

Correspondence Answered – 8/9/76

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OVER

May 11, 1976

Dear Sir: *Jimmy Carter*: 7-7-76

I want to know your position on the following subjects. Please fill out this questionnaire. If you have reasons for ignoring this request please explain.

				COMPROMISING ANSWER-DUE TO SOME PRO AND CON IDEAS
	FOR	AGAINST	NOT SURE	
1. Do you support the U.N.?				
2. Aid and trade with the Communist countries?				
3. Deficit spending?				
4. Legalization of marijuana?				
5. Capital Punishment?				
6. Legalized abortions?				
7. Do you support O.S.H.A.?				
8. Floride treatment for drinking water?				
9. School Busing?				
10. F.B.I.				
11. The Monroe Doctrine?				
12. Mandatory gun registration?				
13. Mandatory gun confiscation?				
14. Larger National Defense and weapons arsenal?				
15. Cultural exchange with Russia?				
16. Right to not hire employees for personal reasons?				
17. Right to not sell to any person for personal reasons?				

*mmk
8/9/76
RL
JLC*

What Political Office are you now holding: _____

What Political Office are you running for: _____

Thank you very much,
James A. Reynolds
Mr. James A. Reynolds

Dear Sir:

I am still waiting to get this Questionnaire filled out. Why do you advise me? You must have someone working for you that can fill this out or does any of your workers know how you would stand on these issues.

Nearly everyone I've sent one to has responded but you. How come?

James A. Reynolds
1611 S.W. Temple
S.L.C. UT 84115

55 Hamford Dr.

East Greenwich, R.I. 02818

June 10, 1976

Dear Mr. Carter —

If you become president, please try to concentrate more on making our country more beautiful. Since this is our Bicentennial year, I feel that we should make a special effort to keep our country in shape. Some suggestions of mine are that we could have more parks, national forests, and we should also take good care of the last remembrance of long ago. I'll try to do my part by keeping my neighborhood and areas around it clean. I'll tell others to do the same. I wish I saw you when you came through Rhode Island before the primary. I hope that you can do something about the busing trouble in Boston. I don't see why kids my age have to

fight over the schools that they go to.
I think you will make a good president.

Sincerely yours
Ben Galego
SB.

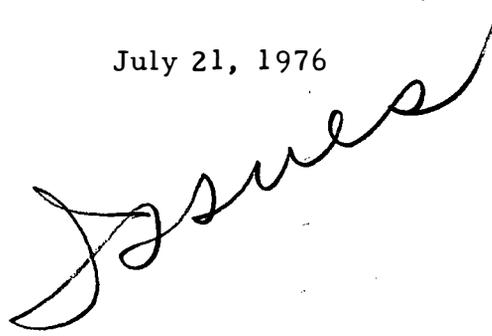
Mxites
8/7/76

Southern Bell

Hurt Building, P. O. Box 2211
Atlanta, Georgia 30301
Phone (404) 529-8062

N. R. Johnson
Vice President

July 21, 1976



Mr. J. E. Carter

Plains, Ga. 31780

Dear Mr. Carter:

There are more than 9,000 reasons why I am writing you this letter. They are the same reasons I agreed to serve this year as Campaign Chairman of the United Negro College Fund Campaign in Atlanta.

That's how many students there are at Atlanta's six predominantly black colleges; bright young people who can make a tremendous contribution to our city and state.

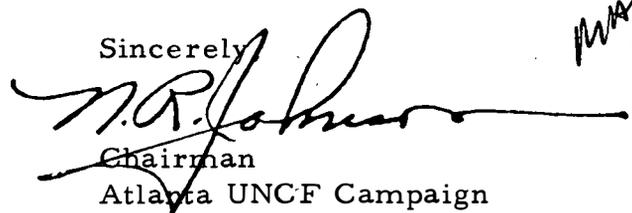
Most of these students come from homes with incomes of less than \$7,500 a year. Without scholarship help it is impossible for them to get a college education. Without that training they cannot become doctors, lawyers, teachers, social workers, public servants and many other professionals who can contribute to the quality of life in our city.

In this day of inflation it is particularly critical for our black colleges to get help. They have no big endowments or wealthy alumni. It is becoming increasingly difficult to find part-time jobs for black students who must raise money to stay in school. It is becoming increasingly difficult to hold key faculty in the face of job offers from other colleges paying much higher salaries.

Every dollar you invest in the UNCF Campaign comes back manyfold in two ways. First, UNCF allots over \$1,200,000 to these colleges from funds raised all over America. So every dollar we contribute locally becomes over four dollars. Second, practically all budgets of the six black colleges are spent in our city, which means over \$150,000,000 to strengthen our economy.

Many firms have already subscribed but we need a host of gifts in the \$500, \$250 and \$100 range to reach our goal. I hope you will join me in supporting our black colleges by sending your check in the enclosed envelope. It's a paying investment in a better Atlanta.

Sincerely,



Chairman
Atlanta UNCF Campaign

*minutes
8/5/76
VOC
RL*

Encl.

**UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND
1976 ATLANTA CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE**

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Atlanta University
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Clark College
Dr. Charles L. Knight, *Acting President*

Interdenominational Theological Center
Dr. Grant S. Shockley, *President*

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CAMPAIGN OFFICE: 306 Carnegie Building, Atlanta, Georgia 30303

**TO SERVE IN
A NEW CENTURY**



UNCF

**ATLANTA'S
BLACK COLLEGES**

We realize that the six Atlanta University Center Schools are among our city's finest assets and we appreciate the tremendous contribution they have made to our city.

They furnish business and industry with well educated personnel. Their budgets, which total in excess of \$35,000,000, circulate four or five times and our community is more than \$150,000,000 a year richer for it. They enrich our city with over 1,500 highly educated faculty and staff members and over 9,000 aspiring students at the college and graduate levels.

Over 60% of these students come from families with incomes of less than \$7,500 a year. Without our help they cannot go to college and "A Mind is A Terrible Thing To Waste." Our goal this year is \$260,000. We need your help to reach it. Every dollar raised here brings these schools over four dollars from money raised by the UNCF in other sections of the country. Join us with your generous contribution.

We have agreed to serve as chairmen of the 1976 United Negro College Fund Campaign in Atlanta because

Join us!

N. R. Johnson
Campaign Chairman
Vice President
Southern Bell
Tel. & Tel. Co.



A. M. Prado
Special Gifts Chairman
Executive Vice President
Southern Bell
Sears, Roebuck & Company



Robert B. Malone
Advance Gifts Chairman
Group Vice President
Trust Company Bank



Atlanta is pre-eminent in black education.

On downtown Atlanta's western border is the largest center of black private education in the world. It consists of six predominantly black schools which comprise the Atlanta University Center.

One of these, Atlanta University, is a graduate school offering advanced degrees in Business Administration, Library Services, Social Work, Education and in the Arts and Sciences. Four are undergraduate schools: Morehouse College for men; Spelman College for women; Clark College and Morris Brown College, co-educational. The sixth is the Interdenominational Theological Center, which itself consists of a federation of seven, previously separate, theological schools. All are fully accredited. Three have been offering educational opportunities to black youth for over 100 years and two, for over 90 years. One of these is one of only four institutions in Georgia with a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa. Seventy-five percent of the faculty hold earned doctorate degrees.

A unique asset for Atlanta.

When the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce or other civic or government agencies are seeking to attract new business to Atlanta, one of the sales points they are sure to use is that our city is the largest center of black private education in the world. This furnishes stability to our community and a pool of educated young men and women.

Atlanta's predominantly black institutions of higher learning rank in importance with our other colleges and universities, our climate, recreation facilities, the arts, sports and many other factors that appeal to business. Over 9,000 students attend our Atlanta University Center schools and some 1,800 graduate each year. No city in America has the advantage of such trained people right on its doorstep, contributing to the economic, cultural and spiritual advancement of our people.

