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A



WOMEN

--Overview--

The President has long been a strong supporter of greater opportunity for American women.

In 1970, when he was serving as House Minority Leader, Mr. Ford was instrumental in lining up some of the last signatures to obtain a "discharge petition" to free the Equal Rights Amendment from committee, where it had languished for 47 years, and bring it to the floor of the House of Representatives.

In his 1976 Women's Equality Day Proclamation, President Ford said "it would be most fitting for the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment to be accomplished as we begin our third century."

On July 1, 1976, the President directed the Attorney General to review the entire United States Code to determine the need for revising sex-based provisions that are not justified in law nor supported by wise policy. The President made it clear on that occasion that he was determined to eliminate all vestiges of discrimination within the Federal government.

In March of this year, the Secretary of the Treasury presented the Administration's tax proposals. The President recommended the elimination of the estate and gift tax on all transfers between spouses.

The President has also supported the establishment and appointment of the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year and he signed the legislation which directs the National Commission to plan and convene a National Women's Conference to be preceded by 56 state and territorial conferences. On July 1st of this year the President accepted the report of the National Commission in a ceremony at the White House.

In March of 1975 the President directed the heads of Federal Departments and agencies to guarantee that all persons have an opportunity to compete on a fair and equal basis for employment and advancement in the federal government. The Chairman of the Civil Service Commission was directed to evaluate this program and report back to the President on an annual basis.



President Ford has also supported and signed the following legislation:

- The Housing and Community Development Act, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in housing and mortgage credit lending.
- The Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex and marital status in the granting of consumer credit. The Federal Reserve published regulations to ensure enforcement of equal credit opportunities last October.
- The Education Amendments of 1974, which includes a section entitled the Women's Educational Equity Act, providing funds for the development of curricula and textbooks to advance equality in education.
- The Military Procurement Bill of 1975, which permits women to be eligible for appointment and admission to the service academies for classes entering in the calendar year 1976.
- H.R. 12455, a child day care bill which postpones the Federal staffing requirements for child day care services funded under Title XX of the Social Security Act. The bill also provides \$240 million more Federal assistance for child day care. Another provision of the bill allows group eligibility which means that individuals, particularly senior citizens, would not be subjected to the demeaning income and assets tests in order to qualify for social services.
- The Tax Reform Act of 1976 which liberalizes the marital deduction for the transfer of property between spouses.

President Ford has also directed his Special Assistant for Women to maintain open liaison with over 300 national women's organizations with a combined membership of over 100 million.

Since taking office, the President has emphasized the need to increase the number of women in high-level positions in the Federal government. As a result, 14 percent of all new appointments have been women. This is higher than any previous Administration.

Among the President's appointments: Carla Hills, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development; Marjorie Lynch, Under Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; Juanita Ashcraft, Assistant Secretary of the Air Force; Judith Connor, Assistant Secretary of Transportation; Constance Newman, Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development; Anne Armstrong, Ambassador to the Court of St. James; Shirley Temple Black, Chief of Protocol; Rosemary Ginn, Ambassador to Luxembourg; Marquita Maytag, Ambassador to Nepal; Mary Olmsted, Ambassador to Papua New Guinea; Betty Southard Murphy, Chairman, National Labor Relations Board; Katherine Bailey, Member, National Transportation Safety Board; Betty Jo Christian, Commissioner, Interstate Commerce Commission; Barbara Anne Simpson, Commissioner, Federal Power Commission;



Georgiana Sheldon, Commissioner, Civil Service Commission; Ethel Bent Walsh, reappointed as Vice Chairman, EEOC; Margita White, (nomination pending) Commissioner, Federal Communications Commission; Eloise Clark, Assistant Director, National Science Foundation; Mary Richey, U.S. District Judge, Arizona; Elizabeth Kovacavich, U.S. District Judge, Middle District of Florida; Susan Gordon, Assistant Secretary, Department of Health, Education and Welfare

On his own staff, in the White House, he has appointed Gwen Anderson, Deputy Assistant to the Counselor to the President; Jeanne M. Holm, Special Assistant to the President; Judith Hope, Associate Director of the Domestic Council; Barbara Greene Kilberg, Associate Counsel; and Virginia Knauer, Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs.

October 5, 1976
JMH



B

BERNARD R. FORD LIBRARY

ABORTION

PRESIDENT FORD'S POSITION

President Ford has stated that he is personally opposed to abortion on demand -- and believes that the 1973 Supreme Court decision went too far.

The President is also opposed to a constitutional amendment which would totally prohibit abortion--"there are instances where abortion should be permitted-- the illness of a mother, rape, or any of ther other unfortunate things that might happen, so there has to be some flexibility."¹

If there were to be some action in this area, the President would support a constitutional amendment giving to the states the authority to make regulations for abortion within that state.

President Ford has also said that although he does not agree with the Court decision, "I have taken an oath of office and I will, of course, uphold the law as interpreted by the Court."²

His position is one which he has held consistently over the years. It is based on President Ford's strong belief in the Federal system, which holds that such moral and deeply personal issues should not be settled as a matter of national policy, but rather should be decided by the people closer to home, in their own states.

MRS. FORD'S POSITION

Mrs. Ford does not believe in abortion on demand. However, she has said, "I feel very strongly that it was the best thing in the world when the Supreme Court voted to legalize abortion, and in my words, bring it out³ of the backwoods and put it in the hospitals where it belonged."

¹ Stated in an interview with Walter Cronkite, February 3, 1976

² Ibid

³ Statement made in an interview on "60 Minutes", August 10, 1975.



CARTER/DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

The Democratic platform says, "We fully recognize the religious and ethical nature of the concerns which many Americans have on the subject of abortion. We feel, however, that it is undesirable to attempt to amend the U. S. Constitution to overturn the Supreme Court decision in this area."

Carter stated in a press conference held on July 15, 1976, that, "he would have favored different wording in the platform on the abortion issue. I would have preferred wording that would say, 'within the bounds of the Supreme Court decision'. That we should do everything we can to minimize the need for abortion. . ."

In an August 31, 1976, meeting with Catholic Bishops, Carter indicated he would not oppose an effort to obtain a constitutional amendment to overturn a Supreme Court decision of 1973 that legalized abortion in the first trimester of pregnancy. Carter went on to say that he opposed his own party's platform plank on abortion. Carter also said he did not favor the two most commonly suggested abortion amendments, one to give states that right to decide the matter, and, one to ban all terminations of pregnancies.

1976 REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

"The question of abortion is one of the most difficult and controversial of our time. It is undoubtedly a moral and personal issue but it also involves complex questions relating to medical science and criminal justice. There are those in our Party who favor complete support for the Supreme Court decision which permits abortion on demand. There are others who share sincere convictions that the Supreme Court's decision must be changed by a Constitutional amendment prohibiting all abortions. Others have yet to take a position, or they have assumed a stance somewhere in between polar positions. We protest the Supreme Court's intrusion into the family structure through its denial of the parents' obligation and right to guide their minor children. The Republican Party favors a continuance of the public dialogue on abortion and supports the efforts of those who seek enactment of a constitutional amendment to restore protection of the right to life for unborn children."

SUPREME COURT DECISION

On January 22, 1973, the Court ruled that States could not interfere with the decision of a woman and her doctor to terminate a pregnancy during its first three months. The Court ruled that a State could exercise some control over abortion in the second three months on the grounds that ensure that abortion procedures are reasonably related to maternal health. But during this period the State may not limit the grounds for abortion. Only in the last three months, the Court said, could the State constitutionally ban abortion or regulate it, except when it is necessary to preserve the life or health of the mother.



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ADMINISTRATION ACTIONS

The Department of Defense has ordered all military facilities to comply with the Supreme Court decision on abortion. DOD will provide abortions as a normal medical service in its hospitals but will not reimburse individuals for abortions performed outside of military hospitals.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has ordered all Public Health Service facilities to comply with Supreme Court decisions on abortion and to provide abortions as a normal medical procedure. The Department also reimburses states for abortions under Medicaid (Title XIX) and Social Services (Title XX).

With the override of the President's veto of the Labor-HEW Appropriations bill, the use of Federal funds to pay for abortions will be limited to cases where the life of the mother was "clearly endangered by disease" and to bar abortions for family planning or for the emotional or social convenience" of the mother.

On October 2nd, two U.S. District judges stopped the federal government from enforcing this new law.

October 5, 1976
JMHolm



Extract from Press Conference, September 8, 1976

ABORTION

Question: Mr. President, Jimmy Carter said today your position on abortion and his are fundamentally the same. Do you agree with that? And, secondly, do you think the issue should be debated at all in the campaign?

The President: First, the Democratic platform and the Republican platform on the issue of abortion are quite different. I subscribe to the Republican platform and Governor Carter subscribes to the Democratic platform. His position and mine are not identical. My position is that of the Republican platform and I will stick with it.

Question: But that was not your position before.

The President: I think -- if I might correct you, Ms. Thomas -- the Republican platform is my platform. It is one that coincides with my long-held view.

Question: Do you think there should be a Constitutional amendment against abortion?

The President: I have had the position for some time that there should be a Constitutional amendment that would permit the individual States to make the decision based on a vote of the people of each of the States.

Post Excerpt:

During the press conference, the President appeared to shift his position on the sensitive issue of abortion, which has caused Carter numerous problems.

Denying that he and Carter agree on this subject, Mr. Ford said he supports the position stated in the Republican Party platform. The GOP platform says the party "supports the efforts of those who seek enactment of a constitutional amendment to restore protection of the right to life for unborn children".

