

Ford Sees Himself as an Internationalist and a Moderate on

PHILOSOPHY HELD

SAME AS NIXON'S

But Vice President Indicates He Will Keep Closer Ties to Congress Members

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WASHINGTON, Aug. 8—Months ago, as he underwent close Congressional scrutiny before becoming Vice President, Gerald R. Ford readily acknowledged that his views on both foreign and domestic policies were virtually identical to those of Richard M. Nixon.

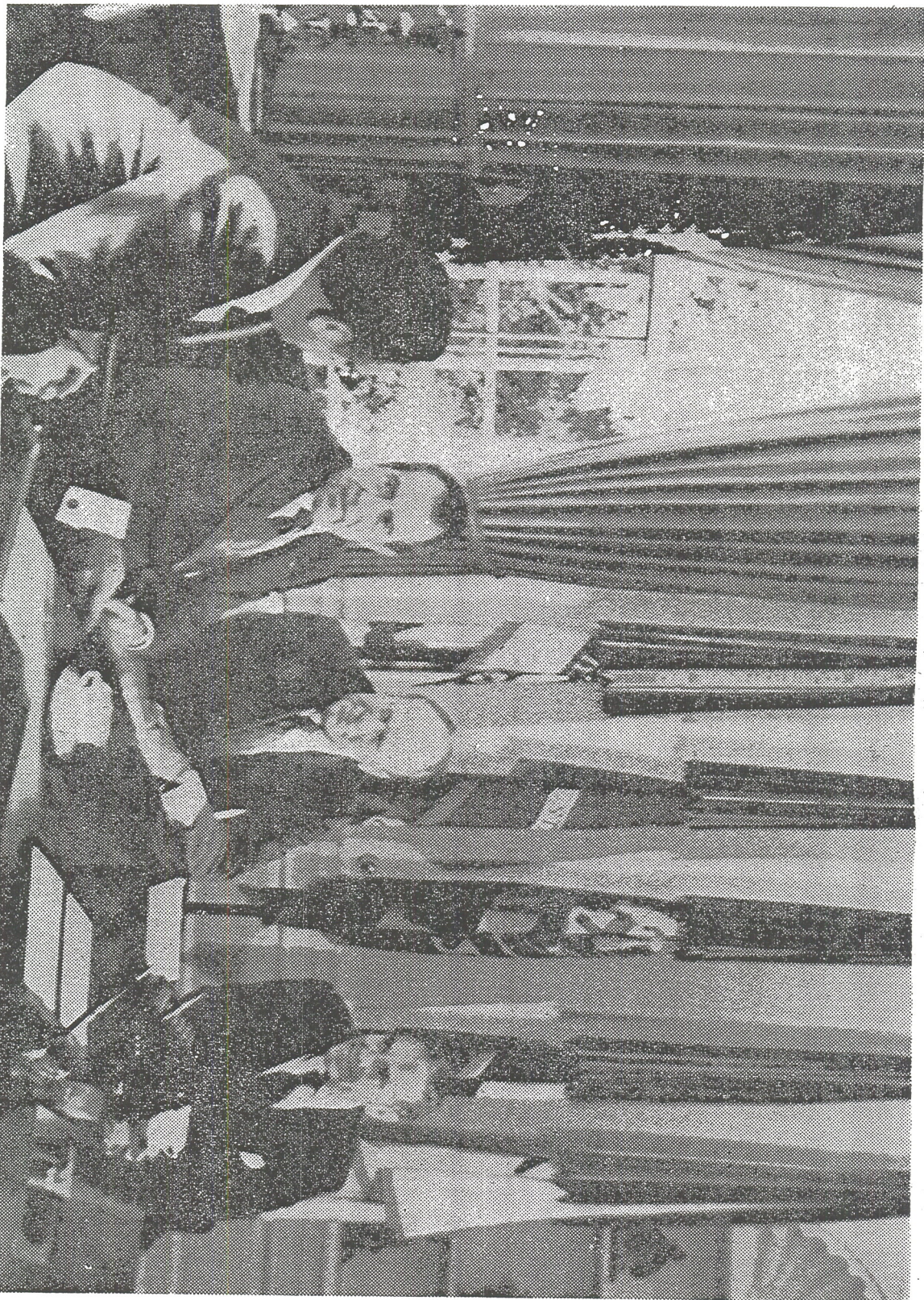
"I would say I am a moderate on domestic issues, a conservative in fiscal affairs and a dyed-in-the-wool internationalist in foreign affairs," he said at one point.