Why do black colleges need help?

Today all colleges are in need of help because inflation has increased much faster than income. This problem is particularly acute at the predominantly black colleges. Tuition at the Atlanta University Center schools, where even the poor can earn degrees, is only about half as high as tuition at the average private college in America. These unique institutions must rely heavily on gifts from concerned business firms and individuals to keep their rates low. Another factor is that these institutions have neither large endowments nor wealthy alumni. Almost all of their students must work during their vacations to help pay for their education. Last summer over 40% of America's black young people were unable to find jobs. Thousands of students could not earn enough to pay for college this year. Unless they get financial aid, many will soon run out of funds.

Last year our black institutions received \$1.2 million from the United Negro College Fund. This money was used to provide badly needed scholarships for over two-thirds of our students and also to help upgrade faculty salaries, buy teaching equipment, augment library resources and continue the development of programs to meet the special needs of students.

A human mind is a terrible thing to waste.

Economic opportunity in America is meaningless unless it is coupled with educational opportunity. We cannot afford for one bright mind to go untrained. Once it is wasted it is wasted forever. Twenty percent of our black students go on to other schools for advanced degrees. They become lawyers, doctors, ministers, public officials, administrators in private and public schools, teachers, corporate executives, engineers, technicians and civil service employees. This can only happen because someone helped these students to help themselves.

Atlanta's 1976 UNCF Goal is \$260,000. Join in...Do your part...Help us achieve it.

14 B
E. M. WATKINS & COMPANY

INCORPORATED

BUILDERS • ENGINEERS

POST OFFICE BOX 2194

TALLAHASSEE, FLA. 32304

July 9, 1976

The Honorable Jimmy Carter
Jimmy Carter Campaign Office
P. O. Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Mr. Carter,

As the President of a small to medium-sized Engineering/Construction company which has operated successfully for the past 20 years in the southeast I am disturbed about conflicts in the stand you are taking on the right to work issue.

As Governor I think you took a pro-right to work posture and as late as the AFLCIO annual meeting in Bal Harbour, apparently organized labor put you in the pro-right to work category. In the past two weeks I understand you've made the statement that you would favor repeal of paragraph 12.B of the Taft-Hartley law which insures basic freedom of choice for the working man.

Several of us here in Tallahassee are confused and would like your statement as to just where you do stand and if elected President how you would react to proposals to take away this inherent right of the working man. Please let us hear from you.

Yours very truly,

E. M. WATKINS & COMPANY


Thomas E. Perrin
President

TEP:jlh

Notes
Vol.
P.L.
8/9/76

Mailed
Vol. P.C.
8/9/76

June 12th, 1976

Rt. 1, Box 109

Sherida, Missouri 65486

Dear Mr. Carter,

In the June issue of The American Rifleman Magazine, "on Page 39" An Artical States that your chief fund raiser for Democratic President, Morris Dees is spearheading a mass movement against gun ownership, And has declared that "within five years we'll break the National Rifle Association." Your Name was mentioned in the artical and only on close reading was I able to determine that you had not made that statement.

Others who have read the same artical fell if you do indorse Morris Dees and agree with his policy of being against gun ownership. Will you please clear up your position in the matter. Are you Against N. R. A.?, And

Gun Ownership? I realize Gun
control is a controversial issue. But
as a candidate for the President of
our country, I feel it only right
that I get your position on this
issue from you, rather than making
assumptions from an article in a
magazine. I will be looking forward
to your reply.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs Jean Parkison
Rt. 1, Box 109
Iberia, ms.
65486

Mailbox
Vol. 8/9/76

Mrs. Stanley H. Brown
1450 Grenoside Avenue
Schenectady, N. Y. 12308

Issues

July, 9 '76

Ms. Jimmy Carter:

Dear Future President:

(1) Kissinger vs a Moral Foreign Policy

A defeatist and an unmoral
Sec'y of State should no longer run our
foreign policy. Please note the enclosed
articles.

(2) Crime is a Critical Problem

When Americans are afraid to
walk city streets at night!
I hope you will treat it more seriously
than your predecessors.

Sincerely

Stanley H. Brown

3 Enclosures

time for Conlan on issues involving
NSF.

says that he was invited to the meeting to
help brief the senators on education legis-

past without causing a furor," he said.

CRIME!

Law Enforcement Assistance Administration:

The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), set up in 1968 to help local governments fight crime, has been subjected to periodic onslaughts of criticism for being preoccupied with promoting new hardware and, mainly, for not being able to show that it has contributed to any reduction in crime. Two new reports that have emanated from the private sector this year continue the attack, chastising the agency for inefficiency, wrongheadedness, red tape, and general wasting of money, of which it has so far been given \$4.4 billion.

The reports come at a time when the agency is up for reauthorization by Congress. Discomfort with the agency's failure to deliver as expected is reflected in the \$600 million appropriation voted by the House Appropriations Committee for fiscal 1977, a \$207 million cut from the 1976 budget. And the House Judiciary Committee has voted this time to give the agency only a 1-year authorization (it usually gets 3 years). The purpose of these actions is to put the agency on notice that all is not well, although it is unlikely that a radical restructuring like that recommended in the reports will be called for.

Bulk of Money in Block Grants

The LEAA was added to the Justice Department in the wake of the riots of the 1960's, to help improve local criminal justice systems and help reduce crime. The bulk of its money goes to states in the form of block grants administered by state planning agencies set up for the purpose. The agency has a "discretionary" fund for grants to support innovative anticrime projects, and a program to pay for college training of law enforcement personnel. The legislation also set up a National Institute for Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice (NILECJ), which is LEAA's research and evaluation arm.

Being a large, pioneering agency dealing in a volatile and highly politicized area, the LEAA has been very vulnerable to criticism. The block grant system—designed to steer a course between excessive federal direction and excessive lack of accountability on the part of recipients—has, predictably, been criticized for both failings. The research program has been torn between pressures to get at the roots of the causes of crime and to produce results that can immediately be used in the field. And the agency's "success" or lack of it is difficult to assess when no one knows what kind of yardstick to use. One thing only is certain: The crime rate, after a hopeful looking dip in the early 1970's, is still on the increase.

The two reports indicate, at any rate, that the program is pretty much a failure. One, *Law Enforcement: the Federal Role*, produced by a Twentieth Century Fund task force, recommends that the block grant system be dumped, along with LEAA's ten regional offices, and that money be given to the states through special revenue-sharing. The report also proposes that 50 percent of the LEAA budget go to a new Law Enforcement Assistance Institute that would concentrate on research, evaluation, and experimentation.

The other report, written by Washington lawyer Sarah Carey for the Center for National Security Studies, is even rougher on LEAA—in fact, it calls for its abolishment. *Law and Disorder IV* (part of a series of reports critical of LEAA) also suggests that if "fiscal relief" is needed for state law enforcement efforts it should be delivered by means of revenue-sharing, and proposes establishment of a research center separate from the Justice Department.

Both reports come down heavy on the layers of bureaucracy and red tape in the LEAA program—"at present most of LEAA's staff in Washington is involved in keeping track of the bureaucracy it has created," says the task force.

Anticrime Agency Faces Criticism, Lowered Budget

Both also decry the fact that the state planning agencies are required to submit plans only for the use of LEAA money—which comprises only about 5 percent of their law enforcement budgets—and that even then planning and paperwork can be a waste of time and money because states make plans to satisfy lengthy LEAA guidelines and then go ahead and spend the money as they please. Oft-made charges are repeated—to the effect that states spend undue amounts of money on expanding their police forces and purchasing new gadgetry instead of developing innovative programs such as alternative ways of dealing with juvenile offenders and drug addicts. The NILECJ comes under fire for failing to develop a comprehensive research program, and for being ineffectual in disseminating whatever results it does produce. For example, the Carey report says that although improved street lighting and helicopter surveillance were found to have a very limited impact on crime prevention, the agency was moving ahead on subsidization of street lighting projects and helicopter purchases.