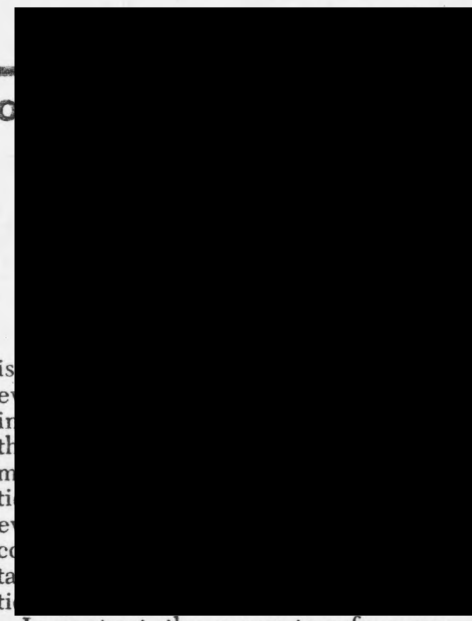
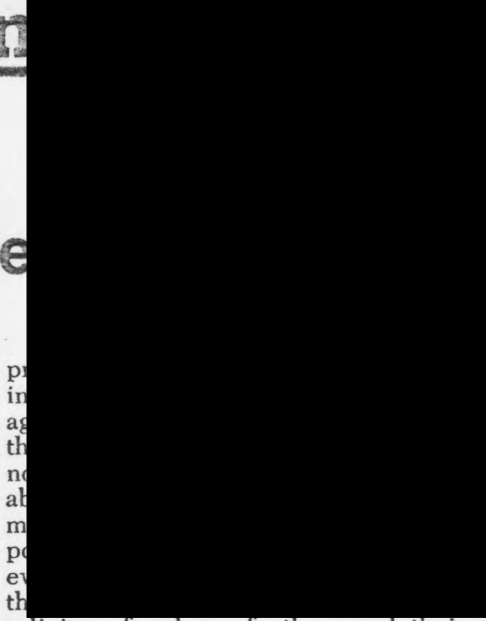
In the past, the President has said he personally opposes abortion but he did not advocate a Constitutional amendment to overturn the 1973 Supreme Court decision that struck down most anti-abortion laws. Rather, he has urged that the issue be left to the states to decide.

By embracing completely the Republican platform statement, Mr. Ford appeared to be moving much closer to the position of the nation's Roman Catholic bishops, several of whom will meet with him Friday at the White House.¹

¹The Washington Post, Thursday, September 9, 1976.



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who ran on the single issue of opposition to abortion.

There have been efforts within the Congress to initiate a constitutional amendment prohibiting abortion. There is litigation being pressed in state courts and appeals to the Supreme Court. Last November the National Conference of Catholic Bishops issued a "Pastoral Plan for Pro-Life Activities" calling for a wide-ranging anti-abortion effort in every Congressional district, including working to defeat any congressman who supports the Supreme Court decision.

Those who oppose abortion have won the battle of the slogans by adopting "Right to Life" as theirs. And, by concentrating on the single issue of the fetus, they have found abortion an easy issue to sensationalize. Thus, they have tended to win the publicity battle, too.

CONSCIENCE AND COERCION

In contrast, those who support legalized abortion—and opinion polls demonstrate them to be a majority—have been comparatively quiet. After all, they won their case in the Supreme Court decision. Legalized abortion is the law of the land. It is also in the mainstream of world opinion. The number of countries where abortion has been broadly legalized has increased steadily, today covering 60 per cent of the world population.

In this situation, there is a natural tendency to relax, to assume that the matter is settled and that the anti-abortion clamor will eventually die down. But it is conceivable that the United States could become the first democratic nation to turn the clock back by yielding to the pressure and reversing the Supreme Court decision. In my judgment, that would be a tragic mistake.

The least that those who support legalized abortion should do is try to clarify the issue and put it in perspective. The most powerful arguments about abortion are in the field of religious and moral

religious freedom of others and their right to make a free moral choice. In contrast, the legalized abortion viewpoint is non-coercive. No one would think of forcing anyone to undergo an abortion or forcing doctors to perform the procedure when it violates their consciences. Where abortion is legal, everyone is free to live by her or his religious and moral principles.

SAFETY VS. DANGER

There are also strong social reasons why abortion should remain legalized. In a woman's decision to have an abortion, there are three key considerations—the fetus, the woman herself, and the future of the unwanted child. Abortion opponents make an emotional appeal based on the first consideration alone. But there is steadily growing understanding and acceptance of a woman's fundamental right to control what happens to her body and to her future. In the privacy of her own mind, and with whatever counseling she seeks, she has the right to make her decision, and no one is better qualified. If she is denied that right, the result may well be an unwanted child, with all the attendant possibilities of abuse and neglect.

Finally, as a practical matter, legalization of abortion is a much more sound and humane social policy than prohibition. Banning abortions does not eliminate them; it never has and it never will. It merely forces women to go the dangerous route of illegal or self-induced abortions. Even worse, it makes abortion a "rich-poor" issue. At a high price, a well-to-do woman can always find a safe abortion. But, unable to pay the price, the poor woman all too often finds herself in incompetent hands.

Experience in three Catholic countries of Latin America that I visited provides dramatic evidence of a high incidence of abortion even when it is against the law. Estimates are that there

In contrast, the access to safe procedures in the United States has resulted in a drastic decline in deaths associated with abortion. In the period 1969-74, such deaths have fallen by two-thirds. Statistics also strongly suggest that about 70 per cent of the legal abortions that have been performed would still have occurred had abortion been against the law. The only difference is that they would have been dangerous operations instead of safe ones.

When you combine the religious, moral and social issues raised above with the fact that women need and will seek abortions even if they are illegal, the case for legalized abortion is overwhelming. We dare not turn the clock back to the time when the religious strictures of one group were mandatory for everyone—not in a democracy.

A PLEA FOR FREEDOM

We must uphold freedom of choice. Moreover, we must work to make free choice a reality by extending safe abortion services throughout the United States. Only one-fourth of the non-Catholic general hospitals and one-fifth of the public hospitals in the country now provide such services. It is still extremely difficult to have a legal and safe abortion if you are young or poor or live in a smaller city or rural area.

On a broader front, we must continue the effort to make contraceptive methods better, safer and more readily available to everyone. Freedom of choice is crucial, but the decision to have an abortion is always a serious matter. It is a choice one would wish to avoid. The best way to do that is to avoid unwanted pregnancy in the first place.

John D. Rockefeller 3d is chairman of the Population Council and headed the recent Presidential Commission on Population Growth and the American Future.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mrs. Ford Wanted
this.





ROOM 5600
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020

Aug 31, 1976

Dear Mrs. Ford: -

It occurs to me that you might be interested to see the enclosed copy of a letter which I have just sent to the President. I hope it will reach him not only because the subject is so important but also because it is so divisive.

May I take this occasion to express to you again my respect for your concern in regard to the social problems facing us, and your courage in speaking

out in regard to them.

With the very best wishes,

I am,

Sincerely

John D. Rockefeller III

1948 FEB 1 5 11 53



1976 SEP 1 PM 1 23

THE WHITE HOUSE
SOCIAL CORRESPONDENCE



Handwritten signature: J. Edgar Hoover

Handwritten notes:
1. met.
2. met at home in DC
3. met at home in DC

30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10020

Room 5600

Circle 7-3700

PERSONAL

August 31, 1976

Dear Mr. President:

For many years now the world population problem has been a major interest and concern of mine. As you may remember in the early 1970's I was Chairman of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future established by the Congress. Because of this long-time exposure, I am fully informed about abortion and its relationship to society today.

I would also mention that all my life I have been a Republican although sometimes independent as a voter. Like so many Americans, I felt a satisfaction and a lift when you were sworn in as President.

With this background, as you can imagine I am distressed to find that our party appears to be rapidly becoming the party opposed to a woman's right to choose abortion. I say this because of the Republican platform, Senator Dole's record, the Hyde Amendment to the HEW/Labor appropriations bill and, if I may say so, your own position on the subject.

I realize that legalized abortion raises difficult questions for those in political life. However I have come to realize that most public officials voting for a woman's right to choose an abortion are voting from conviction, from concern for the welfare of our society, particularly of women; that most public officials who oppose legalized abortion are voting primarily from fear, fear engendered by the pressure of small, well organized, well financed groups which threaten to prevent their re-election.

It must be remembered that until recently abortion was illegal in most of the world but widely practiced under unsafe conditions in spite of the risk of such an operation.



The situation is very much the same today in many South American countries where abortion continues to be illegal. When I visited Colombia, I was told that there is one abortion for every two live births. In Mexico I was told that there are more than half a million illegal abortions performed every year, and in Chile I was told hospital admissions caused by illegal abortions gone wrong exceed 50,000 a year.

What I am saying is that the issue we are facing today in this country as elsewhere is not whether abortion will be eliminated but rather whether it will be safe. If we make the mistake of reverting back to illegal status for abortions, we will be forcing poor people to seek unsafe abortions while the wealthy have the means to obtain expert medical attention.

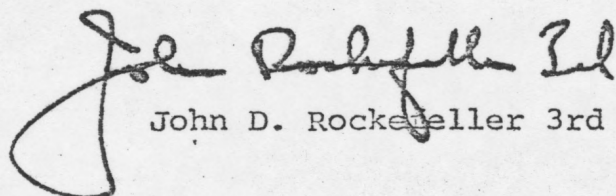
I hope you will be understanding of my writing so frankly. To me the question of legal abortion is one of the most important questions facing our society today. Your leadership in relation to it is badly needed. The majority of American women, including Catholics, want the freedom to choose. This is the way it should be, it must be, in a democracy such as ours.