Thus, it would appear that the nation can expect little change in direction in the conduct of foreign affairs or in the shape of domestic proposals sent to Congress by President Ford.

But there are strong indications, based on the new President's own assurances to Congressional committees during his Vice-Presidential confirmation hearings, that Mr. Ford's White House will be far more attuned to Congress and the American people than was that of his predecessor.

Partnership Backed

Unlike Mr. Nixon, who surrounded himself with aides who viewed Congress as little more



As Vice President-Designate, Mr. Ford was asked to confer with President Nixon, Secretary of State Kissinger and Gen. Alexander M. Haig Jr.

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Domestic Issues

than a nuisance, President Ford has repeatedly said that he believes that the White House and the Congress should be equal partners in conducting the nation's business.

"There has to be a two-way street between the White House and the Congress," he told a Senate committee during his confirmation hearings last fall. While he is a staunch fiscal conservative, favoring a more balanced budget, Mr. Ford indicated during those same hearings that he would probably not impound Congressionally appropriated funds to the extent that Mr. Nixon did, and not in any effort to terminate programs.

'Carry Out the Law'

"I think the President should carry out the law," he said. However, he added that he

suspicious of a worldwide Communist conspiracy as Mr. Nixon once was, Mr. Ford took his first steps toward becoming an internationalist under the tutelage of an old family friend, the late Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Republican of Michigan.

Mr. Ford's characterization of himself as a "dyed-in-the-wool internationalist" would appear to hinge somewhat on which political party is in power when overtures to foreign power are made.

For instance, in 1968, the last year of the late President Johnson's Democratic Administration, Mr. Ford observed in a speech: "I personally believe that the Communist powers of the world implacably seek the downfall of the Free World nations — chiefly, the United States."

Hailed Breakthrough

Yet, just a few years later, he hailed Mr. Nixon's dramatic breakthrough in establishing relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China and Mr. Nixon's efforts to achieve a détente with the Soviet Union.

"President Nixon no longer sees the Communist world as a monolithic enemy alliance but as a group of nations whose common ideology is transcended by powerful nationalistic aspirations," Mr. Ford said in the spring of 1970. "In line with that view, the President is adapting United States policy to those nationalistic interests."

More recently, Mr. Ford said

that he also would favor an "exploratory review" of United States policy toward the Communist regime in Cuba.

"Circumstances do change in the relationships between the United States and other countries," he said. "If a policy is not working, or if it can be improved, certainly the top strategists in the Department of State and the office of the President ought to be working on how we can make the policy more effective."

Troops and NATO

His views on continued troop strength in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization also parallel those of the Nixon Administration. Substantial numbers of United States forces should not be withdrawn from NATO, he has said, "until we get mutual troop reductions."

While considered a strong supporter of Israel, Mr. Ford has said he would oppose the United States entering into a "firm treaty with Israel" guaranteeing that country its independence in case of external attack.

Yet, he has said, "We should not draw a line around the United States and go back to our old isolationism, sitting here dumb and happy while the rest of the world festers. We have to be alert to any further Soviet encroachment in the Middle East."

While critical at times of President Johnson's handling of the war in Vietnam, Mr. Ford was one of the most outspoken hawks in Congress throughout

the Johnson and Nixon Administrations.

His quarrel with President Johnson was not over continued United States involvement in Indochina but over that Administration's failure to step up bombing attacks on North Vietnam.

In the summer of 1965, he called upon President Johnson to order "effective air action" against anti-aircraft missile sites in North Vietnam. "Any military target that you hit involves some risk," he said at the time. "It may well be a risk that we have to take."