Evaluations Seen as Justifications

Both Carey and the task force complain that even though elaborate evaluation requirements are built in at every level of the LEAA program, evaluations have been geared more to justifying past projects than to illuminating problems.

Victor Navasky, in a paper in the Twentieth Century Fund report, says LEAA has an identity problem and blames much of the confusion on the agency's mandate. He writes that the goals of crime reduction and improvement of the criminal justice system, while supposedly complementary, imply a "profound difference" in approach—"the difference between the traditional, hard line, punitive law enforcement agenda and a more adventurous criminal justice strategy." Similarly, he characterizes the block grant system as

being "caught halfway between the Great Society and the New Federalism."

Many people, including LEAA administrator Richard Velde, believe the "crime reduction" goal has helped confuse LEAA's mission and has compounded its public relations problems by creating unrealistic expectations.

Faulty as the law may be, Congress is showing no disposition to make any fundamental alterations—and, so long as the government abides by its commitment to keep its paws out of local decision-making, there is not much it can do directly to overcome the resistance to innovation that is strong in law enforcement establishments. There is possibly more opportunity for improvement in LEAA-sponsored research where, it has been alleged, pressure to produce usable results has led to too much emphasis on development of such things as a wristwatch that measures a policeman's pulse. The National Academy of Sciences has been given a \$267,000 contract to assess the research program, and results will be out next December.

There is much room for improvement at LEAA, but fears that the agency is the forerunner of a national police force are not as much in evidence as they were a few years ago. Supporters of the agency point to some positive developments: improved professionalism of personnel, better data collection, record-keeping and communications, and first-time efforts at comprehensive planning. The LEAA has entered a field where knowledge (on causes and prevention of crime) is scanty, and research grants from NILECJ have helped raise criminology from a second-rate discipline to a major area of academic study. All this might have been done with a fraction of the funds that have been expended, but some charity may be expected if one accepts Velde's view that "LEAA is a pioneer working in what is largely an uncharted area."—C.H.

The Scott Report . . .

The Kissinger Issue

By PAUL SCOTT

WASHINGTON — President Ford's declaration that he would keep Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in his cabinet if nominated and elected will again bring the "Kissinger issue" to the forefront in the political campaign for the GOP presidential nomination.

This growing issue, which goes to the heart of U.S.-Soviet relations, takes on new importance because of a little-noticed but highly significant statement made by Kissinger in Europe recently about Soviet objectives. To the surprise of the American intelligence community, the Secretary of State stated that he does not believe that the objective of the present Soviet government is to dominate the world.

What is amazing about Kissinger's statement is that it flies in the face of all intelligence being gathered on Russia's long-range intentions and capabilities.

The shocking Kissinger view also is directly opposite the historical dogma and the announced intentions of Communist leaders ever since they succeeded in establishing Moscow as the main base for their worldwide revolutionary movement.

The alarming part of Kissinger's statement is that as chief foreign policymaker for the Ford Administration the Secretary of State bases all of his policies toward Russia on this highly questionable premise.

For instance, this means that Kissinger views in a completely different light the Soviets' establishment of an advance, military operational base in Cuba than the President's military advisers who contend that the Kremlin's long-range goal is the domination of the world, including the Western Hemisphere.

Kissinger's outlook permits him to view the Soviet military base in Cuba as part of a network of bases to service their ocean-going Navy and to protect their ally Cuba — or in the same light as U.S. bases in Spain.

In that context, the Soviet military base in Cuba is neither an offensive base or a threat to the United States despite the fact that the base is inside the U.S. defense system for the Western Hemisphere.

If Kissinger took the other view that the Kremlin's objective was to dominate the world and the Western Hemisphere, then it would be intolerable for the United States to permit this dagger inside our defense system.

The latter position is that of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who have warned the President that the Russians have turned Cuba into an advance, military operational base that can be used against the United States and all the Latin American countries.

This view of the President's military advisers, however, has been vigorously opposed by Secretary Kissinger, who has privately convinced President Ford to back his position.

HELPING THE KREMLIN

Kissinger's view of discounting the historical mission of Moscow's Communism and the confirming intelligence has put him in the position of promoting the Kremlin's main propaganda line.

To have the main foreign policy spokesman for the most powerful nation in the free world downplaying their threat is one of the Kremlin's greatest psychological warfare victories in recent years.

The Kissinger policy statement also makes it almost impossible for the National Security Council, the

government's highest policy-making body, to map an intelligent program to meet the Russians' long-range global threat. As one intelligence expert assigned to the NSC put it:

"If there is no Soviet grand design for dominating the world, there is no need for a policy to stop it."

Aides of former California Gov. Ronald Reagan say he plans to increase his attacks on Kissinger and his foreign policy between now and the opening of the GOP convention in Kansas City in August.

In these attacks, Reagan will question the Secretary of State's views on Soviet objectives and how they adversely affect the preparation of a workable U.S. foreign policy and our military preparedness.

THE SURRENDER SYNDROME

Reagan also plans to hammer away at what he describes as Kissinger's "surrender syndrome" in negotiations with the Soviet Union.

First raised by Admiral Elmo Zumwalt, former Chief of Naval Operations, the Kissinger "surrender syndrome" came to light in a series of private conversations the Secretary of State had with the President's former naval adviser, now a candidate for the U.S. Senate in Virginia.

Although Kissinger denies conversations, Admiral Zumwalt contends that the President's foreign policy adviser as long as 1970 told him that the United States had passed its high mark as a great power and was declining.

and that the historic trend is with the Soviet Union.

Kissinger's refusal, to accept Admiral Zumwalt's challenge, joint appearance under oath before an appropriate congressional committee to determine whether telling the truth, will be highlighted by Reagan and his supporters.

These developments and those come clearly indicate that the called "Kissinger issue" cannot easily dominate the closing days of the down-to-the-wire Republican presidential nomination battle.

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The Disenchantment With Kissinger

His "New Atlantic Charter" ...



One of Secretary of State Kissinger's favorite themes is the building of an "international system of order." Yet he neglects the fact that a system of order presupposes common adherence to a recognized set of ground rules; since his addiction to the tactical opportunity so often diverts him from his ultimate destination, it is impossible to identify the stars from which he takes his bearings. His guiding purpose is, by constantly tinkering with the mechanism, to maintain a shifting balance of power—an act which, unrelated to any body of basic principles, becomes a tour de force with no meaning beyond the virtuosity of the achievement.

That is not to say that Kissinger hesitates to participate in or even propose the drafting of agreed rules. He was, for example, involved in developing the Principles Governing the Relations Between the United States and the Soviet Union, issued in Moscow in 1972, and the Agreement for the Prevention of Nuclear War, issued in Washington in 1973. He personally proposed a "New Atlantic Charter." But it is easier to draft principles than to follow them, and there is no evidence that, in conducting policy, he ever lets such formulations get in his way.

That is, perhaps, the basic flaw in Kissinger's foreign policy: he is, par excellence, a pragmatist who puts primary reliance on the managed play and counterplay of force. It is a policy strictly for the short term. It can work during periods when two powerful nations maintain a precarious power balance largely by their own exertions or when a single strong nation manages briefly to impose its own version of order on the world. But even a world order enforced by the common support and action of major world powers—which is, in essence, the formula for peacekeeping contemplated by the United Nations Charter—can operate effectively only if it rests on a body of rules to which those nations agree.

That the lack of such a frame of reference constitutes the principal deficiency in Secretary Kissinger's foreign policy is demonstrated by his efforts to paint over the ugly lesions caused by the Arab-Israeli conflict. Choosing to pursue a tactical line designed to break the Arab

George W. Ball Under Secretary of State during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations and former ambassador to the United Nations, is currently a partner with the firm of Lehman Brothers.

common front, he ignored the one set of principles on which the major parties to the conflict had agreed. Those principles, embodied in Resolution 242 of the United Nations Security Council, adopted shortly after the Six-Day War, in 1967, provided for "withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in recent conflict"*—which included not only the Sinai but the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, the West Bank of the Jordan, and Old Jerusalem. It provided also for the "termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force."

