventually eliminate the double tax burden now imposed on corporate dividends.

Testimony of Secy.
of Treasury
William Simon
before Senate
Finance Committee
3/17/76

Presenting President Ford's proposals to the Finance Committee, Simon said that Ford favors a job creation incentive program which provides for accelerated depreciation of new plant facilities and equipment in areas which experienced unemployment of 7% or more in 1975. He also has introduced a proposal to encourage capital formation and the efficient allocation of investment resources by the introduction of a sliding scale for the taxation of capital gains.

REAGAN

Washington Post
4/20/76

Reagan proposed tax incentives to business to create jobs. He argues that it is better to spend money on "incentives to business and industry to hire more people" than to spend money creating public jobs.

BROWN

NY Times
2/18/76

Governor Brown doesn't think our problems will be solved by new Republican programs of tax incentives to create jobs.

Capital Formation/Business Taxes

CARTER

Interview with
Carter, Business
Week 5/3/76

Carter said that capital and earned incomes should be taxed in the same way. He also said he favors taxing income only once (a reference to the double-taxing of corporate dividends).

CHURCH

Baltimore Sun
3/27/76

Church said that loss of 150,000 jobs a year could be avoided by modifying tax laws.

Existing tax provisions have prompted a number of companies to shift production to overseas subsidiaries.

Church states, "... current tax laws give all kinds of preferences to profits earned abroad." He also stated, "Big companies can make profits in this country. There is no reason to make it more advantageous for them to make profits abroad."

* * *

Issue Profile #7

ENERGY

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Introduction

ENERGY

Overview/Energy Independence/Conservation
Energy Prices/Energy Industry Structure/Nuclear Power/Non-Nuclear Power

Since the Arab oil embargo of 1973 and its attendant long lines at the gasoline station, energy has been an important and confusing issue to most Americans. A nation accustomed to years of abundant, low-priced energy is learning to live with sharply higher prices and the threat of shortages. But public opinion surveys identify energy -- how to get it, what to pay for it, what directions to take for the future -- as an issue troubling and often angering many Americans.

The "energy crisis" is many things to different people. To some it is a question of prices; others see supply, at any price, as the issue. The energy industries are portrayed as rapacious monopolists and as overburdened victims of government regulation.

Those who look beyond the present are concerned about the role that nuclear power, increased use of coal, solar power and fusion will play in our lives. They are asking what part the federal government should play in encouraging or discouraging

these technologies, and what costs society should bear in order to have alternatives to oil and gas.

To gain insight into candidates' views on the energy issue, Common Cause has outlined their positions on the following problems commonly associated with the energy crisis:

- The overview category contains candidate analysis of the energy crisis and proposed solutions.
- Energy independence includes candidate proposals for lessening our dependence on foreign oil over the coming years, or in case of another embargo. Among the preferred solutions -- often in differing combinations with each other -- are: increased conservation, rationing or allocation, higher prices, the development of a strategic petroleum reserve and crash programs in nuclear power or coal.
- No candidate is campaigning against conservation, but there are differing views on the subject, particularly on the question of whether the federal government should mandate conservation, provide incentives for it, or merely educate. There are also differences between those who see conservation as an important strategy for the near future -- in fact as our best route to energy independence -- and those who see it as a good idea, but of far less importance.

- Energy prices are among the most controversial issues and candidates have taken widely varying views. Some see the continuing rise in all energy prices as unwarranted and seek government action to roll prices back or regulate them. Others see high prices as vital to stimulating investment for future energy production or as an incentive to conservation. Pricing policies regarding utility rates, oil and natural gas are the most controversial.

- Some candidates see a villain in the existing energy industry structure and claim that a breakup of the giant oil companies is needed to save the country from monopoly pricing. Proponents argue that this will lead to increased competition and lower prices; opponents see a breakup as causing inefficiency and higher prices. At the same time, there is worry about the expansion of oil companies into other energy industries -- coal, uranium, geothermal and solar -- all energy sources which could compete with oil and gas. Some urge horizontal divestiture to prevent this concentration of all energy sources in the hands of the oil companies; others see this expansion as healthy and maintain that only large, wealthy corporations with technological expertise will be able to adequately develop these resources for the future. A third related issue concerns whether the government itself should get into the energy business. Some would have the government establish a "yardstick corporation" along the lines of TVA to compete with the energy giants and keep them honest. Others see no reason why the further development of energy resources should not be entirely undertaken by private interests with proven capabilities.

- Nuclear power is an increasingly controversial issue. The middle ground is rapidly disappearing as the public and the candidates must decide whether this technology is, as one side would have it, both safe and absolutely necessary for future development, or whether it is an unreasonably dangerous threat to life as well as an increasingly expensive proposition. At the center of this debate lie two currently hard-fought controversies: whether nuclear power plants should continue to enjoy government-backed insurance coverage and protection from the full cost of any disaster (provided by the Price-Anderson Act) and whether the federal government should spend over two billion dollars to develop a breeder reactor.

- As oil and gas supplies decline, non-nuclear fuels such as coal, solar power, wind power, geothermal power and the burning of refuse will all become more important. Which of these fuels to rely on, when to expect them to play a role, and how much to spend on technology for them are all issues for the candidates.

* * *

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 Address
1/19/76

"I again urge the Congress to move ahead immediately on the remainder of my energy proposals to make America invulnerable to the foreign oil cartel. My proposals would:

- Reduce domestic natural gas shortages;
- Allow production from national petroleum reserves;
- Stimulate effective revitalization of our railroads and the expansion of our urban transportation systems;
- Develop more and cleaner energy from our vast coal resources;
- Create a new national Energy Independence Authority to stimulate vital energy investment;
- And accelerate development of technology to capture energy from the sun and the earth for this and future generations."

"Message to the
Congress"
February 26, 1976

"I envision an energy future for the United States free of the threat of embargoes and arbitrary price increases by foreign governments. I see a world in which all nations strengthen their cooperative efforts to solve critical energy problems. I envision a major expansion in the production and use of coal, aggressive exploration for domestic oil and gas, a strong commitment to nuclear power, significant technological breakthroughs in harnessing the unlimited potential of solar energy and fusion power, and a strengthened conservation ethic in our use of energy.

"I am convinced that the United States has the ability to achieve energy independence."

Overview

REAGAN

Release Governor
Ronald Reagan's
Stand on Issues
1/5/76

"The one thing we shouldn't forget is this: if we relax government controls on natural gas, nuclear plants, oil shale and offshore drilling, we won't have to talk about invading the Middle East. Instead we could surpass the Middle East as the world's chief exporter of energy."