In the summer of 1966, he again called for expanded attacks on North Vietnam to close the port of Haiphong. "The American people," he said, "will not stand for a long, drawn out, large scale military conflict."

Policy on Attacks

A year later, in the summer of 1967, he made a floor speech in which he said: "Mr. Speaker, I hope that the apparent step-up in air attacks over North Vietnam over the past few days signals a reversal of past mistakes, that targets of real strategic significance will shortly be struck, and that before the weather turns bad for another long season, this will really cripple the enemy's warmaking capability."

But while critical of the Johnson Administration's conduct of the war ("shocking mismanagement" he called it at one time), Mr. Ford also fre-

"every dime" appropriated by Congress.

Mr. Ford further indicated during his confirmation hearings that, in the event that he became President, his would be a more open Administration so far as access to Government documents and financial records was concerned.

He said that the present procedure on declassification of Government documents "is slow and tedious" and could be expedited. He said that he had not noticed "any harm to Government policy" by disclosure of the Pentagon papers dealing with United States involvement in Vietnam. And he said that he favored full disclosure of financial assets by Presidents, Vice Presidents, the Federal judiciary and members of Congress.

A onetime isolationist, as

quently chided the peace marchers who thronged the streets and parks and campuses.

"The well-intentioned, but unrealistic, placard-carrying marchers who bear no public responsibilities cannot alter this country's policy in Vietnam," he once observed.

More recently, during his confirmation hearings, Mr. Ford was asked to evaluate President Johnson's conduct of the war in Vietnam. He replied:

"I don't think his objectives were wrong and I have said that many times. I think his military tactics were wrong in sending a half-million foot soldiers. I think that was a mistake. The failure to utilize our air and sea power with less U.S. manpower was a mistake. I vigorously disagreed with the tactics and strategy."

Lessons From Indochina

Asked what lessons the United States might have learned from its involvement in Indochina, Mr. Ford replied: "I think we ought to be a lot more careful when we send in U.S. combat troops."

He said he believed that the United States "can help economically with these underdeveloped countries or countries in need."

"I think we can give military hardware," he continued. "We have got to be extremely careful, very restrained, however, in the commitment of any U.S. military personnel for a combat purpose."

Yet, throughout the Johnson and Nixon years, Mr. Ford

voted against all attempts to limit or end United States involvement in Indochina, including one move earlier this year. He also voted against all attempts to lower military spending. And he has said that this nation's expenditures on foreign aid are "getting marginally thin."

"We are very close to the point in dollars where we might lose our leadership."

A onetime member of the House defense appropriations subcommittee, Mr. Ford still feels that national security should come first when it comes to "slicing the fiscal pie."

National Security Stand

"That does not mean that I would vote for whatever funds are requested by the Army, Navy and Air Force, Marines or Coast Guard," he said during his confirmation hearings. "I do not go that far. I just think we have to bear in mind their requests."

"But once you have an adequate national security—that means enough, not too much—then I think you have to take the rest of the pie, and you have to divide it, bearing in mind what taxes we want to pay, what borrowings we want to make, and allocate according to the proper balance."

His basic conservatism on social welfare legislation and other domestic programs was amply demonstrated during his 25 years in the House, the last eight as minority leader. He opposed virtually all social welfare programs, including establishing a food stamp system for

the needy, Federal aid to elementary and secondary schools, rent subsidies, model cities, Medicare for the elderly, and creation of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Federal anti-poverty agency.

"The Great Society of Lyndon Johnson," he once said, "has become a runaway locomotive with a wild-eyed engineer at the throttle."

In late 1966, when it appeared that the Johnson Administration might seek a tax increase to finance the ever-more-costly war in Vietnam while continuing outlays for new domestic programs, Mr. Ford declared: "I strongly favor curtailing domestic programs. I doubt if a tax increase is needed if domestic programs are reduced."

Organized labor has given him low scores throughout the years on the basis of his votes on key social issues, including ones directly affecting labor. He opposed attempts to repeal "right-to-work" laws, he voted to weaken all minimum wage bills and he voted to weaken occupational health and safety bills in 1970 and 1972.