It was a formulation agreed to not only by the major powers, including the Soviet Union, but by all the warring nations except Syria. Still, although efforts were thereafter made to carry out the resolution, none succeeded—even though experience in other situations had clearly shown that, so long as the Israelis continued to hold the occupied territories, there could be no lasting peace in the Middle East. Indeed, it is now clear from a recent book by a journalist close to Nasser that the Arabs, under Egyptian leadership, began immediately after the 1967 cease-fire to prepare the counter-offensive which finally culminated in the 1973 October War.

Yet, instead of trying to secure the enforcement of that resolution or using it as the framework for a final settlement, the Secretary sought to exploit Egyptian anxiety for a period of respite by arranging a truce with only one of the front-line Arab states. It was a complex bargain with largess for both sides. In effect, it bought off Egypt by providing for a withdrawal in the Sinai Desert sufficient to enable the Egyptians to reopen the Suez Canal and thus gain \$500 million a year in canal fees. In addition, it returned to them the Abu Rudeis oil fields, which meant at least another \$350 million a year in oil revenues. As compensation to Israel, Kissinger promised that the United States would underwrite its requirements for oil and would provide a massive amount of armaments and money over the next few years, which

should enable it to withstand such Arab assaults as would almost certainly be provoked by the fact that the bulk of the territories taken in 1967 (87 percent of the Sinai, the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip, the West Bank of the Jordan, and Old Jerusalem) still remained under Israeli occupation.

I DOUBT THAT we shall look back on this diplomatic episode with either pride or a sense of accomplishment. It will be noted in the history books as one more incident in the poignant chronicle of historic missed opportunities. Stripped of Kissinger's ritual chatter about maintaining the diplomatic momentum and the perfunctory insistence that the Sinai agreement is only the first step in a diplomatic process, the net result of our effort will have been: (1) to sidetrack any serious movement toward a final solution and (2) to give one party to the conflict a massive arsenal to defend its continued occupation of territories taken by force without regard to accepted principles of international law or of the United Nations Charter as interpreted by one Security Council resolution and reaffirmed by another. History will not mark this down as the finest hour for American diplomacy, which has on a number of past occasions produced results that were both moral and stable—and, very often, stable because they were moral.

Yet the Sinai negotiation is by no means the only example that could be cited to illustrate the absence of principle in the current direction of our foreign policy. One could mention, among many others, President Ford's willing participation in the mass gathering of heads of state at Helsinki, cynically called together to legitimate the Soviets' hold over Eastern Europe; the carpet bombing of Hanoi to improve Kissinger's leverage in negotiating a face-saving and rickety peace; the secret promises made to Thieu to induce him to sign the Paris Accords; and the administration's frantic insistence on waiving all sanctions against Turkey for NATO purposes. Nor is anything more immoral than the totally reckless way successive administrations have, from lack of vigilance and will, allowed the proliferation of nuclear weapons or have—as the present administration is doing with unprecedented profligacy—promoted the spread of sophisticated conventional weapons in order to buy temporary interludes of quiescence in turbulent areas.



Photographs: Liaison

The "miracle worker" with Brezhnev—
"Staged man-to-man contests with
the breathlessness of tennis matches."

In almost every one of these episodes we have tried to gloss over inherently unstable situations in order to show immediate results. Justifying our action or inaction is a cynicism mislabeled as realism, pragmatism, or hardheadedness. Suggestions for seeking solutions to central issues by seeking solutions in accord with fundamental principles of fairness are tagged as impractical or idealistic. Yet experience has repeatedly shown that diplomacy based merely on the manipulation of power without reference to any accepted body of rules or principles leaves no permanent monuments. Certainly it is no way to build a "system of international order" or a "structure of peace." An enduring structure must be founded on more than the transient friendship of mortal princes or the adroit

*Although the French equivalent of the word *territoires* was included in the French version to qualify the resolution, its omission in the English version of the resolution was a deliberate effort to allow for a future compromise on whether all or merely some territories would be returned.

"It is hard to find much of a trace of moral endeavor in what we have done or sought to do."

manipulation of force and counterforce; it must have solid foundations based on conformity to a set of standards widely regarded as equitable.

This underlines the central deficiency in our current unilateralist policy: it is not merely too narrow in its focus but too niggardly in its objectives. Its declared purpose is to bring about a "generation of peace," a phrase reminiscent of Neville Chamberlain's "peace in our time." Yet Americans have never been content merely with peace; we have always seen liberty and the dignity of the individual as higher values, and our current policy is lamentably flawed by its indifference to those values. Although no one can challenge the thesis that, because of the vast destructive power of nuclear weapons, the avoidance of nuclear war is a condition precedent to all other policies, the emphasis on survival as our single, consuming objective could rationalize tyranny. And it is absurd to contend, as Secretary Kissinger implies, that because "the necessity of peace is itself a moral imperative," survival comprehends morality. In spite of the Secretary's insistent but rather defensive avowals of moral purpose, it is hard to find much of a trace of moral endeavor in what we have done or sought to do. And it is a major omission.

Americans have regularly expected a moral content in their foreign policy even though they have been repeatedly deceived when ultimate accomplishments fell short of the expressed ideal. We fought the First World War to "make the world safe for democracy." We fought the Second World War to save the world from an obscene dictatorship. We helped rebuild Europe with the Marshall Plan not only—or even most importantly—because it was good business but in a spirit of compassion and generosity. We pursued a policy of containing Soviet power not just to protect our own shores from invasion but because the communists were enemies of other nations' freedom and individual liberty. We embarked on programs of foreign aid not only because the stimulation of development was sound economics but out of charity and a sense of fair play. Finally, even our misbegotten venture in Vietnam—particularly in its conceptual stages—was

touched by an element of idealism.

A foreign policy that does not accord with the instinctive morality of Americans will not gain a constituency, and under our democratic system a foreign policy cannot long endure without a constituency. One can sustain such a policy for a while, as has been done for the past few years, by concealing its emptiness with contrived excitement—the drama and color and pageantry of face-to-face meetings with Brezhnev and Chou En-lai, summit conferences and negotiations staged as man-to-man contests with the breathlessness of tennis matches. Aided by television and the up-to-the-minute comments of "a senior official in the Kissinger party," the daily chronicle of shuttle adventures could be made, for a time, prime entertainment, and many were thrilled to have their affairs managed by a "miracle worker."

In fact—for a time—Americans loved all the excitement of to-ing and fro-ing. They were proud to watch their President flying off in his big airplane to Peking or Moscow; they loved to read of their Secretary of State spending 14 hours with Chou En-lai. They felt reassured when Brezhnev patted the President on the back and behaved with the familiar bonhomie of the professional politician, a universal, but not a vanishing, species.

YET, INEVITABLY, the effect of such theater began to wear off. People added up the results and wondered how much it all meant—especially when success failed to follow success; when the prestidigitator waved his wand to find the rabbit had hopped away. That, of course, was what happened when the Cyprus crisis was egregiously mishandled, when the second stage of Middle East shuttle negotiations broke down in March 1975, and when the highly touted Vietnamese settlement was followed by a nightmarish denouement. Entertainment can distract only so long; the drama may have a brilliant second act, but if it lacks a proper ending, Americans will ask hard questions.