Business Week
2/9/76

"The U.S. should have an energy policy of trusting the market place. Get rid of the controls, trust the market place."

Response to North
Carolina Common Cause
3/17/76

"We need to begin pumping every barrel of domestic oil we can get our hands on; begin using our vast coal reserves, with both intelligence and innovation; and begin shifting our sights to the one sure source that will carry us through the next several decades: nuclear energy. It can be produced economically and safely, despite highly emotional arguments to the contrary."

Today (Gannett
Newspapers)
2/1/76

"I see disaster under the present energy legislation. I think it's the most ridiculous thing that been done in a long time. I think Congress is totally irresponsible. First of all, at a time when we need conservation they temporarily reduce the price which, if anything, should encourage the use of the resource. Of course, that was to get us through the election year. You know it's got to go up later. But the worst thing is, this legislation is now increasing the import of oil, it is discouraging the exploration and the drilling for new sources of energy, and I think the best thing government can do is review its whole policy with regard to getting out of the way. Get rid of the regulations and controls that are keeping private capital from being invested into going out and finding new sources of energy (sic)."

BROWN

New York Times
3/14/76

Brown stated that the two biggest problems facing the nation were "full employment and the husbanding of limited resources."

CARTER

Press Release
(undated)

"The mishandling of the energy problem is a primary cause of the current economic crisis. We are the only civilized nation on earth without an energy policy. This negligence is a crime against the American people."

Response to North
Carolina Common Cause
3/17/76

"We should remember that we only have enough oil available as an energy source for another 30 years. We must make a major shift to coal and substantially increase our use of solar energy. With proper national planning, energy conservation can be increased and we can keep our dependence on nuclear energy to an absolute minimum."

CHURCH

Frank Church's
Record on the Issues
March 1976

"The American energy policy abroad has mainly been of, by and for the big oil companies, not the American people."

UDALL

Interview with Udall,
Washington Post
4/25/76

Asked what his energy program was, Udall replied: "My energy program is composed of several elements. I think the big thing that has been overlooked is energy conservation. We ought to go all-out on a crash basis of energy conservation--

Q: How would you do that?

Guidelines for Detroit; what the Congress did was a step in the right direction. Efficiency standards for industry. Appliance labeling which would be mandatory in just a few years. While we're doing all of this, I would emphasize solar and non-nuclear sources."

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Overview

Brown stated that the two biggest problems facing the nation were "full employment and the husbanding of limited resources."

New York Times
3/14/75

UDALL (cont.)

Release
Undated

"We must stop trying to make the future look like the past. The next decade will be different--and it can be better. Waste and extravagance will give way to the practicality of smaller cars, mass transit, and railroads that work. Our energy future is not with nuclear breeder reactors, but in harnessing the infinite power of the sun, wind, tide and earth's core. The first step is to break the strangle-hold of 'Big Oil' companies by limiting them to only one phase of the petroleum business, and preventing them from taking over new energy sources."

Congressional
Record
4/24/75

"The energy crisis has pitched us into a serious predicament: the country at once, must grapple with the interrelated problems of economic recovery, runaway prices, shortages, increases in pollution, and threats to foreign policies vital to our future.

"The American people want the hard facts about this energy predicament. They are willing to make sacrifices if sacrifices are necessary, but they are convinced the energy policies of the past are working against the national interest. In short, they want our energy destiny taken out of the hands of oil company executives and put in the hands of the people.

"It is increasingly clear that Americans cannot have the kind of energy system they want unless the system itself is reorganized. Patchwork solutions will not be adequate. Structural changes are needed, changes which will enable us to shape an energy economy which serves the common good."

Speech to Consumer
Assembly
1/22/76

"If, as I am convinced, a sane energy policy is a keystone to our nation's health, reform of this archaic regulatory system should be a top national priority. In an urbanized, technological society, adequate utility service is indispensable. And in a field where the individual has no bargaining power, effective regulation must serve the needs of consumers, not just executives and stockholders. Because energy scarcity and economic malaise are national problems, utility reform must be tackled at the national level."

Overview

WALLACE

Answers for America
Wallace campaign
brochure
Undated

"The U. S. energy crisis was caused by sheer neglect in planning. The energy crisis will be resolved only by careful long range planning, realistic action in energy conservation, and reevaluation of our energy sources, production and distribution.

Five main factors contributed to the initial U. S. energy crisis:

1. The U. S. had no master plan for energy despite a known lack of self-sufficiency.
2. Environmental economics such as pollution caused by energy production plus the net reduction of auto mileage in anti-pollution programs were ignored until the energy crisis spotlighted them.
3. Controversial and complex international differences on who owns the rights to oil on the ocean floor have not been resolved despite the magnamity of energy in world economics.
4. A failure to recognize the need and move ahead in research in energy products to find substitutes for a lack of self-sufficiency in oil.
5. The OPEC cartel, which created a combined energy super power insofar as western free nations are concerned, was formed of governments rather than corporations and it took price-raising actions and instituted an embargo which forced the situation into focus.

In my judgment, the energy crisis, in one form or another is the foremost problem of politics and economics in the last quarter of the twentieth century. One reason is that Soviet Russia and the People's Republic of China have their energy self-sufficiency and do not rely on outside sources to maintain their technological framework and military needs."

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Overview

WALLACE (cont.)

Wallace Ad
Tallahassee Democrat
3/7/76

"We've blundered from year to year without an energy plan. Now we need a battle plan to solve the energy crisis. It's taking away security from many families in higher utility bills and in high gasoline and oil prices. We must make coal safe to use, create real safeguards for nuclear power plants, harness the sun's mighty solar energy, and embark on the greatest oil and raw materials exploration program in our history. We have to do it under the free enterprise system. We need the strongest laws possible to put those in jail who gouge the public on high profits, no matter who they are. Both Soviet Russia and Red China have self sufficiency in energy. Until we do, our freedom is threatened seriously."

* * *

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Energy Independence

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

FORD

The Times quoted President Ford:

New York Times
9/30/75

"The only way Congress can really protect the American consumer is to enact a long-range energy program that encourages Americans to produce our own energy with our own workers from our own resources and at our own prices."

Energy
President Ford
Committee
Undated

"President Ford is committed to finding new sources of energy and feels the use of nuclear power must be developed rapidly."

Wall Street
Journal, 9/23/75

President Ford called for the creation of an Energy Independence Authority with \$100 billion dollars of federal funding. President Ford called for a "crash" program to be directed by EIA to show foreign oil nations that "Uncle Sam is not about to say 'uncle.'"