May I suggest, Mr. President, that you assign one of your most trusted advisors the responsibility of preparing an indepth report for you on the basic facts relating to abortion. When this issue is approached objectively and unemotionally it becomes clear that much more than the life of the fetus is involved.

I am enclosing a brief statement I wrote on abortion which appeared in the June 21st issue of NEWSWEEK. Also I should say that I am taking the liberty of sending a copy of this letter to Mrs. Ford.

With warm best wishes, I am

Sincerely,


John D. Rockefeller 3rd

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500



C



AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

PRESIDENT FORD'S POSITION

President Ford is deeply and personally committed to the goal of eliminating discrimination in employment in both the public and private sectors. He has said:

"Our Nation's strength is based upon the concept of equal opportunity for all our citizens. Decisions motivated by factors not related to the requirements of the job have no place in the employment system of any employer and particularly the Federal Government.

But more is required than non-discrimination and prohibition of discriminatory practices. What is needed are strong affirmative actions to assure that all persons have an opportunity to compete on a fair and equal basis for employment and advancement in the Federal Government . . . Such actions are under way in the Federal Government. They must be continued and expanded.

Moreover, men and women of all racial and ethnic backgrounds must be assured a fair opportunity to serve in positions where they can make a maximum contribution and participate in the decision-making process."¹

The President believe the concept of affirmative action is a moral and political imperative at the Federal level. However, the President is convinced that the use of inflexible, mechanical means of achieving equality of opportunity -- such as quotas -- is inappropriate and, in the long run, detrimental to the overall effort. Rather, he believes that methods must be developed which, while promoting equal opportunity, do not place unreasonable burdens on Federal contractors.

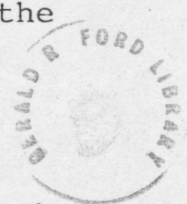
CARTER/DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

The Democratic Platform states, "We reaffirm this Party's commitment to full and vigorous enforcement of all equal opportunities laws and affirmative action."

Carter opposed a Democratic Rules Committee proposal which would have required equal representation of women in the Party's 1980 convention.

¹Memorandum for Heads of Departments and Agencies, March 6, 1975.

September 8, 1976



D



APPOINTMENTS

PRESIDENT FORD'S POSITION

The President is committed to the appointment of women to top jobs in his Administration. Of the appointments made during his term in office, 14 percent have been women, a rate higher than any previous administration. He is the first President in history to have had two women serving in Cabinet level positions. They are Anne Armstrong, former Counsellor to the President with Cabinet rank and now Ambassador to the Court of St. James, and, Carla Hills, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

The appointments include:

Carla Hills, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development
Marjorie Lynch, Under Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare
Juanita Ashcraft, Assistant Secretary of the Air Force
Judith Connor, Assistant Secretary, Department of Transportation
Susan Gordan, Assistant Secretary, Department of HEW
Constance Newman, Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development
Anne Armstrong, Ambassador to the Court of St. James
Shirley Temple Black, Chief of Protocol
Patricia Byrne, Ambassador to the Republic of Mali
Rosemary Ginn, Ambassador to Luxembourg
Marquita Maytag, Ambassador to Nepal
Mary Olmsted, Ambassador to Papau, New Guinea
Betty Southard Murphy, Chairman, National Labor Relations Board
Katherine Bailey, Member, National Transportation Safety Board
Betty Jo Christian, Commissioner, Interstate Commerce Commission
Barbara Anne Simpson, Commissioner, Federal Power Commission
Georgiana Sheldon, Commissioner, Civil Service Commission
Ethel Bent Walsh, reappointed as Vice Chairman, EEOC
Margita White, Commissioner, Federal Communications Commission
Eloise Clark, Assistant Director, National Science Foundation
Mary Richey, U.S. District Judge, Arizona
Elizabeth Kovacavich, U.S. District Judge, Middle District of Florida
Margaret Kahliff, Member of the Board of Directors, Export-Import Bank.
Dorothy Parker, Commissioner, United States Parole Commission
Paula Tennant, Commissioner, U. S. Parole Commission.

The President considers it important to have women in policy-making positions on his own staff, which is widened by his appointments of:

Gwen Anderson, Deputy Assistant to the Counselor to the President
Jeanne Holm, Special Assistant to the President
Judith Hope, Associate Director of the Domestic Council
Barbara Kilberg, Associate Counsel to the President
Virginia Knauer, Special Assistant to the President for Consumers



On his campaign staff, the President has appointed Elly Peterson as Deputy Campaign Chairman, responsible for women, minorities, Ethnics, and Hispanics.

On April 26, 1976, the President stated: "There have been substantial increases among women serving in elective office, appointive office in the Executive, Legislative and Judicial Branches, but we have a long way to go and I pledge that I will continue what we have tried to do, which is to appoint, to nominate more and more women. . ."

CARTER/DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

Carter, during the Convention, made the following commitment to the women leaders: "to appoint women to cabinet and ambassadorial posts, to appoint them to judgeships and to consider them for the Supreme Court." The Democratic platform states that "at all levels of government services, we will recruit, appoint and promote women and minorities."

September 8, 1976



E



CHILD CARE

President Ford's Position

The President believes that, although the primary responsibility for child care rests with the family, supportive actions by the State and Federal governments are important and proper as long as they don't interfere with the role of the family.

Upon signing H.R. 12455, The Child Day Care Bill, on September 7, 1976, the President said:

"Insuring an adequate day care bill for children is an important social service. It protects the well-being of thousands of American children and the economic independence of their working parents."

The President believes that standards for child day care should be developed and enforced at the State level. He does not support the Title XX Federal Interagency Day Care requirements (FIDCR) which are strict, Federally-determined standards.

On April 6, 1976, the President vetoed a predecessor bill, H.R. 9803. At that time the President said:

"I am firmly committed to providing Federal Assistance to States for social services programs, including child day care. But I am opposed to unwarranted Federal interference in States' administration of their programs.

The States should have the responsibility -- and the right -- to establish and enforce their own quality day care standards. My recently proposed Federal Assistance for Community Services Act would adopt this principle, and with it greater State flexibility in other aspects of the use of social services funds available under Title XX of the Social Security Act.

H.R. 9803 is the antithesis of my proposal. It would make permanent highly controversial and costly day care staff-to-children ratios. And it would deny the States the flexibility to establish and enforce their own staffing standards for federally-assisted day care."



H.R. 12455 is the "result of compromise and cooperation between the Congress and the Administration," the President said when signing the bill. It postpones the Federal standards for child care services required by Title XX of the Social Security Act until October 1, 1977. It also encompassed an important provision of the President's Federal Assistance to Community Services proposal by providing group eligibility. This provision would avoid subjecting individuals, particularly senior citizens, to possibly demeaning income and assets tests in order to qualify for social service.

On October 4th, the President signed the Tax Reform Act of 1976 which replaces the present itemized deduction for child care expenses with a 20% tax credit for employment-related child care expenses. The bill also eliminates the \$35,000 income limit and extended the credit to married couples where one spouse works part-time or is a student and to divorced or separated parents with custody of a child.

Carter/Democratic Platform

The Democratic platform states, "we propose federally financed, family centered developmental and educational child care programs -- operated by the public schools or other local organizations, including both private and community -- and that they be available to all who need and desire them. Quality day care is also included in their social services section. Carter said in a June 3rd speech that he would seek legislation to provide improved child care services.

1976 Republican Platform Position

"We recognize the need for structural tax adjustments to help the working men and women of our nation. To that end, we recommend tax credits for college tuition, post-secondary technical training and child care expenses incurred by working parents."



Administration Action

On February 23, 1976, the President presented to the Congress the Financial Assistance for Community Services Act. This proposal is designed to improve and strengthen the program of social services established under Title XX of the Social Security Act. It will provide a \$2.5 billion block grant annually to the States on a population basis. It will eliminate the requirement for State matching funds, as well as most Federal requirements and prohibitions on the use of Federal Funds.

As part of the Social Services block grant proposal, the President has recommended that FIDCR, and particularly the costly and controversial staffing standards, be deleted from Federal law. Under the President's proposal, each State would be required to have in effect its own appropriate mandatory standards, including requirements relating to safety, sanitation, and protection of civil rights, for day care services provided under Title XX.

October 5, 1976



F



CREDIT

President Ford's Position

On August 22, 1974, President Ford signed the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 which included a prohibition on discrimination on the basis of sex in housing and mortgage credit lending.

On October 29, 1974, President Ford signed the Equal Credit Opportunity Act which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex or marital status in the granting or denying of credit.

Administration Actions

Regulations were issued on December 5, 1974, to implement the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974. The Department of Justice filed the first suits against lending institutions under this Act on April 15, 1976, charging discrimination based on sex in the lending of mortgage money to women.

The Federal Reserve Board issued implementing regulations for the Equal Credit Opportunity Act on April 22, 1975.



September 1, 1976

G

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EARNINGS GAP BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN

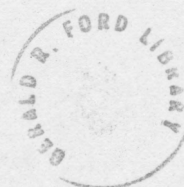
President Ford's Position

On July 1, 1976, the President said, "Another problem I would suggest for your attention at these respective conferences is the widening earnings gap between men and women. This has extremely serious implications, not just for the women being denied the wages they deserve, but for the entire American economy. It is a problem we will address in the immediate future, a matter of priority for this Administration."