Even summit meetings have lost their attraction as spectacles. Americans who had visited Madame Tussaud's gallery of wax figures in London inevitably felt a sense of *déjà vu* when the cameras displayed the futile gathering of "world

statesmen" in Helsinki, where none but the Russians were sure why they were there, yet each uttered banalities for the hometown papers quite unrelated to the tawdry realities of the business at hand. Nor did Secretary Kissinger's shuttle trip to the Middle East in August 1975 do more than raise questions as to why it was necessary. The essential terms of the agreement had been reached with Jerusalem and Cairo before he took off, so the result seemed as fixed as a professional wrestling match. The Secretary's personal involvement served only to raise the stakes on both sides. Finally, President Ford's irrelevant trip to China in December 1975 was greeted by the American people with the boredom it deserved. This time there were not even pandas to show for the effort.

Disenchantment has also been growing in the Congress, which is presumably closer to public sentiment than anyone in Foggy Bottom. It is not merely that the members of the legislative branch are no longer willing to remain shut out from the making or conduct of foreign policy—particularly since they have learned to mistrust what they are told about it—but also that the context of our policy satisfies neither them nor their constituents. It lacks an essential element. What is missing—as more and more congressmen are beginning to realize—is a moral theme to give coherence to what we, as a nation, are trying to do. In the absence of such a theme, they feel unable to explain our policy to the home folks. America, after all, is not dynastic Europe but an open democracy in which the people react effectively only to policies that engage their deeper emotions. And, at long last, they have grown tired of furtiveness and sudden surprise. *Realpolitik*—no matter how brilliantly performed with skillful maneuvers and tactical virtuosity—cannot permanently substitute for a sense of purpose; it is foreign to our instincts and experience.

Thus the changes urgently needed in our foreign policy relate both to substance and to execution. Policy must be broadened and opened. Our angle of vision must be widened. We must design policies and actions related to some accepted body of rules and not merely to the tactical purposes of a moral relativist. □

Copyright © 1976 by George W. Ball. From *Diplomacy for a Crowded World*, to be published later this month by Little, Brown and Company in association with the Atlantic Monthly Press.

To: Jimmie Carter

This is a year of decency..integrity..justice.
The American people are demanding it...
clamoring for moral and even spiritual
leadership.

Henry Jackson lost because Big Labor
endorsed him. The American Voter will not
be dictated to by Big Labor and its
mobster, violent tactics.

Take a long look at freedom..even the
Right to Work...

and THE GOLDEN RULE

The American people are on the side of
Freedom !

July 4 1976

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Mrs. Helen Gardner". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed date.

Concord, N.H.

March 14, 1976

Big Labor's Angry Response

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

WASHINGTON—Back in 1971, Samuel Kirkland was a backhoe operator. He was working on an excavation job for Reuben Brown, owner of the Deal Erection Company, on Marco Island, near Fort Myers in Florida. Brown was under great pressure from Dick Nell, president of Local 675, International Union of Operating Engineers (AFL-CIO), to sign a contract which would compel his workers to join the IUOE.

Let Samuel Kirkland describe Local 675's methods of persuasion, as he told it in a sworn deposition.

"The union steward for the Operating Engineers local, Chuck Moore, stopped me on the way to work and asked me if I was planning on working. I said, 'Yes'...

"He said, 'If you do it will cause trouble.' He said there were about 195-200 Operating Engineers there and he would bring them in to stop me working and if I went in there, 'We will cut your hands off and stuff them in your pocket and tote you across Marco Island Bridge...' "

"They said because I wasn't union, I couldn't operate the machinery on the island...On Thursday we went back. They told me not to come back any more. I went back on Thursday anyway and had a deputy (sheriff) with us working under cover...We were on the job site and they pulled up and said to me, 'You came back, huh?'

"I told them, 'Yes, I have a right to do a job'... They told me to get off the machine. I got off and started running. They said, 'Let's get him.'

"I ran by the deputy, around the machine and when I saw I didn't have a chance. I hit the ground..."

"They hit my head with a crescent wrench, they poured something in my face" — metal filings in his eyes — "and I lost my vision for a time, they kicked me and beat me and were talking about cutting my hands off. One of them pulled a knife and the deputy fired a shot...Then they congregated around him, hit him on the head, beat him up..."

After the attack, Nell, president of the local, said, "Well, I guess Reuben (Brown) will sign a union contract with us now...If he don't get right, it's going to get pretty wormy for him."

The beating that Samuel Kirkland received at the hands of construction union goons was not particularly unusual. It happens with grim frequency to workers who resist union compulsion.

But in this case, Kirkland was able to file suit against the IUOE and Local 675 because he had the help of the National Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation (NRTWLDF). When the depositions began piling up, the AFL-CIO union settled out of court for \$165,000. Kirkland's employer received \$40,000 for damage to his equipment, and the deputy sheriff \$30,000 for his injuries.

The suit and the settlement are of significance because, like another suit in which unions were barred by a federal court from using members' dues for any purpose other than collective bargaining, they explain why Big Labor is trying to put the National

Right to Work Legal Defense Foundation out of business.

Repeatedly, the NRTWLDF has prevented Big Labor from depriving union and non-union workers of their civil rights, so 10 major international unions have gone into court — represented by Joseph Rauh, a Democratic Party stalwart and former head of Americans for Democratic Action — in a case so flimsy that only a legally-confused judge would not have long since thrown it out of court.

Rauh hopes to use the litigation to force disclosure by the NRTWLDF of its contributors. There are 175,000 of these, and they have contributed an average of less than \$30. Should the 10 unions succeed in getting the list of members, many of them will, there is little doubt, be subjected to the same kind of gentle persuasion that was Samuel Kirkland's lot at the hands of the IUOE.

There is, of course, legal precedent against this disclosure.

The NAACP Legal Defense Foundation, on whose charter the NRTWLDF based its own, was sustained by the U.S. Supreme Court in its refusal to divulge the names of its members because to do so would have endangered them.

The NRTWLDF has been giving free legal aid to wage earners whose rights have been violated by unions — and the more successful it is, the more vituperative and angry has been Big Labor's response. If Joe Rauh can bend a compliant court to forget the Constitution, the Samuel Kirklands will have to take their beatings and like it.

CHARLES G. STEFAN
8012 S. W. FIFTH AVENUE
GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA 32601

July 6, 1976

Governor Jimmy Carter
P.O. Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Governor Carter:

Having just read the interesting article by Sanford J. Ungar in the latest Atlantic, I am writing to take advantage of the kind offer cited by Ungar on p. 34, i.e. the offer of certain positions, papers and speeches in response to a specific request.

As a recently-retired Foreign Service Officer, I am specifically interested in your views on détente. I certainly,

-2-

It seems to me that the current Secretary of Transportation has a clear and unfortunate anti-AMTRAK posture, which appears at variance with the President's expressed objective of making this country substantially independent in the critical area of energy. Nevertheless, therefore, I would appreciate receiving any statements outlining your position on AMTRAK and on transportation policy in general.

I would be happy to reimburse your campaign organization for the expenses involved in meeting this request.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,
D. B. H.

mailed
8/9/76
J. J. Vol

June 22, 1976

Hon. James Carter
P.O. Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I would be appreciative if you would send me any available literature describing your positions on abortion and firearms control as a presidential candidate.

Many thanks for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Paul Beach

Paul Cole Beach
Chairman

Department of Politics
Converse College
Spartanburg, S.C. 29301

ISSUES ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

June 30, 1976

Jimmy Carter
P.O. Box 1976
Atlanta, Ga. 30301

Dear Sir,

Would you kindly send me your position paper on Economic Policy and, if available, any other position papers, eg: foreign policy, defense, etc.,

Thank you for your prompt response.

M. B. Leo
8/8/76
vol.

Donald K. Marshall
Donald K. Marshall
P.O. Box 307
Moss Landing, Calif. 95039

DEAR MR. CARTER,

THIS YEAR I WILL BE VOTING. I HAVE JUST
TURNED 18. I REALLY THINK THAT I WOULD LIKE
TO VOTE FOR JIMMY CARTER. I WOULD REALLY
APPRECIATE ANY INFORMATION, CAMPAIGN STICKERS,
BUTTONS ETC. THAT YOU COULD SEND TO ME,
SO THAT MY FRIENDS AND I WILL BE BETTER
INFORMED. THANK-YOU.