"Message to the
Congress"
February 26, 1976

"A little over two years ago, the Arab embargo proved that our Nation had become excessively dependent upon others for our oil supplies. We now realize how critical energy is to the defense of our country, to the strength of our economy, and to the quality of our lives.

"We must reduce our vulnerability to the economic disruption which a few foreign countries can cause by cutting off our energy supplies or by arbitrarily raising prices. We must regain our energy independence."

Energy Independence

REAGAN

Business Week
2/9/76

"Q: How would you deal with OPEC?

"A: Of course, again, you would have inherited a tough spot, because we don't have an energy policy. Nothing has been done, to speak of, to produce the oil we have. What's going to keep OPEC nations from raising prices? The main thing that would keep them from it is if they saw the threat of the U.S. becoming less dependent on them. Actually we've increased our dependence since the big crunch. But what would I do if they threw this at me? I don't have an answer to that."

In the same interview Reagan stated his opposition to the \$100 billion Energy Independence Authority. The only area where he saw cause for major government intervention would be in helping industry to develop in-site gasification of coal.

Release
Governor Ronald
Reagan's Stand on
the Issues
1/5/76

Reagan expressed the view that if government controls on natural gas, nuclear power and off-shore drilling were relaxed, "we could surpass the Middle East as the world's chief exporter of energy."

Reagan favors "building up our nuclear power plants, gasification of coal and oil and developing solar energy technology."

Today (Gannett
Newspapers)
2/1/76

"I see disaster under the present energy legislation. I think its the most ridiculous thing that been done in a long time. I think Congress is totally irresponsible. First of all, at a time when we need conservation they temporarily reduce the price which, if anything, should encourage the use of the resource. Of course, that was to get us through the election year. You know its got to go up later. But the worst thing is, this legislation is now increasing the import of oil, it is discouraging the exploration and the drilling for new sources of energy, and I think

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Energy Independence

REAGAN (cont'd.)

the best thing government can do is review its whole policy with regard to getting out of the way. Get rid of the regulations and controls that are keeping private capital from being invested into going out and finding new sources of energy."

CARTER

Face the Nation
11/30/75

Q: "Governor, in connection with this, you said the Arabs should not be permitted to embargo future shipments of oil. Now how would you propose to enforce that? Military intervention, or something like that?"

A: "No, not military intervention. We, as I said, have now gotten dependent upon about 40 per cent of our oil from foreign countries. A good portion of that comes from Arab nations. In 1973 an embargo was imposed on our country because of the Israeli question in the Middle Eastern political situation. I would not permit that to happen again; I would let the Arab countries know that we want to be their friends, that we are heavily dependent upon oil being imported from them, that if they declare an embargo against us, we would consider it, not a military, but an economic declaration of war, and that we would respond instantly and without further debate in a similar fashion, that we would not ship them any food, no weapons, no spare parts for weapons, no oil drilling rigs, no oil pipes. Not to be belligerent about it, but to prevent their declaring an embargo against us again. We yielded to it in 1973. I don't think this country ought to yield to an embargo again. And I think this would be the best way to avoid it, rather than to wait until after it occurs, and then flounder around trying to decide what we should do in retrospect."

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Energy Independence

Carter (cont'd.)

On oil import quotas and a strategic national reserve, Carter said: "I would like to build up our reserves for about 60 days worth, to be stored maybe in the salt domes, cut down on oil consumption considerably --"

Q: "How do you do that?"

A: "Well, one way is to level off imports. Our own production of oil in this country is dropping about six per cent a year, and I think this is a good constraint on us about oil consumption."

Q: "But how do you stop imports? Quota system, tariffs, how do you do it?"

A: "I think a quota system would be very good, yes."

Carter
Issues summary
4/12/76

"It is unlikely that we will be totally "independent" of oil imports during this century. It is certainly not possible or necessary for us to be energy independent by 1985, but we should be free from possible blackmail or economic disaster which might be caused by another boycott. Our reserves should be developed, imports reduced to manageable levels, standby rationing procedures evolved and authorized, and aggressive economic reprisals should await any boycotting oil supplier."

Atlanta Constitution
3/7/76

Carter labelled Project Independence
"a joke"

UDALL

Congressional
Record
4/24/75

"The real energy crisis we face today is not--as some oil industry spokesmen would have us believe-- a short term crisis of production: even if herculean efforts are made, our lives in the next decade will be dominated by energy shortages. The crisis centers on conservation, the rapid development of sound alternate energy sources, and actions to break the iron grip a few large oil companies have had on our energy system."

(continued next page)

Energy Independence

UDALL (cont.)

Udall stated he favored institution of oil import quotas and development of a one billion barrel national oil stockpile. He called for an increased government role in producing energy:

"A third structural reform should be the creation by Congress of a new public agency with well defined powers to manage our publicly owned energy resources.

"Our privately owned resources are rapidly depleting. The great bulk of the remaining undeveloped fossil fuel resources of this country are in public ownership. It has been estimated that close to 70% of our undeveloped oil and gas resources lie under public lands, and that at least half of our mineable coal and over 85% of our oil shale are likewise owned by all the American people."

Release
The High Cost of
Everything and
What We Can Do
about It
Undated

"My energy policy would also recognize that in the short term--for the next decade or so--America's largest new energy source is energy conservation, the elimination of all the waste in today's energy budget, and the development of new technologies to increase the efficiency of energy use."

Udall Column in
Boston Globe
2/26/76

"Energy--As a result of the failure of Republican leadership, the United States today is more dependent on imported oil than we were before the embargo, even though domestic energy consumption has dropped. To reverse this trend, we need a program of adjustable import quotas. These will not create domestic shortages, or the need for allocation programs that discriminate against New England, because they will be adjusted downwards in step with reductions in energy use."

Energy Independence

WALLACE

Interview with
Cronkite
CBS Evening News
12/30/75

When asked how he would deal with the energy crisis, Wallace replied that he had no easy answers and didn't believe anyone else did. He placed emphasis on the need to conserve and the need to supply energy, first, to agriculture and, then, to industry with the possibility of limiting energy used for pleasure activities.

Wallace
Materials prepared
for Common Cause
3/19/76

"Energy independence is our highest priority.

"Conservation programs must be maintained in the energy field despite the crisis. Our long term energy supplies are in danger, not only for ourselves, but for our allies. We must begin an immediate energy battle so that we will not fall behind more. Both Soviet Russia and Red China have energy self-sufficiency. It is the highest priority for ourselves and the cause of freedom that we reach self sufficiency through harnessing solar energy, making coal safe to use, developing synthetic fuels and finding proper safeguards for nuclear energy."