Carter/Democratic Platform

No specific statement with regard to women. Under Equal Employment Opportunity, they mention closing the income gap for minorities.

September 1, 1976



H

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ECONOMY

PRESIDENT FORD'S POSITION

President Ford's economic policies in 1975 did the following to solve our nation's economic ills:

- cut the double-digit, 12% inflation by more than half to 4.6% for the first half of 1976;
- in July, 3.8 million more Americans were at work than in March 1975, at the recession low.

To create jobs in the private sector, where five out of six jobs exist, in January 1975, President Ford called for immediate reductions in both personal and business taxes. In March the President signed the Tax Reduction Act of 1975. To alleviate the economic hardships for those who are unemployed through extension of unemployment insurance benefits. He has also provided increased funds for CETA, summer youth employment and public service employment.

WOMEN'S LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

As of August 1976, 57.8 percent of all women were in the labor force. The participation of the women in the labor force from December 1975 to August 1976 accounted for nearly 60% of total labor force growth during this period. Although some consider this rate extraordinary by some analysts, according to the Women's Bureau, Department of Labor, women have accounted for 61% of the labor force growth over the entire 1974-75 period.

The rise in overall unemployment rate for the last three months and the relatively slow decline in the jobless rate since the recession high of 8.9 percent in May, 1975, has been due in part to the growth in the labor market. The female unemployment rate is higher than that for males. But in the second quarter of 1976, the unemployment rate for female heads of households dropped, while that of men stayed unchanged. Also the overall unemployment rate for women dropped.

CARTER/DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

According to a July 12 New York Times article, "he (Carter) said that in his part of the country, the women who had been out in the job market have worked 'not out of a frivolous inclination toward establishing a degree of equality, but to earn enough to put bread on the tables for their families'!"



COMMENT

- Mr. Carter obviously feels that it is "frivolous" for a woman to want to achieve a "degree of equality" or independence.
- He fails to understand the basic thrust of the women's movement or the concept of equal opportunity.

During the September 23 debate Carter said, "this talking about people at work is distorted because with the 14% increase in the cost of living in the past two years it means that women and young people have had to go to work when they didn't want to, because their fathers couldn't make enough to pay the increased cost of food, clothing and housing."

Then on October 2, Carter said: "the majority of women who work do so for exactly the same reasons as the majority of men--because they need the money to survive."

COMMENT

He obviously does not know why women in this country are going to work in larger numbers. The principal reasons more women are entering the labor force are:

- Greater freedom of women to choose their own life-styles,
- Changing attitudes toward married women working outside the home,
- increased job opportunities for women in both traditional and non-traditional fields,
- availability of child care facilities,
- greater freedom of decision in planning families,
- later marriages and higher divorce rates,
- increased recognition on the part of women of their own abilities,
- desire for economic independence,
- most single women and those widowed, divorced or separated work to support themselves, and
- most women who are heads of households have no other choice except welfare.



October 7, 1976

EDUCATION

PRESIDENT FORD'S POSITION

On August 24, 1974, President Ford signed the Education Amendments of 1974 which included a section called the Women's Educational Equity Act which provides for funds to be made available for the development of curricula and textbooks providing for educational equity. In February, 1975, the President appointed the original members of the Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs created by this Act.

On May 27, 1975, President Ford signed the regulations to implement Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 which prohibit discrimination based on sex in education programs or activities receiving or benefiting from Federal financial assistance.

In his letter of July 21, 1975, to Congressman Harrison A. Williams, Chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, the President said, with regard to the Title IX Regulations:

"The effect of the Regulation on intercollegiate and other athletic activities has drawn more public comment than has any other aspect. Many believe that the Regulation should not apply to intercollegiate athletic activities. I am advised, however, that this would not be consistent with the law that Congress passed.

Athletics are an integral part of the American education process at the primary, secondary and postsecondary levels. . . . Further Congressional hearings should provide a sound approach to compiling a complete and up-to-date record of the revenues and expenses of athletic programs, and the availability of athletic scholarships or grants-in-aid. If these hearings suggest better approaches to achieving equal opportunity in athletic programs, I would support perfecting legislation and appropriate adjustments to the Regulation. . . ."



With regard to the issue of father-son/mother-daughter events, the President directed the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to re-examine the ruling by the Department's Office for Civil Rights that, such events do violate laws prohibiting sex bias. A bill has passed the House to exempt mother-daughter and father-son events if comparable activities are provided for both.

CARTER/DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

The Democratic Platform states, "We propose federally financed, family centered developmental and educational child care programs -- operated by the public schools or other local organizations, including both private and community -- and that they be available to all who need and desire them."

With regard to higher education, the platform said: "Traineeships and fellowships should be provided to attract the most talented students, especially among minority groups and women."

ADMINISTRATION ACTION

The Administration has proposed several amendments to the Vocational Education Act of 1963 to strengthen its commitment to equal educational opportunity for men and women. Three of the Administration recommendations have been included in H.R. 12835. They will:

- support exemplary and innovative projects contributing to elimination of sex discrimination in vocational education.
- include women knowledgeable on sex discrimination and employment on the State and national advisory councils.
- set forth policies to assure equal access to vocational educational programs by both men and women, including support services such as guidance and counseling.

September 1, 1976



J

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ENFORCEMENT OF THE LAWS

President Ford's Position

The President said on April 14, 1975,

"Although the growing concern about the special legal and social problems of women has paved the way for many, many new laws and important court decisions, real change, as I see it, will depend upon the caliber and degree of enforcement. Laws alone, as we know in many, many instances, are not enough."

On March 5, 1975, the President reminded the heads of all Federal departments and agencies that "strong affirmative action is needed to see that all persons have an opportunity to compete on a fair and equal basis for employment and advancement in the Federal government."

One of the three amendments to the General Revenue Sharing Act proposed by the President is to strengthen the civil rights provisions of the existing statute.

Carter/Democratic Platform

Governor Carter has stated his concern for stronger enforcement of anti-discrimination laws. The Democratic Platform states, "We seek ..., implementation of Title IX, ... The Democratic Party pledges itself to the aggressive enforcement of the Fair Housing Act, to the promotion and enforcement of equal opportunity in housing, and to the pursuit of new regulatory and incentive policies aimed at providing minority groups and women with equal access to mortgage credit."

Further, the Democratic Party is committed "to the review and overhaul of Civil Service laws to assure ... nondiscrimination and affirmative action in the recruitment, hiring and promotion of civil service employees."



Carter/Democratic Platform (continued)

Under Equal Employment Opportunity, they affirm their commitment to "full and vigorous enforcement of all equal opportunity laws and affirmative action."

1976 Republican Platform

"There must be vigorous enforcement of laws to assure equal treatment in job recruitment, hiring, promotion, pay, credit, mortgage access and housing ... to enforce vigorously laws guaranteeing women equal rights."

September 1, 1976



K



EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

PRESIDENT FORD'S POSITION

President Ford is a long-time supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment and has urged its ratification by the states in numerous speeches and interviews.

In 1970 when ERA first reached the House of Representatives floor, the then House Minority Leader Ford was instrumental in obtaining enough votes to get a discharge petition to free the measure from Committee where it had been for 47 years.

On February 4, 1976, during an interview, President Ford told the New Hampshire Times:

"I support ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment and I have urged the adoption of it by the states. The Nation cannot afford discrimination against any individual based solely upon race, creed, sex or national origin. As we enter our third century as a Nation, it is particularly important that we reaffirm our commitment to equal opportunities for all our citizens."

In his 1976 Women's Equality Day Proclamation, President Ford said:

"To remind all Americans that it is fitting and just to secure legal equality for all women and men [I] do hereby designate and proclaim August 26, 1976, as Women's Equality Day.

I call upon all the citizens of the United States to mark this day with appropriate activities, and I call upon those States who have not ratified the Equal Rights Amendment to give serious consideration to its ratification and the upholding of our Nation's heritage."

MRS. FORD'S POSITION

Mrs. Ford is one of the Nation's leading proponents of the Equal Rights Amendment.

CARTER/DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

Governor Carter has stated on several occasions his strong support of the Equal Rights Amendment. The 1976 Democratic Platform states, "We seek ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment."

1976 REPUBLICAN PLATFORM POSITION

"The Republican Party reaffirms its support for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. Our Party was the first national party to endorse the ERA in 1940. We continue to believe its ratification



is essential to insure equal rights for all Americans. In our 1972 Platform, the Republican Party recognized the great contributions women have made to society as homemakers and mothers, as contributors to the community through volunteer work, and as members of the labor force in careers. The Platform stated then, and repeats now, that the Republican Party 'fully endorses the principle of equal rights, equal opportunities and equal responsibilities for women.' The Equal Rights Amendment is the embodiment of this principle and therefore we support its swift ratification."

STATUS OF EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

Thirty-four states have ratified. 38 states are needed to make the ERA the 27th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution by March, 1979.

STATE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT REFERENDUMS

Two states, Colorado and Massachusetts, have referendums on State ERAs on the November ballot.

Colorado's referendum is to rescind the State ERA so a pro-ERA vote would be a "No" vote.

Massachusetts' referendum is to add a State ERA so a pro-ERA vote would be a "Yes" vote.

States that have not ratified: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Utah and Virginia.

September 1, 1976



L



EQUALITY OF RIGHTS UNDER FEDERAL STATUTE

PRESIDENT FORD'S POSITION

The President said on July 1, 1976, "Because this Nation is founded on the principle that all citizens share the same rights, what affects the rights of one affects the freedoms of all. . .