SINCERELY,

SUZANNE BISHOP
2820 PAYTON RD. N.E.
ATLANTA, GA. 30345

mailed
~~1/18/76~~
1/18/76
R.L.
10/1

mailed 8/9/76
JHJ
VAD

5714 Chaparral Circle NW
Albuquerque NM 87114
June 14, 1976

Mr. Jimmy Carter
P. O. Box 1976
Atlanta GA 30301

Dear Sir:

I would very much like to know how you feel about the gun control issue. Are you for or against it? Do you think passing a law to register all hand guns will actually help stop crime? Please explain your reasoning or or against that I might understand. Personally, I do not see how it would since there are now laws against shooting people and that doesn't help much. There are laws against robbing people and that doesn't stop many. Everyone knows the percentage of persons actually being punished for such a crime gets smaller and smaller each year.

Why do you sponse the First Amendment to the Constitution seems to be more important to so many newsmen than the Second Amendment? I give the authors of the Constitution a gread deal of credit for the fore-sight of having this in the Constitution of the United States, and I believe it is as important today as it was 200 years ago.

Where is the logic in having law abiding citizens register their guns? Criminals do not really care what law is on the books, since they have no intention of abiding by it. Is the constitutional right of a law abiding citizen important to you?

Enclosed is a self-addressed envelope for your reply. Thank you.

Sincerely,



Dorothy Bowman

June 10, 1976

Dear Mr. Carter;

MA 200
8/9/76
J.C. Vol

I would like to find out how you feel about some issues. I would like to know how you feel about the gun control. I agree with banning the Saturday Night Specials, but not all guns. There are many people in the U.S. who like to hunt and their not going to just give their guns and hobbies up, and I am one of them. There are also people who dont hunt but have guns in their home for protection.

I would also like to know what you will do to help the unemployed people. If you are for putting unemployed people back to work. Some candidates talk about cutting out welfare. I feel that if welfare were cut out or even cut down, that it would increase the crime rate more then what it is now. Instead of talking about cutting

II

out welfare, they ought to think more about making more jobs. Then people wouldn't have to be on welfare.

I would like to know how you feel about the crime in the U.S. I feel that if they think more about cutting down on drugs and stopping the revolving door justice, and make more jobs for people that it would cut down the crime rate a whole lot. I feel that the people have to have something in their homes to protect themselves from the criminal, so that the criminal can't come in and harm the person's families. I understand that we have police officers to protect us, but they can't protect everyone at one time. So the person needs something to protect themselves from the criminal when the police can't come or the person doesn't have a telephone to call the police.

III

I would like to know how you feel about the war in Lebanon. I feel that we didn't start their war so why should we send our people over there to stop it. I think we lost enough boys in Viet Nam, without going over there losing more lives for something that doesn't even concern us.

I hope you understand my views about these issues and that you will agree with me on them. I hope you will answer my letter soon & let me know how you feel.

Thank you
Mrs. Linda Hanna
33 Wilson St.
Martinsburg, W. Va. 25401

Mailed
8/9/76
JH
Vol

LUPARDUS CONSTRUCTION CO.

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RESIDENTIAL

W.H. Lupardus Sr.
Rifle Ranch, Star Rt.
Tuscumbia, MO 65082

June 15, 1976

Governor Jimmy Carter
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Governor:

There is an article in the June 1976 issue of the American Rifleman Magazine issued by The National Rifle Assoc. on Page 39 that states & I quote "Within 5 years we'll break the N.R.A." this quote was made by your chief fund raiser for your candidacy for our President. Mr. "Morris Dees."

Do you agree with Mr. Dees? Would you please answer this letter in your own words, stating your stand on Gun Control?

I believe in you as a "Christian" and admire you ~~for~~ what you are.

As a Life Member of the N.R.A., statements such as these disturb me deeply. I believe in Good Gun LAWS, and hope things can be worked out to where all Americans do not suffer for the few that abuse the Law. Thank you, Very Truly Yours, W.H. Lupardus Sr.

MRS Dorothy R. Lott
1740 E 9th ST
Tulson, AZ. 85719



John Witherspoon

Patriot



U.S. Postage 9¢

SH
P. 55

gun control

Jimmy Carter
Committee for Jimmy Carter
1795 Peachtree Rd. N.E.
Atlanta, GA. 30309

M. Carter
8/9/76

6/28/76

Mr Carter,

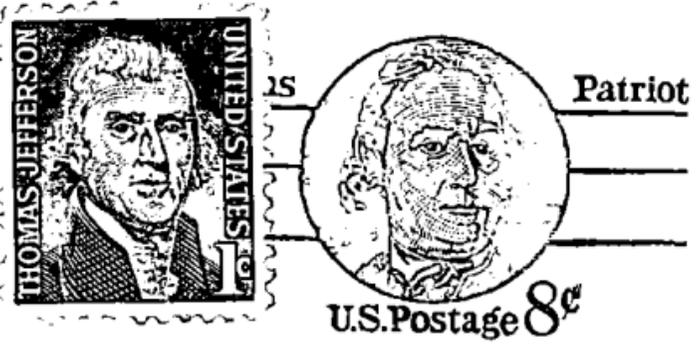
How do you stand on
The "Gun Control Issue"?

How do you stand on
"Complete Amnesty for
VET NAM Veterans who
left their country in fear
of their lives"?

How do you stand on
"Bill H. R. 1166"?

Respectfully yours,
Mrs Dorothy R. Lott
(NAVY widow)

gun
control



mailed
8/9/76

J. CARTER PRES.
CAM. COMMITTEE
R. J. LIPSHULZ TR.
P.O. BOX 1976
ATLANTA, GA.
30301

July 1, 1976

Dear Sir:

As a good red-blooded American and a W.W.~~II~~ U.S.N. veteran Honorable Dis., too.

I now have 2 Carter bumper stickers on my car, But I would like 2 questions ans.

Amnesty for yellow belly draft dodgers.

Gun registration, I'm a sportsman, too.

MR. JOHN EMERICK
106 E. MAIN ST. APT. #6
TIPP CITY, OHIO
45371

MID-CONTINENT

FREIGHT LINES, INC.

Marvin Hale
210 2ND AVE. NE
MPLS. MINN.
55434

3, JUNE 1976

Dear Mr. Carter;

I AM interested in donating some money to the Presidential Campaign, but I would like to know a few opinions of yours on some important issues to me.

First I would like to know your stand on GUN CONTROL (Prohibition, Conviction etc) now that it has been proven that it does NOT PREVENT CRIME?

#2 item - what is your views on the use of the steel leg hold trap now in use as a game management tool?

I would like to hear your views on the above items as banning them both (or just one)

WOULD IN ALL RESPECT PUT
ME ON WELFARE FOR AT LEAST
ONE FORTH OF THE YEAR AS I
STOCK MY REAZER EACH FALL
(+ MY BANK ACCOUNT) WITH THE
PROCEEDS I TAKE IN FROM THE
HUNTING + TRAPPING SEASONS.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME,
TROUBLE, AND INFORMATION.

THANK YOU
again

mailed 8/9/76

June 2, 1976
Salem, Ore.

Jimmy Carter
1795 Peachtree Road N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Mr. Carter:

I would like to know your feelings on "Gun Control". I would also like to know what good can become of it, as long as the general public buys toy guns for the young children to play with. As long as this is the trend, I can see no future in gun control. Especially when any one can go buy a gun at any given time. I am dead set against it myself. For this reason if there had been no guns, we would still be a British Colony.