Wallace Column in
Boston Globe
2/25/76

Wallace states:

"Unfortunately, there is an extra variable in the oil situation: namely, the issue of vulnerability. We cannot afford to become more vulnerable or even continue to be as vulnerable as we are today to embargoes by foreign governments. We must reduce our reliance on imports.

"To do this, we must do a combination of things--import oil and stockpile, increase domestic production, produce oil from coal and possibly shale and reduce our consumption growth by extensive energy conservation programs. Conservation is the most immediate we can take and is the one in which all Americans can participate. I believe conservation is extremely important. We must learn to use energy more wisely and efficiently."

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Energy Independence

WALLACE (cont.)

Answers for America
Wallace campaign
brochure
Undated

"In September 1974, during Project Independence hearings, I outlined a seven-point program for energy independence. The points included:

1. Increased use of coal including gasification and liquefaction.
2. Extensive exploration to determine the extent of the oil and gas reserves of the U. S.
3. Importation of oil using superports and stockpiling against future embargoes.
4. Special consideration in energy plans for states and areas with below national average standards of living to allow them to raise their standards, and consideration of the average American who usually bears the burden of cost.
5. Streamlining of licensing procedures for power plants and solving investment problems of utilities.
6. An extensive effort to provide alternate energy sources to fossil fuels such as solar, geothermal, etc.
7. Adequate environmental protection in all our energy projects.

In July 1975, I asked the Federal Energy Administration and the Southern Interstate Nuclear Board to do a study of the feasibility of energy parks in or near Alabama. I asked for this study to ensure the effects of such parks were known before Federal agencies rushed head-long into the development. I believe we should closely examine all new developments to determine their benefits and costs including dollar costs, and environmental costs. Only through complete knowledge of these facts can the public make meaningful decisions."

* * *

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Conservation

Common Cause has found on campaign statement on this issue by Brown.

FORD

Special Appendix to the Budget 6/76 The Administration asked for \$99.2 million to fund all conservation research and development programs for FY77 as opposed to \$101.7 million for FY76.

"Message to the Congress" February 26, 1976 "The nation has made major progress in reducing energy consumption in the last two years but greatly increased savings can yet be realized in all sectors. . . .

"I have asked for a 63 percent increase in funding for energy conservation research and development in my 1977 budget."

REAGAN

Today (Gannet Newspapers) 2/1/76 "At a time when we need conservation, they temporarily reduce the price which, if anything, should encourage use of the resource. Of course, that was to get us through the election year. You know it's got to go up later."

CARTER

Speech to Washington Press Club 7/11/75 "The potential for dramatic energy conservation remains untapped. Our energy waste in transportation is 85%, in generating electricity 65%. Overall, 50% of our energy is wasted.

"When we had to cut our own wood to burn on the farm, we did not waste it."

(continued next page)

Conservation

CARTER (cont'd.)

"We need:

- mandated motor vehicle efficiency standards;
- rigid enforcement of speed laws;
- efficiency standards and labeling for electric appliances;
- mandatory improvements in building insulation
- regulatory agency decisions that reduce fuel consumption;
- and similar conservation measures.

"The federal government with all its agencies should set a national example in the conservation and proper use of energy."

Face the Nation
11/30/75

"We also need to have mandatory conservation measures, automobile efficiency, a change in the rate structure of electric power companies to discourage consumption of electricity, rather than to encourage it, and at the same time have a shift towards solar energy.

CHURCH

Congressional Record
3/16/76

Introducing the Energy Conservation Research and Development Act of 1976: "If properly conducted, energy conservation is a way by which we can avoid diminishing our present standard of living which might otherwise result from higher energy prices and growing scarcity of nonrenewable fossil fuels. More efficient use of energy is the least disruptive and most environmentally acceptable method by which to increase energy supply. For individual consumers and small businesses energy conservation would result in lower fuel costs and net economic savings. Finally serious commitment to efficient use of energy can result in decreased imports of foreign oil thereby increasing the leverage this country will have in the international energy markets."

Conservation

UDALL

Udall Column in
Boston Globe
2/26/76

"To cut energy use I have proposed a broad-based mandatory energy conservation program that will substantially cut energy use in the years ahead, while providing additional jobs and stimulating economic recovery."

Release
Congressman Morris
K. Udall on Energy
1/23/76

"A strong energy conservation program is an absolute necessity: for the foreseeable future, America's largest 'new' energy resource is the elimination of today's energy waste. Experts estimate that up to 25% of current energy is wasted, and can be eliminated with an overall increase in jobs.

Congressional
Record, 4/24/75

"A well-designed energy conservation program will strengthen our economy in the years ahead. If the U. S. is a lean and efficient country, it will be stronger socially and economically. Conservation will mean shifts in patterns of investments and industrial growth--but will not mean reductions in employment.

"To appreciate this prediction, it must be recognized first that the energy industry, while capital intensive, provides relatively few jobs. Today the energy industry accounts for nearly 10% of GNP but provides only 3% of American jobs. Dollars spent on energy generate fewer jobs than dollars spent elsewhere in the economy. To be more precise, it requires an investment of about \$150,000 to provide for one permanent job in the energy industry, whereas only \$22,000 is required in general manufacturing."

WALLACE

Answers for America "Every barrel of oil we don't use is one less
Wallace campaign barrel we must import."
brochure
Undated

Answers for America "Conservation of all forms of energy has to be our
Wallace campaign most important concern. If everyone uses less
brochure natural gas more will be available for those suffer-
Undated ing curtailments. Conservation of electricity will
reduce the need for construction of facilities and
consumption of fuel. Conservation of petroleum
products will reduce our need for imports. But,
conservation isn't painless.

During early 1974 this nation used less gasoline by
driving less and avoiding unnecessary trips. The
impact was felt by those that pumped gas for a living
and those depending on travelers for their liveli-
hood. We need a strong national energy conserva-
tion ethic.
Americans must realize that we can solve our energy
problems but conservation must become a way of life."

Wallace Column in
Boston Globe
2/25/76

Referring to energy independence, Wallace states:
"To do this we must do a combination of
things -- import oil and stockpile, increase
domestic production, produce oil from
coal and possibly shale and reduce our
consumption growth by extensive conservation
programs. Conservation is the most immediate
step we can take and is the one in which all
Americans can participate. I believe
conservation is extremely important. We
must learn to use energy more wisely and
efficiently."