More than half a century after women's suffrage became law, much still remains to be done, and all of you are more authoritative than myself on that point. Not just compassion but justice and logic dictate that we remove the inequities that still exist."

To carry out this commitment, the President on July 1, directed the Attorney General to develop, in conjunction with affected Federal agencies, a plan for review of the entire United States Code to identify sex-based provisions not justified in law or supported by wise policy.

The President has supported and signed laws and regulations eliminating discrimination based on sex in housing and mortgage credit lending, education, consumer credit, and service academy admission.

CARTER/DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

The Democratic Platform states that, "we seek. . ., to insure that sex discrimination in all its forms will be ended. . ., and elimination of discrimination against women in all Federal programs."

1976 REPUBLICAN PLATFORM POSITION

"The Social Security System, our federal tax laws, and unemployment and disability programs currently discriminate against women and often work against married couples as well. These inequities must be corrected. We reaffirm our pledge to work to eliminate discrimination in all areas for reasons of race, color, national origin, age, creed, or sex."

ADMINISTRATION ACTION

On July 2, Assistant Attorney General Stanley Pottinger announced that the Department of Justice was formulating plans to develop a Task Force to make the comprehensive review requested by the President.

September 1, 1976



M



ESTATE AND GIFT TAX

PRESIDENT FORD'S POSITION

On October 4th, the President signed the Tax Reform Act of 1976 which liberalizes the marital deduction for the transfer of property between spouses but does not completely eliminate the estate and gift tax on transfers of assets between spouses as proposed by the President in March, 1976. The President said on July 1, 1976: "This problem (of estate tax) is not unique to American farm women. It is nothing more or less than a widow's tax, and it is nothing more than a gross injustice."

CARTER/DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

The Democratic platform states that, "we will overhaul federal estate and gift taxes to provide an effective and equitable structure to promote tax justice and alleviate some of the legitimate problems, faced by farmers, small business men and women and others who would otherwise be forced to liquidate assets in order to pay the tax."

1976 REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

"We favor a liberalized marital deduction and oppose the capital gains tax at death. Estate taxes need liberalization to benefit the family business in the same manner as for the family farm."

October 5, 1976



N



FAMILY

President Ford's Position

"I look to the future and see a very family-oriented society in America. I see people becoming more mature, especially in how men and women understand themselves and achieve their fullest human potential. I see freedom without anarchy and with no exploitation of one person by another. I see love and respect nurtured by the family and generated by individual self-confidence."

(President Gerald R. Ford, to the North Carolina State Annual Convention of the Future Homemakers of America, Charlotte, N.C., March 20, 1976.)

On January 9, 1975, in remarks made upon the signing of the Executive Order establishing the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, the President said:

"The relationship between the improved economic and educational status of women and the improvement of the communities in which they live is clear. Where women are held back, their families are held back."

1976 Republican Platform

"As modern life brings changes in our society, it also puts stresses on families trying to adjust to new realities while maintaining cherished values. Economic uncertainty, unemployment, housing difficulties, women's and men's concerns with their changing and often conflicting roles, high divorce rates, threatened neighborhoods and schools, and public scandal all create a hostile atmosphere that erodes family structures and family values. Thus it is imperative that our government's programs, actions, officials and social welfare institutions never be allowed to jeopardize the family. We fear the government may be powerful enough to destroy our families; we know that it is not powerful enough to replace them.



Republican Platform (continued)

Because of our concern for family values, we affirm our beliefs, stated elsewhere in this Platform, in many elements that will make our country a more hospitable environment for family life--neighborhood schools; educational systems that include and are responsive to parents' concerns; estate tax changes to establish more realistic exemptions which will minimize disruption of already bereaved families; a position on abortion that values human life; a welfare policy to encourage rather than discourage families to stay together and seek economic independence; a tax system that assists rather than penalizes families with elderly members, children in day care or children in college; economic and employment policies that stop the shrinkage of our dollars and stimulate the creation of jobs so that families can plan for their economic security."

CARTER/DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

On October 4, 1976, Carter proposed a White House conference "to bring together leaders of government, of the private sector and ordinary citizens and parents to discuss specific ways we can better support and strengthen our families."

October 5, 1976





HOUSING

President Ford's Position

The President signed the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 which prohibits discrimination based on sex in the sale, rental or financing of housing. Regulations to implement this Act were issued on December 5, 1974.

Carter/Democratic Platform

The Democratic Platform states, "Women, the elderly, single persons and minorities are still excluded from exercising their right to select shelter in the areas of their choice, and many "high-risk" communities are systematically denied access to the capital they require. The Democratic Party pledges itself to the aggressive enforcement of the Fair Housing Act; to the promotion and enforcement of equal opportunity in housing; and to the pursuit of new regulatory and incentive policies aimed at providing minority groups and women with equal access to mortgage credit."

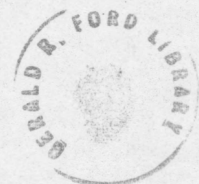
1976 Republican Platform

"We oppose discrimination in housing, whether by individuals or by institutional financing policies."

Administration Action

The Department of Housing and Urban Development sponsored a women's conference on housing and community development on April 5 & 6, 1976. Prior meetings have been sponsored on a contract from HUD to the National Council of Negro Women.

September 1, 1976



P



INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR

President Ford's Position

On January 9, 1975, President Ford signed Executive Order 11832 establishing a National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year.

Then on April 2, 1975, the President appointed 35 members to the Commission designating Jill Ruckelshaus as the Presiding Officer.

The life of the Commission was extended to June 30, 1975 by the President in late November 1975.

In December of 1975, the President signed a bill extending the life of the Commission for the purpose of organizing and convening a National Women's Conference to be preceded by 56 State and territorial conferences.

The President accepted the report of the Commission entitled "To Form a More Perfect Union" in ceremonies at the White House held July 1, 1976. At that time the President designated Judge Elizabeth Athanasakos as the new Presiding Officer.

Administration Action

The President's 1977 Budget included a request for \$5 million as authorized by the Congress for this second phase of the Commission's work. These funds were approved by the Congress and the President when he signed the Second Supplemental Appropriations for 1976 and the transitional quarter.

September 1, 1976



Q



PART-TIME/FLEXITIME PROGRAMS

Administration Position

The Administration supports increased opportunities for part-time employment but opposes fixed quotas for part-timers. On July 30, 1975, the Administration proposed legislation which would provide authority for a three-year experiment with flexible and compressed work schedules to determine their impact on government operations. This proposal would require the Civil Service Commission to approve a limited number of experiments with flexible and compressed work schedules as proposed by Federal agencies. The Administration continues to experiment with flexitime and part-time programs within present statutory limits.

Carter/Democratic Platform

The Democratic Platform states, that, "raising the pay standard for overtime work, additional hiring of part-time persons, and flexible work schedules will increase the independence of workers and create additional job opportunities, especially for women."

1976 Republican Platform

"Increased part-time and flexible-hour work should be encouraged wherever feasible. In keeping with our belief in family life, we want to expand more opportunities for men and women to combine family responsibilities and employment."

September 1, 1976



R

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PENSION BENEFITS

President Ford's Position

The President directed the Equal Employment Opportunity Coordinating Council to study the inconsistency in Federal policy on pensions which was brought to his attention during discussions regarding the regulations to implement Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972.

On April 24, 1976 the President made the following statement regarding the problem of unequal and variant handling of pensions by Federal agencies:

"It's a matter that must be resolved in order to provide equality, I think equity as far as women are concerned."

Administrative Action

The Equal Employment Opportunity has forwarded its recommendation to the President where it is now under consideration.

Background

Under Labor Department rulings a Federal contractor or employer may provide either equal benefits or equal contributions in a pension plan. The EEOC pension plan provisions require employers to provide equal benefits to entitled employees.

The difference lies in the fact that a company which pays equal contributions to a pension plan could pay less monthly benefits to women because their average life span is longer than a man's.

September 1, 1976



S



RAPE

PRESIDENT FORD'S POSITION

On July 26, 1975, President Ford vetoed S. 66 which included authorization of \$17 million for rape prevention and control. The reasons for the President's veto were the excessive appropriation levels and the expansion and addition of separate categorical programs. This veto was overridden on July 29, 1975. }

CARTER/DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

The Democratic Platform states, "Current rape laws need to be amended to abolish archaic evidence rules that discriminate against rape victims."

1976 REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

"The criminal justice system must be more vigilant in preventing rape, eliminating discrimination against the victim and dealing with the offenders."

ADMINISTRATION ACTION

The President's 1977 budget included a request of \$5 million to fund the National Center for the Prevention and Control of Rape.

September 1, 1976



T



SERVICE ACADEMIES

President Ford's Position

The President signed H.R. 6674 on October 8, 1975. In addition to the bill's authorization, the bill also permits women to be eligible for appointment and admission to the service academies for classes entering in calendar year 1976. Under the bill, women will be subject to the same academic and other relevant standards for appointment, admission, training, graduation, and commissioning (except for those minor adjustments required because of physiological differences) applicable to men.

Administrative Action

Prior to the passage of H.R. 6674, the United States Coast Guard Academy under the Department of Transportation announced that it would open its' doors to women for the class entering in July 1976.

As of July 6, 1976, 2,296 women were nominated for the service academies and 357 women accepted.

September 1, 1976





U

SMALL BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN

PRESIDENT FORD'S POSITION

The President greeted a group of leaders of national women's organizations meeting with Federal government officials to determine ways the Federal government can be more responsive to the needs of businesswomen. He encouraged their efforts and restated his support for the endeavors of small business owners.