Now to the other question I have, what would you do about Taxes. I am referring to the fact that most Banks do not pay interest on Federal Taxes they hold for the Government. This is wrong in two ways. If I'm late, I have to pay

taxes and interest, why don't they have to pay taxes on this money. Then there is another way to have ample taxes. Tax each and every dollar everyone makes, including big Companies, Corporations and all alike that is .05¢ on every dollar of earned income. This way there would be no refund and it would be a fair tax for everyone. I would like to know your feelings on these questions before I cast a vote for any one. I believe and always will that the best man should be selected for the job in either or any party.

Thank you
W. R. Graham
1765 State St.
Salem, Ore. 97301

NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Publishers of THE AMERICAN RIFLEMAN

1600 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20036

783-6505



June 29, 1976

*Mr. Leo
8/9/76
PL*

Mr. Peter Conlon
P.O. Box 1976
Atlanta, Ga. 30301

Dear Mr. Conlon:

My attention has been called to what purports to be a statement by Jimmy Carter on gun control. It is quoted as follows:

"HANDGUN CONTROL: I favor registration of handguns, a ban on the sale of cheap handguns, reasonable licensing provisions, including a waiting period and prohibition of ownership by anyone convicted of a crime involving a gun and by those not mentally competent."

If this is a correct statement of Mr. Carter's position and you are authorized to speak for him, kindly put an endorsement to that effect on the letter and send it back to me. As you do, I feel that it is of the utmost importance that the position of anyone seeking the Presidency be made crystal clear.

Incidentally, it might be beneficial to Mr. Carter's campaign if someone will point out to him that the Congress of the United States, in 1968, enacted a Federal statute making it illegal for anyone convicted of a crime subject to a penalty of more than one year, and for anyone adjudged mentally incompetent, to own firearms. There are so many laws and legalities that he may be understandably unaware of that one.

Cordially,

Ashley Halsey Jr.

Ashley Halsey, Jr.
Editor
THE AMERICAN RIFLEMAN

AH/fl

R. D. 2, Box 81
Bath, Pennsylvania 18014

June 14, 1976

Mr. James Carter
P. O. Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Sir:

Since it is apparent you will be the Democratic choice for the Presidency, I would appreciate your intentions on gun control and your opinion of the National Rifle Association.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. Melvin Aaron
R. D. 2, Box 81
Bath, Pennsylvania 18014

*ma
8/9/76
p.c.*

July 12, 1976

Jimmy Carter for
President Headquarters
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Carter campaigners,

Could you please send me 4 "Jimmy Carter for President" campaign buttons and some material explaining Jimmy Carter's stand on the issues, It will be of great help in a high school project.

Thank you,

Michael Frezon
2 William Terrace
Rensselaer, New York 12144

writes Vol 8/9/76

gun control

June 23rd 76

Hon. Governor William Carter..

Sir-

As a next of this great U.S.A few
my friends and I would like to know how
you Sir stand on gun control.

The U.S.A should
have gun control like they have in Poland which
I visited 2 years ago. There no one owns or have
a gun at home. Only sportsman hunters have
permission to have a gun and use it during
hunting season. So in Poland dont have
guns, theres hardly any crime, one can
walk the streets day or night is not stopped
or molested.

needed Here its the only gun control is
to combat crimes.

Respectfully yours

Frank Tojek

132 S.E. 2nd Terr.

Hollywood Florida 33009.

ms:top
8/9/76

For your information Sir, when
the time comes for action, you will
have someone fired James E. Smith
as Controller of National Currency.

I don't think

Mr E. Ford will do anything about it.

P.S. I am 85 years young, in very good
health, working in the garden about
6 hours a day.

3/30/76

Jim Carter:

I would like to know, in detail, just what your stand is on gun-control. This issue is of great importance not only to sportsmen but the honest citizen. Basically, how do you feel it, (gun control), fits with the 2nd Amendment?

M. Carter
8/9/76

Thank you
David J. Deuel
1317 AVALON
LACROSSE WIS
54601

g 4n

Central

EDWARD LEWIS BARNES
569-D HERITAGE VILLAGE
SOUTHURY, CONN. 06488

*Mauley 8/9/76
J.F. Vol*

14 B

July 5/76

Mr. James Carter
P O Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Mr. Carter:

I am a Republican, but will vote for you if you disclaim making a statement to Fortune magazine that you favor repeal of section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act. I sincerely hope you are not a tool of labor unions.

You are the right man for the White House if you do not succumb to pressure from organized labor.

There are too many lawyers in Washington. A business man who values hard work, profits and honest accounting is needed for leadership.

I hope I can vote for you, but you must reassure me and millions of voters that life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness include the right to work without paying tribute to labor unions.

Labor unions have brought Great Britain to the edge of disaster and have started this nation's economy downhill. Workers here have been ruined financially and physically because they refused to join a union.

Look at New York City's financial mess -- caused in large part by too much brotherly love between city office holders and labor leaders. No wonder taxpayers are fleeing the city.

discover they cannot control government.

You are the man who can correct a multitude of sins within the government.

This is to wish you all kinds of success, which I am pretty sure lies ahead for you and family and the nation.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "E. J. Barnes". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed word "Sincerely,".

MUCC

MICHIGAN UNITED CONSERVATION CLUBS

2101 Wood Street

Mail Address: P.O. Box 2235, Lansing, Michigan 48911
Phone (517) 371-1041

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Michigan 48035

TREASURER

Hale Pearce, 71 Edison Court, Coldwater, Michigan 49037

*Manila NoL 8/9/76
JAL*

May 10, 1976

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign
P.O. Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Gentlemen:

A year ago March in Pittsburgh, Jimmy Carter addressed the National Wildlife Federation. After the meeting there were several persons who approached me and asked if we would be willing to have Mr. Carter make an appearance before our group in Michigan.

I did not commit at that time, and the purpose of this letter is not to commit to that kind of action now. However, I am deeply concerned with Mr. Carter's position on private firearms ownership. We were approached again in Louisville at the National Wildlife Federation meeting and asked to join with a group called "Conservationists for Carter." Since we are the largest conservation organization in Michigan, with over 100,000 members, we do have an interest in activities of this sort.

Could you provide me with Mr. Carter's firearms position, particularly as it pertains to private ownership and use of handguns?

Your early reply to this request will be much appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Thomas L. Washington
Executive Director

TLW:mh

"STATEWIDE"

"To Further and Advance Conservation in All of Its Phases"

8788 S.W. 12ST
Miami Fla 33174
March 25, 1976

Dear Mr. Carter,

I am a student at Everglades Elem. and I am watching the primary results. There are some questions I'd like answered.

First: You say that Ford has had ideas. What ideas have you to replace them?

Second: What do you plan to do about the energy crisis?

Third: Are you going to try to get a law passed prohibiting the bearing and using of guns?

Fourth: What did you do for Georgia when you were governor?

Fifth: What are you going to do about the gas and oil prices?

Please answer these questions

Sincerely yours
Nelson Ruiz

Miles
8/9/76
Vol. [Signature]

gun control

O. C. SWARTZ, D. C.

N.C.M.

X-RAY

1300 N. WAVERLY ROAD

LANSING

MICHIGAN

June 17, 1976

Jimmy Carter
Gov. State of Georgia
Atlanta, Georgia

M.A. Allen
8/9/76
J.L.

Hi Jimmy: - In a recent article
in the National Rifle Association's
magazine it was pointed out
quite clearly that your position
for gun control legislation is
not appreciated by most
sportsmen. "Someone wants our
guns" - and you Jimmy, as a good
Southern Baptist, should for the
most part, know who that is.
So it coincides that the
strongest gun controllers are
the Kennedy, Muskie, Funnery,
Rodardo and Hart? I don't

think so. - let us know where
you stand Government. -

[Handwritten signature]

written
8/9/76 J.S.

Ronnie Embury
5118 Ashwood
Baytown, Tex. 77521
July 14, 1976

Dear Governor Carter,

My name is Ronnie Embury. I am 11 years old.

I am writing you this letter to talk to you about divestiture.