* * *

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Energy Prices

FORD

- Boston Globe 2/9/76 The Globe reported:
On energy, as on other economic issues, Mr. Ford believes in reliance on private business and the laws of supply and demand. He would reduce consumption of oil and gas by decontrolling prices and letting increased cost discourage moderate-income people from consuming as much energy.
- New York Times 9/30/75 Mr. Ford said in the signing statement (of an extension of price controls) today, in fact, that Congress had but two "immediate choices." It could, he said, adopt a plan for phased decontrol of domestic oil prices, such as in plans twice rejected in Congress, or it could adopt a fallback Administration package of measures designed to ease the impact of sudden decontrol.
- State of the Union Address 1/11/76 Commenting on the Energy Policy and Conservation Act of 1975, which rolled back domestic crude oil prices, "Last month I signed a compromise national energy bill which enacts a part of my comprehensive energy independence program. This legislation was late in coming, not the complete answer to energy independence, but still a step in the right direction."
- "Message to the Congress" February 26, 1976 "Deregulating the price of new natural gas remains the most important action that can be taken by the Congress to improve our future gas supply situation."

REAGAN

- Baltimore Sun 4/17/76 Calling for restoration of the oil depletion allowance in Abeline, Texas, Reagan said: "I think this thing of making business and industry constantly a tax whipping boy is based on a kind of economic fairy tale that has been widespread in this country and has been helped along by a lot of politicians that if business can be made to pay higher taxes it will relieve the burden of the individual."

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Energy Prices

REAGAN (cont.)

Release
Governor Ronald
Reagan's Stand
on the Issues
1/5/76

Reagan opposed the Energy Policy and Conservation Act which rolled back oil prices. "That bill will increase our vulnerability to the OPEC monopoly, through decreased domestic production and increased dependence on imports of at least one million barrels a day."

Business Week
1/9/76

Advocating setting of energy prices by the market place, Reagan said, "Sure there'll be a flurry; for a moment, I'm sure the price will go up. But I'm also sure as it becomes more profitable we'll find competition will bring the price down."

Today (Gannett
Newspapers)
2/1/76

"At a time when we need conservation, they temporarily reduce the price which, if anything, should encourage use of the resource. Of course, that was to get us through the election year. You know it's got to go up later."

BROWN

Brown's Record on
the Issues
Brown for President
Committee
5/4/76

Brown signed a bill establishing "lifetime rates" for electric utility which provides for low rates to residential users.

CARTER

Speech to Washington
Press Club
7/11/75

"There is no need to deregulate the price of old oil and natural gas. The price of all domestic oil should be kept below that of O.P.E.C. oil."

"Utility rates are up more than 40% in two years, while electric power plants operate at about 35% efficiency. Electric power companies demand that their present customers finance huge construction projects while less than half of their present capacity is utilized. Some of their projections for annual power consumption increases are double even those of the Federal Energy Administrator!

"Unnecessary electrical power plant construction should be stopped."

"Advertising at consumers' expense to encourage increased consumption of electricity should be prohibited."

"Rate structures which discourage total consumption and peak power demand should be established."

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Energy Prices

CARTER (cont.)

Carter Column
Boston Globe
2/26/76

"I have warned that New England must fight against any attempt to eliminate the allocation of the Federal Energy Administration. Most people are unaware that even at the height of the embargo, only 3 percent of the oil was subject to the allocation formula and that this soon dropped to 1 percent. But this provided the necessary supply cushion."

Face the Nation
11/30/75

"No, I would not favor price rising. As a matter of fact, I don't favor the deregulation of the price of old oil. I think we ought to maintain it as it is."

CHURCH

Frank Church's
Record on the Issues
March 1976

"Church voted for the Energy Policy and Conservation Act of 1975 which rolled back crude oil prices. He voted against S.622 which would have deregulated the price of natural gas."

Congressional Record
3/16/76

"Dramatically rising energy prices have placed an intolerable burden on the American people. Whether measured in the \$26 billion that will be exported this year to pay for foreign oil or the cost in individual human suffering, this burden is truly staggering."

UDALL

Congressional
Quarterly
2/21/76

"The national gas industry has rightly been a regulated monopoly since its inception. But with the President dangling the prospect of taking the lid off prices, it is not surprising that very little new gas is coming to market."

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Energy Prices

UDALL (cont.)

On natural gas prices:

Congressional
Record, 4/24/75

"With the current shortage in the sky-high price of alternatives, decontrol of natural gas prices would be a multi-billion giveaway to the Big Oil companies who also monopolize gas production. Congress must act to end the uncertainty over the future of the natural gas industry.

Speech to the
Consumer Assembly
1/22/76

On utility prices:

"Any national utility reform should begin with some help for consumers, in the form of lifeline rates guaranteeing a subsistence amount of power--on the order of 400 kilowatt hours a month--at the minimum unit rate charged any customer"

Speech to the
Consumer Assembly
1/22/76

"Utility reform should also do away with the automatic fuel cost adjustment. In 1974, fuel adjustments--subject to virtually no regulatory scrutiny--amounted to 6.5 billion. That is more than the total of all rate increases granted throughout the nation over the past 25 years!"

Release
The High Cost of
Everything and
What We Can Do
about It
Undated

"We are going to get real competition back into our economy by deconcentrating the monopolies and conglomerates that strangle the marketplace."

Congressional
Record, 4/24/75

"The trend towards horizontal integration points to the further need for price controls on all domestic fuels until such time as divestiture is achieved and competition is injected into the energy market. For in the absence of controls, the energy conglomerates are pushing the price of all fuels--oil, gas and coal--up to the OPEC level."

Energy Prices

WALLACE (cont.)

Answers for America "To reduce our reliance on petroleum imports, we must
Wallace campaign reduce our consumption or increase our domestic pro-
brochure duction or both. We must explore both on and off-
Undated shore to determine the extent of our resources.
We must increase our domestic production. This costs
money. Using conventional techniques we extract
about one-third of the oil from the ground. To ex-
tract some of the oil remaining in the ground we
must use more costly sophisticated techniques. The
oil industry must be allowed to earn a fair return
on their investment. Naturally, this will result
in higher prices for petroleum products. Government
should allow private enterprises to function. The
oil companies know best how to run their business.
But government should ensure that only a fair return
is earned and that industry doesn't rip off the public."

"Deregulation of oil will allow more sophisticated
recovery techniques to be used so more oil will be
produced, but still not enough to meet our needs.
Unfortunately, these techniques are costly and prices
will rise. World oil prices will also probably rise
as the oil producing nations want to ensure their in-
come. This country will probably continue to in-
crease consumption for the rest of this century.
We must slow the rate of increase and increase the
production. We must produce oil from coal. We must
do these things and at the same time hold the cost
of petroleum products to a reasonable point."