CARTER/DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

The Democratic platform addresses the concerns of small businesses and states that, "efforts should be made to strengthen minority opportunities for business ownership. We support similar programs and opportunities for women."

1976 REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

"Small business, so vital to our economic system, is free enterprise in its purest sense. It holds forth opportunity to the individual, regardless of race or sex, to fulfill the American dream."

ADMINISTRATION ACTIONS

On March 3, 1976, the White House sponsored the first meeting of women's organizations concerned about expanding opportunities for women. SBA sponsored the second meeting in April. Currently ten regional meetings are being sponsored by SBA and the White House to encourage more women to go into business and avail themselves of the resources available.

On September 20-21, 1976, the Department of Labor and the White House are sponsoring a meeting for women businessowners on the subject of government contracting and subcontracting.

September 1, 1976





V

SOCIAL SECURITY

PRESIDENT FORD'S POSITION

No specific statement from the President.

MRS. FORD'S POSITION

In her August 29, 1976 interview, Mrs. Ford said that the President views very positively a proposal for Social Security benefits for housewives. She further said the question now is how to work it out. Mrs. Ford believes that homemakers should be covered.

CARTER/DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

Carter has said that he would seek legislation to end discrimination in social security. The Democratic Platform states that "the goal of redistributing the burden of the social security tax is to raise the wage base for earnings subject to the tax with effective exemptions and deductions to ease the impact on low income workers and two-earner families. Further revision in the Social Security program will be required so that women are treated as individuals."

1976 Republican Platform

"The social security system currently discriminates against women and often works against married couples as well. The inequities must be corrected."

Administration Actions

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare is currently studying possible changes in the Social Security Act to eliminate any discrimination based on sex.

September 1, 1976



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W

TAX REFORM

PRESIDENT FORD'S POSITION

On October 4th the President signed the Tax Reform Act of 1976. See Tab L for coverage of estate and gift tax provisions. See Tab E for coverage of child care expenses.

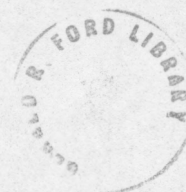
Carter/Democratic Platform

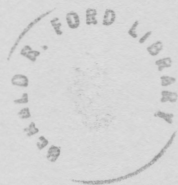
Carter has said that he would seek legislation to end sex discrimination in income taxes. The Democratic Platform states that "we will eliminate tax inequities that adversely affect individuals on the basis of sex or marital status."

1976 Republican Platform

In addition to the specific proposals on estate and gift taxes (see Tab L), the Platform says, "Our Federal tax laws ... currently discriminate against women. These inequities must be corrected."

October 5, 1976





CARTER'S OCTOBER 2nd WOMEN'S SPEECH

Speaking before the Women's Action Alliance "National Women's Agenda" meeting in Chevy Chase, Maryland, Carter made the following commitments if elected President:

- insist upon hiring policies that bring far more women into the top grades and throughout the entire government
- develop a comprehensive child care program to help fund state and local programs
- strengthen and reorganize the Federal agencies that enforce anti-discrimination laws
- see that EEOC is adequately staffed and funded.
"I will appoint more women to EEOC."
- order the Office of Federal Contract Compliance to enforce laws forbidding discrimination in Federal contracting "so that women businessowners may have a fair share of government contracts"
- eliminate inequity in federal financial aid to women (particularly Federal scholarships and fellowship programs)
- helping homemakers achieve equity on social security, in divorce proceeding, in the probate of estates
- to provide legal counseling for women who enter the job market without the experience they need
- act to curb discrimination against women in obtaining credit and insurance
- encourage government and private industry to offer flexible hours and part-time work

Carter also reiterated his support for the Equal Rights Amendment.

Carter opened his speech by saying that he was proud to be the first candidate to endorse the Women's agenda in its entirety. Which means, in effect, that he endorses abortion and civil rights legislation for homosexuals. (Attached is a copy of the Agenda).



Carter charged that the Ford Administration's response to the women's movement has been with "vetoes, indifference and empty rhetoric". He further said tht "under the Republican Administration the earnings gap between men and women who can find work has actually increased so that today, women earn only 58% as much as men for doing the same work".

Carter also charged that the Ford Administration has only paid lip service to "women's rights" and has deliberately played down the seriousness of unemployment among women.

Attachment

October 7, 1976





YZ

Winning Spirit

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF REPUBLICAN WOMEN

October 1976



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guest editorial



(Mary Ellen Miller, Associate Campaign Director of the National Republican Congressional Committee is one of the Federation's greatest friends and staunchest supporters and that loyalty and support are fully reciprocated by the NFRW.)

Many of us have had the privilege of working with Mary Ellen in our own states in congressional campaigns and have attended campaign workshops where she has spoken. We know her to be a skilled campaigner and an expert at recruiting and mobilizing volunteers.

We are proud of the fact that Mary Ellen is "Federation." She was the charter president of the Alabama Federation of Republican Women and was Republican State Vice Chairman for four years. She was a precinct chairman and learned her political lessons well for she has never lost that special touch of being able to relate to the grassroots. That is one of the reasons why she has been so effective and successful in her work as a political technician in 46 congressional campaigns.

The congressmen are devoted to her. Henson Moore (R-La.) is one of many who have stated that she is a brilliant politician. The Federation agrees.

The National Federation of Republican Women would like to say "thanks" for all the help and support she has given the Federation and the Republican Party.)

Dear Friends,

As a staff member of the National Republican Congressional Committee, I have had the rare privilege of working throughout the country in both congressional and special election years with Republican candidates in the organizational aspects of campaigning. I have found one element essential to the organization of a winning team: the unqualified enthusiasm and support of loyal women volunteers, the kind who, like the National Federation of Republican Women, turn out year after year to perform the crucial, wearying tasks of grassroots politics. Without you who answer our perennial calls for help, there would be no headquarters organization, no voter identification programs, no coffees, no caravans, no registration drives, no turn-out-the-voter drives, etc.—and certainly few victories.

The responsiveness of NFRW women in the many campaigns in which I have participated has been consistently overwhelming. There are no words in the English language quite like "Thank you"—and I would like to say them now to each and every wonderful one of you.

Once again we women in the Republican Party find ourselves participating in "history in the making" campaign opportunities. In 1976, we as a Party are striving to restore faith in our government, and greater individualism in our businesses and daily lives. We are charged with helping our candidates carry—in standards worthy of our best moral traditions—a simple Republican message: Democrats are offering pie in the sky. Jimmy Carter says he is going to adopt a parade of new federal programs—but he will balance the budget. He says he is going to stimulate free enterprise—but hints at wage and price controls. He has promised to expand welfare—pay everybody's doctor bills—put everybody to work—in short, to create a government Garden of Eden. All of this, he implies, he can do with lower taxes and less government. I think House GOP Leader John Rhodes politely summed it best. "You and I," he said, "know this is hogwash."

We Republicans face a harder task. We are challenging the American spirit. We are selling realism: notice that it's time to roll up our sleeves, tackle the nation's problems head-on, review what our government is doing, eliminate waste, instigate reforms, and move America ahead on sound financial footing. It is no exaggeration to say that what we Republicans do over the next 45 days may well influence the course of our nation and the quality of our lives for the next decade.

That is why there is, perhaps as never before, a greater dependency upon Republican women to turn out in force in campaign '76. The Republican National Committee has approximately 700 telephone banks across the country for use in identifying and turning out voters sympathetic to Republican ideals in

(continued on page 5)

Winning Spirit

Published by the
National Federation of Republican Women

Mrs. Pat Hutar, *President*

WINNING SPIRIT newsletter and WINNING SPIRIT Chairmen's Sheets are published monthly. Contribution is \$5.00 for one year.

Douglas Lee—Editor

White House Reception for the NFRW Board

(The members of the Board of Directors of the National Federation of Republican Women were pleased and honored to be the guests of First Lady Betty Ford at a White House reception during the NFRW fall Board meeting in Washington. An additional honor was accorded the Federation when President Ford took time out from his pressing schedule to join Mrs. Ford in welcoming the Board and complimenting the Board on the work of the NFRW.)

The following excerpts are from remarks made by the President and Mrs. Ford at that reception.)

First Lady Betty Ford:

This year's political word seems to be momentum. Reporters describe it as a mysterious but necessary ingredient of victory. I know what momentum is—you are momentum. I know that because I have worked just as you have. I have campaigned from door-to-door. I have handed out bumper stickers and have stuffed envelopes...

Momentum is all of those thousands of Federation members who put in the long hours of work that it takes to win. The difference between victory and defeat is getting



the voters informed. We not only inform them, we get them to the polls and make sure they vote.

Victory depends upon the momentum of these dedicated workers that are working with you and all of you who are leading them. As a long time member of this organization, I know how indispensable the National Federation of Republican Women is for a campaign victory. So, whenever you hear the word, just remember YOU are the Ford/Dole momentum. We need you, and we appreciate all you are doing.



President Ford:

I was looking at the statistics that were given to me as to the size of this organization—230,000 members. Let's use a little mathematics to show the impact of the Federation.

Suppose each one of you made it a personal mission to get a hundred people educated and to the polls. Isn't that a figure of 23 million plus? That's what we need as a starter on this campaign. I think the figures show that the person who wins will get double that. But if this organization, in every one of the 50 states, gives us a base from which we can operate—say 25 million Republican votes—we're on the road to victory. I think that should be your goal, your aim and objective.

I hope you will return to your respective home towns, your states and make this the aim that you're shooting for on November 2.