Criticism on Rights

But of all the issues, domestic and foreign, that drew protests from liberals during his confirmation hearings, his civil rights stands came under heaviest attack. While conceding that Mr. Ford frequently voted for key civil rights bills on final passage, his critics noted that he did so only after trying to badly cripple such legislation with amendments.

Declaring that Mr. Ford "has a narrow-gauge approach to civil rights," Clarence Mitchell, Washington, representative of the National Association for the

Advancement of Colored People, said that if the Ford position on voting rights and fair housing had prevailed those laws "would be largely ineffective at this time."

Citing various weakening amendments that were proposed by the Nixon Administration and supported by Mr. Ford, Mr. Mitchell observed: "I think it was the policy of this Administration to put the blacks in their place."

Despite the criticism of the liberals, Mr. Ford said during his confirmation hearings that he was proud of his civil rights voting record and he declared:

"I have lived and I believe that every American, regardless of race, color or creed, must be treated equally. I have lived that, and I believe that and if I have any positions of responsibility in the Government I will insist

to the degree possible that a person has an equal opportunity for employment, housing, education and the like."

Critical of Busing

Yet, during the same hearings, he said that he was vigorously opposed to forced busing of children to achieve racial balance in the schools.

Asked if he would favor outlawing forced busing by an amendment to the Constitution, he replied: "If the Federal courts persist in trying to have forced busing to achieve racial balance in public schools, and if there is no other way in which we can remedy that situation, I would favor that amendment."

Instead of forced busing, Mr. Ford said, "I believe in compensatory education, helping schools in the less deleterious or disadvantaged areas, putting more money in there with more

teachers so that we have a better teacher-pupil ratio, with better facilities, both in school buildings and equipment."

He conceded that he had voted against Federal aid to elementary and secondary schools—a program largely tailored to aid the disadvantaged through compensatory education—during the Johnson Administration. However, he said that his original misgivings about that program had proved wrong and that he now supported such Federal aid.

Program Called Sound

"Now that does not mean that I support every dollar amount that is requested or Congress approves for elementary and secondary education," he added. "But I do believe that our Federal aid-to-education program, with some modifications, with adequate funding, is sound."

Civil libertarians, too, have criticized his voting record, noting that he voted for an antisubversive bill in 1950, voted against requiring prior court approval for wiretaps in 1954, voted consistently to fund the House Committee on Un-American Activities and its successor, the House Internal Security Committee, and voted for a constitutional amendment to permit school prayers.

An outspoken advocate of "law and order," he voted for most anticrime bills. During the widespread campus disorders of the nineteen-sixties, he voted to deny Federal funds to students who participated in campus disorders.

Mr. Ford, in recent years, has made numerous speeches in support of efforts to clean up the environment. Yet, his voting on various key environmental issues has been severely criticized by leading conservationists.

Voted Against Pollution Aid

He voted against Federal aid to states for prevention of water pollution in 1956 and 1960. He voted against funds for the Atomic Energy Commission to fight water pollution in 1969. He voted against amendments to strengthen the Federal Water Pollution Act in 1972.

Mr. Ford also voted to kill mass transit legislation in 1964 and, in one of his few breaks with a position of the Nixon Administration, he voted against diversion of highway trust funds for mass transit operations in 1972 and 1973.

He was also criticized by environmentalists for his vote for the supersonic transport and his vote against strengthening the Pesticide Control Act of 1971.

To help solve the energy crisis, he recently called for stepping up the processing of nuclear power plant applications "so that instead of 10 years to build one from the initial effort, it ought to be built in five to six years."

He also said that the time had come to "move in the direction of deregulation of natural gas, at least in new wells." And he said that more money was needed for research into ways to utilize coal more readily in a cleaner way.

His voting record shows that he has generally opposed closing tax loopholes for big business. Yet, during his confirmation hearings, he said: "I think we ought to have a tax system that spreads the burden equitably among business and among individuals."