Wallace
materials prepared
for Common Cause
3/19/76

"I believe we should have gradual deregulation
of natural gas so that the consumer is not
adversely affected."

Energy Industry Structure

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

FORD

Wall Street
Journal, 2/11/76

On divestiture:
"I don't think divestiture is the way to solve the problem. It seems to me that a well-managed energy company, big or small, is the best way to solve our energy problem, and to just tear them apart I don't think answers the problem."

Boston Globe
2/9/76

The Globe reported:
On energy, as on other economic issues, Mr. Ford believes in reliance on private business and the laws of supply and demand...He thinks private companies, rather than non-profit government corporations, should develop the energy resources on our public lands and off our shores and he favors private nuclear power plant development.

Wall Street
Journal, 9/30/75

Speaking about the Energy Independence Authority, the President stated the new corporation "will not replace the private enterprise system--it will supplement it."

Fact Sheet
State of the
Union Address
1/20/76

The President asked Congress "to move ahead on the remainder of my energy proposals" including a bill which would "provide assurances for private competitive uranium enrichment industry." (Currently enrichment of uranium is done in three federally-owned facilities.)

"Message to the
Congress"
February 26, 1976

"I again strongly urge the Congress to give high priority to my Nuclear Fuel Assurance Act to provide enriched uranium needed for commercial nuclear power plants here and abroad. This proposed legislation which I submitted in June 1975, would provide the basis for transition to a private competitive uranium enrichment industry and prevent the heavy drain on the Federal budget. "

"Message to the
Congress"
February 26, 1976

"I urge Congress to approve my October, 1975 proposal to create an Energy Independence Authority, a new government corporation to assist private sector financing of new energy facilities.

"This legislation will help assure that capital is available for the massive investment that must be made over the next few years in energy facilities, but will not be forthcoming otherwise."

Energy Industry Structure

REAGAN

Business Week
1/9/76

Reagan stated that the basis of a national energy policy would be to "Get rid of the controls, trust the marketplace."

CARTER

Speech to the
National Press Club
7/11/76

"To insure maximum protection for our consumers during the coming years of increasing energy shortages, anti-trust laws must be rigidly enforced. Maximum disclosure of data on reserve supplies and production must be required."

The Baltimore Sun
2/12/76

The Sun reported that Carter would not completely break up the oil companies but would have them give up ownership of coal companies and separate retail and wholesale oil sales.

CHURCH

Frank Church's
Record on the Issues
March 1976

"Church voted for the Abourezk, Mansfield and Kennedy Amendments which would have mandated vertical and horizontal integration for the major oil companies."

Energy Industry Structure

UDALL

Speech to National
Press Club
4/22/75

"By any reasonable criteria of what constitutes a concentrated industry--high prices, inefficiency, lack of innovation and exploration, bloated profits and the power to control and direct the economy--the energy industry qualifies; and is in clear violation of the intent of the anti-trust laws.

"The problem as now defined is not one of restraint of trade--but a naked question of who will determine America's energy future.

"The time has come to restructure the oil industry and eliminate those features which stifle competition. This must be done by legislation; there is too much at stake to wait for conventional anti-trust proceedings.

"Legislation should be enacted which would break up the energy conglomerates. It should fix reasonable deadlines for divestiture and prohibit any corporation from engaging in more than one phase of the petroleum business. Once this restructuring is consummated, separate companies would a) explore and produce petroleum, b) transport it, c) refine it, and d) market it at retail.

"Such legislation should also prohibit the multiple ownership of competing energy resources. Already four coal companies owned by Big Oil account for 35% of domestic coal output. In addition, oil companies control over 30% of the nation's privately-held coal reserves, and 50% of the uranium reserves.

"Major oil companies which have become energy conglomerates are stifling the very competition needed to eliminate energy shortages."

Release
Congressman Morris
K. Udall on Energy
1/23/76

"The nation cannot continue to allow its energy policy to be set by the multinational energy conglomerates--the public interest demands that the energy industry be deconcentrated, both vertically and horizontally, so as to inject competition into production and delivery systems, force realistic pricing, and prevent monopolization of new energy sources."

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Energy Industry Structure

UDALL (cont'd.)

Udall also favors creation of a federal yardstick corporation to develop publicly-owned fuel reserves.

WALLACE

Answers for America
Wallace campaign
brochure
Undated

"There appears to be a strong feeling in several elements of the government and throughout the country to break up the major energy companies. I have no assessment whether this is a majority or minority feeling. In my view, there is a danger in too much vertical integration of energy companies. I think oil companies should be allowed to function in the oil business but I do not think they should expand to control other energy sources such as coal. If oil and gas are developed from coal, I believe the companies doing the refining of such oil should not be part of the companies actually producing the oil from the coal. I also believe the situation where electric generating companies own their own sources of fossil fuels such as coal mines requires close scrutiny by government agencies. At the very least, I believe it is the duty of government in those situations where there is vertical integration to ensure that price manipulation does not occur and that excess profits are not realized."

Wallace
materials prepared
for Common Cause
3/19/76

"The growth of super oil companies has become a major problem. We should not allow these super oil companies to continue to gobble up all fields of energy. As for breaking up the present oil companies, this is poor timing in an energy crisis but we need to make certain we do have an actual energy crisis and are not being fooled by the statistics of the oil super giants."

* * *

Nuclear Power

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

FORD

Special Appendix
to the Budget
1/76

The Administration has requested the following
FY77 funding for energy:

Nuclear power	3,554 million	(includes plant and capital equipment)
Fossil energy development	467 million	"
Solar energy	130 million	"
Geothermal energy	47 million	"

The budget includes 575.4 million for the breeder reactor and 378 million for the development of nuclear fusion.

State of the
Union Address
1/19/76

The President called for legislation to "expedite clean and safe nuclear power production."

"Message to the
Congress"
February 26, 1976

"Greater utilization must be made of nuclear energy in order to achieve energy independence and maintain a strong economy. It is likewise vital that we continue our world leadership as a reliable supplier of nuclear technology in order to assure that worldwide growth in nuclear power is achieved with responsible and effective controls."

"Message to the
Congress"
February 26, 1976

"It is essential that the Congress act if we are to take timely advantage of our nuclear energy potential. I urge enactment of the Nuclear Licensing Act to streamline the licensing procedures for the construction of new power plants."

REAGAN

Manchester Union
Leader
1/7/76

The Union Leader reported that:
Reagan called for an immediate step up of nuclear power development to help solve the energy crisis.