The message I would like to give to you on this occasion is a very simple one. This country in the last two years has gone through a very traumatic experience. We had domestic troubles with the worst recession in 40 years. When I became President, we were still engaged in a war we seemingly could not win or end.

At the same time, we had a great loss of public support for Washington and the White House itself. But, by doing the right thing, by giving leadership in the domestic area, we have turned this country around and have laid the foundation in two

short years for a great four years... the first four years in our second century of American history.

I think that without any question, without hesitation and any qualification, we're going to win on Nov. 2. Right after the Democrat convention, the polls showed us almost two to one behind. That didn't look very optimistic.

But we had a great convention. It was one of competition. When we left the convention hall in Kansas City, we ended up arm in arm for a cause and a philosophy that all of us believe in. We have solidified our leadership. We have a good program.

I think we appeal to the vast majority of Americans. In the next couple of weeks after our convention, the polls narrowed and we ended up about 15 points behind. But some news has come in from polls taken across the country. We've narrowed that gap significantly. We have the momentum, and momentum is what counts. I would rather have the momentum going up than try to be at the top and keep it from going down. I would much rather be a fast finisher than an early starter.

As we look ahead at the next six weeks, they are going to come very fast. Betty, Mike, Jack, Steve and Susan and I as a Ford family will try to be helpful. Trying to tell the American people the length and breadth of our country that we have done a good job...that we want the opportunity to do an even better job in the next four years. Thank you very much.



Facts to Win Elections

(The speakers at the fall Board meeting of the National Federation of Republican Women gave facts on issues that will help us win this election. You can make use of the following speech excerpts in your speeches, fact sheets, campaign work and club newsletters.)

Senator Paul Laxalt



We have to spread the message throughout this country wherever we can, about what a good President Gerald Ford is. I see no logical reason for an objective American at this point to take a skipper, who has guided the ship of state as well as he has, and make a change to a Jimmy Carter—none whatsoever.

We must analyze Jimmy Carter. The plain fact of the matter is that he is grossly untested and inexperienced to be President of the United States...This should be stressed and stressed because we're not talking about some low level position. We're talking about entrusting the most powerful, the most responsible position in the entire world to someone.

We should point out the contradictions that this man constantly is involved in throughout this country. How he gets away with it is beyond me.

On one hand, he'll go to a business group and he'll tell them he is going to take care of them. He's going to watch their investment tax credits and he'll watch their depreciation... And they walk away saying, "Hey, listen, this guy's in our corner." Then he walks across the street and has a lulling conference with George Meany. Now that's mixing oil and water.

The fact of the matter is you can't be in the business-private enterprise bed in this town and in the organized labor-George Meany bed at the same time.

Carter talks about a national budget which he claims he will balance out. And yet he talks about national health insurance, which at the bottom-line has to cost \$40 billion. He's talking about Humphrey-Hawkins (H.R. 50). He pledged to Humphrey-Hawkins early in this campaign. When you cost out what he has told people of this country you are talking about programs that are going to cost at least \$100 billion.

All I have to do is look at the figures without any new programs within the next two or three years. Unless we raise taxes or have dramatic increases in our revenues, we will have a tremendous deficit. There is no way that this man [Carter] can do what he says he is going to do unless he is going to immediately involve us in fiscal bankruptcy. These are matters that should be pointed out to the American people.

He runs around and talks to the VFW and the National Guard and the American Legion and tells them what a great national defense we are going to have under his administration. Second to none. And then he'll turn around and walk across the street and say he's going to cut \$7 billion from our national defense budget. These are matters that should be pointed out to the American people.

Rep. Guy Vander Jagt

Chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee



I honestly believe that the country is beginning to recognize that what it needs more than anything else in the world is to change this congress from Democrat to Republican control. We have two elections go-

ing on this fall, one the Presidential and the other over who should control the congress...

Do you know this year the interest on the Democrat's national debt will be more than it took to run our whole government exclusive of defense since 1959? Every penny that you paid in income tax this year, you and two-thirds of the American people, will not do anything this year but pay the interest on the Democrat's national debt.

Think of the tax relief and tax reform we could have. We could wipe out taxes for two-thirds of the American people, if only we didn't have to pay the interest on the debt that the Democrat congress has piled on the American people.

Those figures don't bother a Democrat congressman. He honestly believes that America is great because of all the wonderful things that our government does for our people.

Republicans say that America is great not because of what our government does for our people, but America is great because of what our government permitted a free people to do for themselves. That's what the struggle for control of congress is all about.

As much as is humanly possible, a Republican congressman would like to put government way off in the back, and government's hand out of the pocketbook of the hard-working, productive, tax-paying average American. I think that is what the majority of the American people want also...

Our message is a simple one. No President ever spent a penny that was not appropriated by the Congress of the United States. No future President, no matter how wise, will ever fail to spend a penny that is appropriated by the congress. No bureaucrat has ever been hired, or rule or regulation promulgated not authorized by the congress. For 40 of the last 44 years or 22 consecutive years, that congress has been dominated lock, stock and barrel by the Democrat Party. If the American people want a change in Washington, there is only one way on the face of this earth to bring that change about and that is to change the

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Platform

(The following excerpts from the Republican Party Platform concern two of the most vital issues relative to Campaign '76—Jobs and Inflation, and Taxes and Government Spending.)

Jobs and Inflation

We believe it is of paramount importance that the American people understand that the number one destroyer of jobs is inflation. We wish to stress that the number one cause of inflation is the government's expansion of the nation's supply of money and credit needed to pay for deficit spending. It is above all else deficit spending by the federal government which erodes the purchasing power of the dollar. Most Republicans in congress seem to understand this fundamental cause-and-effect relationship and their support in sustaining over 40 Presidential vetoes in the past two years has prevented over \$13 billion in federal spending. It is clear that most of the Democrats do not understand this vital principle, or, if they do, they simply don't care.

Inflation is the direct responsibility of a spendthrift Democrat-controlled congress that has been unwilling to discipline itself to live within our means. The temptation to spend and deficit spend for political reasons has simply been too great for most of our elected politicians to resist. Individuals, families, companies and most local and state governments must live within a budget. Why not congress?

Republicans hope every American realizes that if we are permanently to eliminate high unemployment, it is essential to protect the integrity of our money. That means putting an end to deficit spending. The danger, sooner or later, is runaway inflation.

Wage and price controls are not the solution to inflation. They attempt to treat only the symptom—

rising prices—not the cause. Historically, controls have always been a dismal failure, and in the end they create only shortages, black markets and higher prices. For these reasons the Republican Party strongly opposes any reimposition of such controls, on a standby basis or otherwise.

Taxes and Government Spending

The Republican Party recognizes that tax policies and spending policies are inseparable. If government spending is not controlled, taxes will inevitably rise either directly or through inflation. By failing to tie spending directly to income, the Democrat-controlled congress has not kept faith with the American people. Every American knows he cannot continually live beyond his means.

The Republican Party advocates a legislative policy to obtain a balanced federal budget and reduced tax rates. While the best tax reform is tax reduction, we recognize the need for structural tax adjustments to help the working men and women of our nation. To that end, we recommend tax credits for college tuition, post-secondary technical training and child care expenses incurred by working parents.

Over the past two decades of Democrat control of the congress, our tax laws have become a nightmare of complexity and unfair tax preferences, virtually destroying the credibility of the system. Simplification should be a major goal of tax reform.

GUEST EDITORIAL

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these last critical weeks. Republican candidates from the courthouse to the White House will be able to see tangible results on November 2 in direct proportion to our Party's telephone capability. The success or failure of reaching the electorate in this election will largely depend on how those phones are manned.

Let us retrench, recruit and redouble our efforts. There is a telephone center in your area. Please—pledge as many hours as you can to assure the success of the Republican voter identification program. It's your high level of thought and action, your effectiveness, and your campaign participation, that will attract others to follow our example in 1976.

People ARE For Ford!



Mrs. Elly Peterson

In a special drive to enlist women supporters for the President, Elly Peterson—head of People For Ford—has recruited 240,000 women who have committed their support for the President.

Mrs. Peterson, Deputy Chairman of the President Ford Committee, is devoting her energies to making sure that all interested Americans have an opportunity for meaningful work in the election campaign.

Elly says that People For Ford encompasses all special voter groups, from older Americans to youths. They will not be organized into separate packages, however, but will be encouraged to work with each other for the common objective of retaining President Ford as the nation's Chief Executive.

Mrs. Peterson describes People For Ford as an umbrella organization to bring together the coalition of volunteers who want to be involved in the President's campaign.

Under her direction, five regional directors coordinate the volunteer activity across the country. Two of those regional directors are members of the NFRW Board of Directors. Louise Leonard is President of the West Virginia Federation of Republican Women and Mid-East Regional Director for People For Ford. Angie Rietz is Vice-Chairman of the NFRW's New Founders Committee and is Western Regional Director of People For Ford.

The organization also involves a number of special voter group desk officers to concentrate on mobilizing People For Ford among such groups as Older Americans, Ethnic Americans, Youth, Business and Professional people, Jewish organizations, Labor, Farmers, Black Americans, Veterans, and Women.

FACTS

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congress from Democrat to Republican control.

Rep. Henson Moore



If Tip O'Neill assumes his throne next year as Speaker of the House, you are going to see a more partisan, a more undemocratically operated congress than ever before in the history of the country. He has already stated he is the most partisan man that could ever be elected Speaker of the House. He stated in a Democratic caucus that the Republicans will have absolutely no voice in legislation for the future of this country. As a matter of fact, his exact words are, "they have to learn they will have nothing to do in the running of this country."