Reagan said there's no way a nuclear power plant can explode like an atom bomb. The odds of a fatality from a nuclear plant are 1 in 75 million, he said, adding that unnecessary fear of nuclear plants have placed many restrictions on the building of the plants so needed to solve the nation's energy problems.

Today (Gannett
Newspapers)
2/1/76

"I believe, here again, that nuclear energy over the next few decades represents really the only way to fill our growing energy requirements."

Nuclear Power

CARTER

Response to North
Carolina Common Cause
3/17/76

"Our dependence on nuclear power should be kept to an absolute minimum. We ought to apply much stricter safety standards as we regulate its use. We must be completely honest with our people concerning any problems or dangers.

"Nuclear reactors should be located below ground level. The power plants should be housed in sealed buildings within which permanent heavy vacuums are maintained. Plants should be located in sparsely populated areas and only after consultation with state and local officials. Designs should be standardized, and a fulltime federal employee, with full authority to shut down the plant in case of any operational abnormality, should always be present in control rooms."

Speech to the
National Press Club
7/11/75

"During the past few years, two-thirds of all federal research and development funds went for atomic power, primarily for the liquid metal fast breeder reactor (LMFBR). Since this potential source of energy will not be economically feasible until the price of natural uranium increases several times over, since England, France and the U.S.S.R. have design experience with the LMFBR, and because of the mounting costs and environmental problems, our excessive emphasis on this project should be severely reduced and converted to a long-term, possibly multinational effort."

"Our atomic plants use light water with enriched uranium. Some countries such as Canada use heavy water with more plentiful natural uranium. Our government's fuel enrichment plants can produce adequate enriched uranium for the next decade. A shift away from sustained production of atomic weapons or toward heavy water reactors can extend this time of adequate supply."

"The private commercial production of enriched nuclear should be approached with extreme caution."

"In addition to the physical damage and human suffering which would result from a nuclear disaster, the economic, psychological and political consequences to our energy supply system would be more devastating than a total Middle East oil embargo. It is imperative that such an accident be prevented. We must maintain the strictest possible safety standards for our atomic power plants, and be completely honest with our people concerning any problems or dangers."

Nuclear Power

CHURCH

Frank Church's
Record on the Issues
March 1976

"Church supported long-term funding for the breeder reactor."

UDALL

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

Asked whether he favored a moratorium on nuclear power plants, Udall responded:

"My position is probably something that could be called a moratorium, or fairly close to it. What I say is there are serious, unanswered questions about nuclear plants. They involve costs, waste, safety, terrorists.

So I come out here:

There are 55 plants operating today. We should not shut them down. Watch them carefully. There are 64 under construction. Finish them up. But at that point, I draw the line and say, halt the fast breeder reactor. Unless there's some answers to these questions, let's not really build any more.

In the meantime, let's do coal or go all out on conservation, let's really have a massive R and D for solar and all kinds of non-nuclear organic wastes and wind and everything else. My hope is that 20 years from now, we can look back and say that we didn't have to build nuclear, that it was a transitional kind of power."

Speech in
Boston, 2/6/76

"As our Congressional hearings have unequivocally shown, not one reputable scientific expert in this country would deny that there are very troublesome and dangerous problems associated with nuclear power plants.

"Of particular concern are safety problems of nuclear power, the question of how to dispose of radioactive wastes which we haven't even begun to solve, and the protection of plutonium and other nuclear substances from theft and use by terrorist groups.

"If Governor Reagan thinks that these are 'fairy tales' perhaps he should talk it over with the three high ranking General Electric nuclear engineers from his own state of California who resigned this week because of their fears about nuclear safety."

(continued next page)

UDALL (cont.)

Speech to Illinois
Energy Conference
9/11/75

On the breeder reactor:

"For these reasons, I find our present emphasis on research and development of the liquid metal fast breeder reactor most disturbing, for it would commit the nation to a plutonium economy when so many grave questions are still unresolved. I concur with Prof. David Rose of MIT, a supporter of a vigorous nuclear program, who concluded that the Clinch River facility should be delayed for one or two years to permit substantial review of its design and costs. The course and magnitude of our commitment to breeder technology urgently need a thorough reassessment lest we find ourselves committed without airtight safeguards to a technology that would produce 30,000 tons of plutonium, requiring 100,000 shipments annually, by the year 2020."

On a nuclear moratorium:

"Having laid out these reservations, I want to re-emphasize my belief that nuclear fission can serve a useful role in our energy future. Energy policymakers must deal with the hard truths of pressing shortages, and the reality of our present partial reliance on nuclear generation. While rapid expansion of this reliance would present unacceptable economic and environmental risks, I believe an immediate moratorium on nuclear plants would be unwise."

Congressional
Record, 12/9/75

Udall was paired against extension of the Price-Anderson Act which would limit the liability of a nuclear power plant in the event of an accident.

WALLACE

Answers for America
Wallace campaign
brochure
Undated

"Nuclear power is a very emotional issue. Many people react in an almost irrational manner when nuclear power is discussed. We have nuclear power generating electricity today, and we will have more in the future. I believe we should have the minimum nuclear power we need but have the amount we need. It is the most regulated industry we have and I believe has adequate safeguards."

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Nuclear Power

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

FORD

WALLACE (cont.)

Response to North Carolina Common Cause 3/17/76

3,524 million
467 million
130 million
47 million

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oil and natural gas supplies. We must set
to remove unnecessary constraints on coal
so that production grow from the 1975
level of 640 million tons to over 1 billion
tons by 1985 in order to help achieve
energy independence.

"The construction of nuclear power plants already is the most regulated program in America. All of us recognize there is great controversy about the matter that must be resolved. I believe in safe plants so that our citizens are protected. I believe we can make nuclear power plants safe. We have done it with nuclear plants for other purposes and there is no reason that we can not do it with nuclear power plants. The greatest problem possibly concerns the environment and this is where we have mixed reactions as to nuclear power. Nuclear power should not be allowed to contaminate our air, our land, our water. If proof were submitted that it did, there should be a moratorium. Nuclear power is an important part of our battle plan for energy and we must take positive steps forward so that we do not go backwards in the energy battle through research to make this vital energy absolutely safe.

* * *

REAGAN

"I think that government should review its regulations, its taxing policies, and find out how it could free and encourage the research and the exploration not only of new sources of energy but of further development of those resources we have -- the gasification of coal, more oil, the offshore situation with oil, and deregulation, decontrol of prices."

Reagan calls for a relaxation of controls on natural gas, oil shale and offshore drilling, as well as development of gasification of coal and development of solar power.