Behind O'Neill is the majority of Democrats. Behind them somewhere is a man running for President. The only thing that stood between almost ruin of this country for the last two years with this spendthrift congress, has been a Republican President with veto power. He has used it admirably and with great courage. I'll tell you now, all we need is the same kind of congress for another two years with a President who will sign those bills, and we are going to see socialism like you have never believed could take place in this country.

We are going to see a weakening of the national defense. We are going to see greater controls on our lives and personal freedoms where the small businessman will not be able to operate any more and the farmers won't make a profit...

That is why this battle is more important than any of the rest. If we lose this battle in 1976 for the White House and congress, where are we going to be? We are going to

make an irreversible step toward these things I've just outlined.

I say with all humility and all good advice, you [NFRW] are the key. You have proven in my election and have proven in election after election that when you get turned on, you turn out the voters. When you do that you turn the country around. We can have a Republican congress. We can have a Republican President.

If we have Tip O'Neill and Carter for four years, you are going to see the taxes rise to the point of becoming confiscatory. You are going to see regulations continued to the point that you won't be able to do anything without checking with your local government representative...

It is going to take the biggest army of volunteers we have ever fielded. The best trained, the best motivated, the most dedicated and most experienced. That is why I am here—because you are the representatives of that army. If you turn out your clubs, if you recruit people who think like you, you will field that army. The time is now. Time is wasting...We need your help back home.

Jeanne Holm



There are three aspects to my job as Special Assistant to the President for Women: policy, appointments, and liaison, not necessarily in that order.

We do help identify women qualified for top jobs in the Administration and we keep the pressure on the personnel people to recommend women when they go to the President with nominations for the top level policy-making jobs. We even make strong recommendations where we think we should. But we do not work in the personnel shop nor is that our role or primary job.

The President has made it clear that he expects more women to become involved in the federal government at the highest levels. Of course, he can only fill vacancies when and as they occur.

In fact, 14 percent of all his appointments have been women, a rate higher than any previous Administration. These include: Secretary of Housing and Urban Development; Chief of Protocol; Under Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; Chairman, National Labor Relations Board; Ambassador to Great Britain, and others.

On his own staff in the White House he has appointed: a Deputy Assistant to the Counsellor, an Associate Director of the Domestic Council, a Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs, an Assistant Press Secretary and a Director for Youth Affairs.

He has pledged that he would continue to appoint and nominate more women to high office and he has kept his promise.

As Special Assistant for Women, I am part of the Office of Public Liaison which was set up by President Ford to maintain direct, close communication with various constituency groups...two-way communication. We reach out to the public in an effort to bring their views and their concerns into the White House so that they can have an impact, an influence on public policy.

In view of the recent past, President Ford feels strongly that we must have an open Administration. For this reason he has set up these constituency representatives to provide this direct liaison with the public.

Within the Office of Public Liaison we have representatives of the black community, ethnics, Hispanics, youth, consumer affairs, etc.

In our office we maintain direct liaison with over 300 national women's organizations representing millions of women...

It is through working with these kinds of organizations that we perform our public liaison function...

With 51.3 percent of the vote, we women are already a major political force in this great country and we can best exercise it with a Republican President in the White House, with Republican women in the Cabinet, with Republican women in the Senate, with more Republican women in the House, with Republican women on the Supreme Court, and with Republican women in the State Houses.

Women have an enormous stake in the future of the democratic

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"Speak Easy" in Vermont

Campaign verbiage and rhetoric seem to flow like water during an election year with candidates and "official spokesmen" articulating their positions on the issues of the day. So, Vermont Federation of Republican Women (VFRW) President Claire Duke concluded that an opportunity for greater political effectiveness and self-improvement through communication should be offered by the Republican Women to all Republicans and potential Republicans in the state.

The "Speak Easy" brochure outlining the course emphasized personal achievement toward improved communication with others. It said, "Each person is faced with the daily challenges of effective communication between himself and others. It is difficult to convey precise thoughts. For example, we utter a sentence, believing we are conveying a certain thought or idea. The person to whom we are speaking may be receiving a somewhat different impression. Result? Misunderstanding, confusion, loss of time, perhaps even loss of friendship or business or votes—the result of lack of effective communication."

"How often have you been lulled into dreariness by a speaker unable to capture the imagination of the audience? How often have you watched other people lose the battle by being unable to carry off a dynamic debate? How often have you felt your own good ideas slipping away because you were unable to put forth a convincing presentation to your listener? Speaking ability could have converted these examples from failure into triumph—the ability and confidence that comes from proper training in creative communication."

The 5-hour course was conducted by the manager of a Vermont radio station, a skilled and professional speech coach. It included sessions on mechanics of speech, delivery techniques, preparation of speech material, increasing vocabulary, methods of projecting personality, thought alignment and confidence building.

Keeping an Eye On the Legislature

A system for monitoring proposed legislation before the state legislature has been established by the Arizona Federation of Republican Women (AFRW) President Barbara Peck and her Legislative Chairman, Sylvia Brown.

The unit club legislative chairman assigns her committee to research legislative proposals on issues such as education, crime and finance, to keep the club members informed on activities in the state capital. The state legislative chairman, through the AFRW newsletter, in turn also keeps the clubs updated on late breaking legislative matters that warrant their attention.

In addition, the AFRW will conduct a legislative workshop on Dec. 4 to begin the focus on the new legislative year.

Win With Women—Team Day

PRESIDENT FORD TEAM DAY (Winning Spirit, pg. 8) will be used as an all-out campaign effort to win the State of New York for President Ford and other Republican candidates. Phyllis Kelly, President of the Federation of Women's Republican Clubs of New York State, has announced that October 23 will be used for **A Call With A Purpose**. She is urging each member of the 389 New York clubs to "phone ten of your relatives, neighbors and friends to ask their support of the President Ford Team." Prin-

The audience for this event included Republicans from across the state, including several candidates for the legislature plus two statewide candidates. All came away from the meeting with a better understanding of the fine points of public speaking and communicating with others.

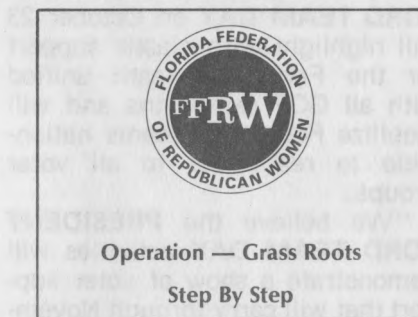
This success can be repeated by other state Federations around the country. It received excellent press coverage because it was presented in a creative and productive manner.

CLUBS IN ACTION

cial emphasis in the New York Federation will be on a massive "Person to Person" telephone program which has as its goal contacting 500,000 voters.

In addition, Phyllis is already off and running with campaign programs which include telephoning (with phone banks and the highly successful Hostess Telephone Program) and the formation of "Women for Ford Committees" throughout New York State.

Campaign Manual from The Florida Federation



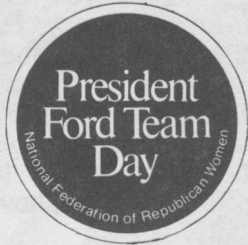
The Florida Federation of Republican Women's President Jackie Wells announced that the FFRW has developed a comprehensive campaign manual tailor-made to their state's politics and needs. **Operation Grass Roots—Step by Step** details the state offices to be filled by the 1976 elections; outlines the methods for qualifying for state and county offices; discusses the various campaign leadership roles in the state as well as describing how to conduct voter identification and get-out-the-vote programs.

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process and in the future of the Republican Party. Our Party has been the leader for over a hundred years in recognizing the contributions of women to our nation and in pushing for our rights...

I think the National Federation can play a major role in this respect. You are the largest, most influential, women's political organization in the country. With your organization, your leadership, if you don't take on this important work of revitalizing our great Party, then who will?

President Ford Team Day



The National Federation of Republican Women's **PRESIDENT FORD TEAM DAY** on October 23 will highlight enthusiastic support for the Ford/Dole team unified with all GOP campaigns and will mobilize Federation teams nationwide to reach out to all voter groups.

"We believe the **PRESIDENT FORD TEAM DAY** activities will demonstrate a show of voter support that will carry through November 2 electing Republican candidates," emphasizes NFRW President Pat Hutar. "We are committed to building a Republican majority in congress and electing a Republican President to provide the nation with strong, creative leadership that is so essential to this country's peace and prosperity."

Local **TEAM DAY** events will include bandwagons, backyard parties, picnics, football game blitzes, campaign victory squads and other activities to maximize the vote for Republican candidates.

Many of the state Federations are planning state-wide events to show American citizens the vast number of people already committed to the Ford/Dole team. Those events include massive state-wide car caravans, telephone voter identification programs, door-to-door voter identification blitzes, and state-wide recruitment of volunteers for work in phone banks.

The NFRW will present a silver bowl to the state Federation with the most original programming which reaches the greatest number of potential voters. This will be

determined by activities at the state level and by unit clubs within the state.

Fifteen clubs from across the nation will be awarded Certificates of Commendation based on the originality of club projects and those which reach the greatest number of voters.

All entries must be received by the NFRW office postmarked no later than midnight, Monday, Nov. 1. Each entry should include detailed information on the types of **PRESIDENT FORD TEAM DAY** projects and programs, an estimate of the number of potential voters reached, and samples of materials used to promote the Day. Prizes will be awarded at the NFRW Biennial Convention in 1977.

Winning Spirit

National Federation of Republican Women
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