Interview with
Cronkite
CBS Evening News
11/24/75

Release
Governor Ronald
Reagan's Stand
on the Issues
1/5/76

Non-Nuclear Power

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

FORD

Special Appendix The Administration has requested the following FY77
to the Budget funding for energy:

1/76	Nuclear power	3,554 million
	Fossil energy	467 million
	Solar power	130 million
	Geothermal power	47 million

State of the The President asked for legislation to "develop
Union Address more and cleaner energy from our vast coal resources"
1/19/76 and "to accelerate development of technology to
capture energy from the sun and the earth for this
and future generations."

"Message to the " Coal is the most abundant energy resource
Congress" available in the United States, yet
February 26, 1976 production is at the same level as in the
1920's and accounts for only about 17
percent of the Nation's energy consumption.
Coal must be used increasingly as an
alternative to scarce, expensive or insecure
oil and natural gas supplies. We must act
to remove unnecessary constraints on coal
so that production can grow from the 1975
level of 640 million tons to over 1 billion
tons by 1985 in order to help achieve
energy independence."

REAGAN

Interview with "I think that government should review its
Cronkite regulations, its taxing policies, and find out
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Release Reagan calls for a relaxation of controls on
Governor Ronald natural gas, oil shale and offshore drilling, as
Reagan's Stand well as development of gasification of coal and
on the Issues development of solar power.
1/5/76

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Non-Nuclear Power

REAGAN (cont'd.)

Business Week
2/9/76

Although Reagan opposes government involvement in the energy industry, he said, "There's one area where maybe government could be a help: I don't know whether private industry can put up all that is needed for the experiment in gasifying coal while it's still in the ground."

He also said, "I think we've got to find out whether with regulations, we are preventing the discovery of fuel sources in this country. And we've got to make it possible to have the means to get the oil that is still in the ground in the old marginal wells."

Response to North
Carolina Common Cause
3/17/76

"We should continue research into other energy resources and develop them to the fullest extent practical. It is unlikely, however, that in the next few years any combination of solar energy, geothermal energy, winds, tides or flywheels will provide practical substitutes for oil, coal and nuclear energy--no matter how much money we spend on them."

Today (Gannett
Newspapers)
2/1/76

"All the exotic things that are proposed, solar energy, winds, tides, whatever it may be, all of those at the moment appear to be nothing but auxillary aids. They can not be the great replacement."

CARTER

Face the Nation
11/30/75

"Then as we drop off our domestic production about six per cent, we need to allocate the remaining supplies of oil among states in an equitable way, shift toward other sources of energy; coal is the most logical source -- I personally prefer the concentration in the Appalachian regions of coal production. We have about 200 years worth of coal that's clean-burning; it can be mined with strict strip-mining laws which I favor.

(continued next page)

Non-Nuclear Power

READAN (cont'd.)

CARTER (cont'd.)

Speech to the
National Press Club
7/11/75

"In spite of growing dependence on other sources of power, fossil fuels will still be our main source of energy in the year 2000 A.D., with fusion power still in the developmental stage.

"A major immediate need is to derive maximum energy from coal, while preserving environmental quality. We have at least a 200-year supply of clean and accessible coal. Power companies and industries must shift to this source of energy, and we must invest in improved mining efficiency, cleaner combustion technology, and a better transportation system for moving coal to its end users."

Carter indicated that, while deemphasizing research on the breeder reactor, the United States should be involved in other major research projects: "There is certainly enough challenge and responsibility to go around in energy fields involving: thermonuclear reaction containment; liquefaction and gassification of coal; use of solid wastes; breeder reactors; electric propulsion and rail development; building insulation and design; heating, cooling and electrical power generation from solar energy; electric power transmission; industrial plant efficiency; automobile engine design; coal mining techniques; efficiency of petroleum extraction from the ground; materials recycling; long range benefit: cost ratio for energy sources; and nuclear waste disposal.

Meet the Press
11/30/75

Carter on solar power: "We can get four or five per cent of our energy from the sun in the next seven or eight years if we concentrate on it."

CHURCH

Frank Church's
Record on the Issues
March 1976

"Church co-sponsored the Federal Nonnuclear Energy Research and Development Act."

Non-Nuclear Power

UDALL

Udall Release
"The Goals of the
Udall Presidency"
Undated

"My Federal Nonnuclear Energy Research and Development Act commits the nation to the full development of non-nuclear technology, such as solar energy."

Speech to Illinois
Energy Conference
9/11/75

"There are few certainties in energy planning. The promise of solar and other exotic techniques is so great--and progress to date has been so impressive--that they should be our primary goal, with a moderate reliance on fission under rigorous safeguards as an interim, transitional step."

Release
Congressman Morris
K. Udall on Energy
1/23/76

"Coal is one of the nation's most promising energy sources, but it must be utilized in an environmentally and economically acceptable manner. Environmental regulation of strip mining, careful development of western coal production, and new technologies for the clean burning of coal are all necessary."

Congressional
Record, 4/24/75

"With the decline of our petroleum reserves, coal must once again become a key factor in our energy economy. The recent controversy over strip mining has temporarily clouded the outlook for coal, but now that new ground rules are about to be written into law, I am confident the coal industry will respond to the challenge."

"Unfortunately, in recent years, the promise of widely expanded development of western coal has been overstated while the problems have been woefully underestimated. The Ford administration and one segment of the coal industry have pushed for headlong stripmining of western coal, despite its relatively low quality and the high cost of transporting it to the industrial states. Moreover, as long as the vast tracts of western coal are controlled largely by oil, railroads, and big mining concerns, there is little room for competition from the independent coal producers who have long played an important role in the eastern coalfields."

Non-Nuclear Power

WALLACE

Wallace
materials prepared
for Common Cause
3/19/76

"It is of the highest priority for ourselves and the cause of freedom that we reach self sufficiency through harnessing solar energy, making coal safe to use, developing synthetic fuels and finding proper safeguards for nuclear energy."

Answers for America
Wallace campaign
brochure
Undated

"We need an extensive national commitment to solar energy similar to that we had to put a man on the moon. We should provide tax incentives to those that use solar energy. There is very good public support for solar energy. It is clean, has no fuel adjustment clauses and will be around as long as we are.

"Coal is this country's most plentiful fossil fuel. It is estimated we have 300 to 800 years worth of coal at current rates of consumption. Coal consumption by all estimates will increase steadily until well into the next century. The main environment problems associated with coal are reclamation of strip mined land and control of emissions when burning coal. Coal must be converted into oil (liquifaction) and gas (gasification) to meet this nation's demands."