I think that you are a very intelligent man and that you have run a very intelligent campaign.

But there is only one thing about you that really concerns me. You are for divestiture.

If you sign the divestiture bill, you will be abolishing the right to free enterprise, the system of individual economic freedom that has made our country strong. And besides if there are ten and more major oil companies, then how could they each have a monopoly if they are all acting as competition for each other?

If Exxon is broken up, operation on the Trans-Alaska

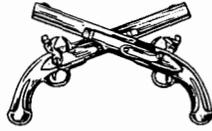
pipeline will be ground to a screeching halt. Then we will be more and more dependent on foreign oil and that will cause prices to sky-rocket to 60¢ and 65¢ per gallon even for self-serv.

If shell is broken up, people out on the oil rigs will probably be put out of work because if this bill is put into effect, their stock will crash and they won't be able to pay their employees and they will be put out of work and operation out on the oil rigs will be stopped.

I hope you will answer my letter and tell me why you are for divestiture.

Sincerely,
Ronnie Embury

Oil



MILITARY POLICE
Fort Gordon, Georgia

DEAR MR. CARTER:

I HAVE NOT HAD THE OCCASION
TO BECOME AWARE OF YOUR
ATTITUDES ON TWO ISSUES.

THESE ARE:

- 1- UNITED STATES SUPPORT OF AND/OR
AID TO ISRAEL
- 2- THE POSSESSION OF FIRE-ARMS
BY PRIVATE AMERICAN CITIZENS

I WOULD LIKE TO BECOME AWARE
OF YOUR ATTITUDES ON THE ABOVE.

SINCERELY,

J. Reynolds

Mailbox
8/9/76
JRH

Mailed 8/9/76 Vol. 9.6

June 10th

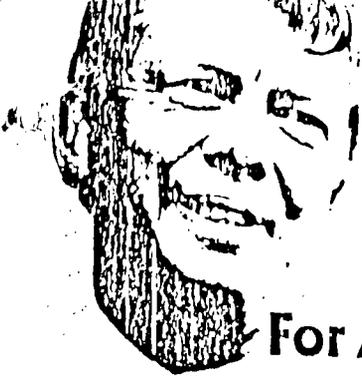
Dear Jimmy Carter -

Seems you are on the way. I am with you "All The Way".

Today a friend said to me "If you are for Jimmy Carter you will lose all your rights with 'guns'. He is against the Gun Freedom."

Sure hope you can tell the people what your stand is.

~~W. S. [Signature]~~



Jimmy Carter

Presidential Campaign

For America's third century, why not our best?

Dear *Mr. Cooper,*
~~Mr. [unclear]~~

Thank you for your letter and advice on ~~oil companies~~ *gun control.*

We appreciate your interest in the campaign and hope to make further use of your materials during the general election.

Once again, thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Neil S. Sader
Issues Staff

*Ans 8-9-76
Beck - Ubl*



INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA-UAW

CENTRAL OHIO UAW CAP COUNCIL

SERVING THE COUNTIES OF

ASHLAND, CRAWFORD, DELAWARE, KNOX, LICKING, MARION, MORROW, RICHLAND, UNION, AND WYANDOT



370 W. Fairground St.
Marion, Ohio, 43302
March 23, 1976

Sir:

The U.A.W. Central Ohio C.A.P. (Community Action Program) Council conducted a poll on gun controls of the delegates to the U.A.W. International Bargaining Convention. The poll was taken March 20 at Cobo Hall in Detroit, Michigan. Questionnaires were given to the delegates and were returned voluntarily. The questionnaires requested that each delegate give his or her name, local union number, U.A.W. region number, and their status at the convention such as delegate, guest, or staff. Delegates were asked eight questions on the right to own firearms, registration, prohibition of handguns, mandatory prison sentences and the effectiveness of gun controls. All questions were to be answered with either yes, no, or undecided.

Ninety-four percent of the 623 delegates responding believe citizens have a right to own firearms. Seventy-eight percent thought registration would not significantly reduce crime and nearly two-thirds of the delegates opposed registration. More than four out of five delegates opposed the prohibition of handguns and ninety percent favored mandatory prison sentences for anyone using a gun while committing a felony.



CENTRAL OHIO UAW CAP COUNCIL

SERVING THE COUNTIES OF
ASHLAND, CRAWFORD, DELAWARE, KNOX, LICKING, MARION, MORROW, RICHLAND, UNION, AND WYANDOT

(2)

We feel the poll demonstrates the U.A.W. memberships overwhelming opposition to gun controls and we are petitioning the U.A.W. International Executive Board to review its policy on gun controls to see that it reflects the feelings of the rank and file membership.

The complete results of the poll are listed below and are given in percentages. The questionnaires may be examined by contacting Dick Cooper, President of U.A.W. Local 745, 370 West Fairground St., Marion, Ohio, 43302. (1-614-383-2444 or 1-419-845-2742.)

Thank you,

Dick Cooper

1. Do you believe that law-abiding citizens have a right to own firearms?
Yes 94 No 4 Undecided 2
2. Do you believe that criminals would register their guns, if the registration of guns were required by law?
Yes 4 No 94 Undecided 2
3. Would a law requiring the registration of guns significantly reduce crime in America?
Yes 16 No 78 Undecided 6
4. Do you favor the registration of all guns?
Yes 30 No 65 Undecided 5
5. Do you believe that criminals would give up their handguns if the possession of handguns were prohibited by law?
Yes 3 No 94 Undecided 3
6. Do you believe that criminals would be unable to obtain handguns if the sale and possession of handguns were prohibited by law in America?
Yes 13 No 82 Undecided 5
7. Do you favor a law prohibiting the sale and possession of handguns?
Yes 14 No 82 Undecided 4
8. Do you favor mandatory prison sentences for anyone convicted of a felony in which a gun was used?
Yes 90 No 5 Undecided 5

Now is the correcting ribbon working Not very well
M-w What has happened
What has happened Wh does Why does the
ribbon always get stuck Now it to be better

Is this typewriter working all right? It seems
to be.



Jimmy Carter

Presidential Campaign

For America's third century, why not our best?

Dear *Mrs. Wool,*

Thank you for your letter and advice on *cruelty to animals.*

We appreciate your interest in the campaign and hope to make further use of your materials during the general election.

Once again, thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Neil S. Sader
Issues Staff

Apr 8-7-76
Book - Vol

P. O. Box 223, Orinda, CA 94563
March 27, 1976

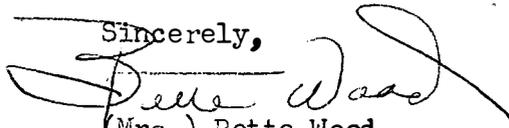
Governor Jimmy Carter
Democratic Presidential Candidate
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Governor Carter:

After reading the article on page 3 of the Natl. Enquirer on how the Animal Welfare Act of 1970 has done nothing to abate the cruel treatment of experimental animals in laboratories in the United States, I thought I would write a letter to the head of the Bureau of Med. and Surgery about this.

It is possible you could use this as one of the campaign issues. With so many animal lovers, a promise from you to see that these laboratories do indeed enforce the Act of 1970 or pay a penalty. A great many people have written to both Nixon and Ford, however, it is obvious that Ford cares only for his Liberty and her comfort. In the event you did not see the N. E. article, I am enclosing it. You will note that two Congressmen triggered the article, and the country may just be ripe to take off on these fiendish, unnecessary experiments. It jars the sensitivities of millions of voters, I'm sure.

Sincerely,



(Mrs.) Bette Wood



Jimmy Carter

Presidential Campaign

For America's third century, why not our best?

Dear Mr. Widner,

Thank you for your letter and advice.

We appreciate your interest in the campaign and hope to make further use of your materials during the general election.

Once again, thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Neil S. Sader
Issues Staff

*Copy 8-9-76
Beck - Vol*

#1

12111 Galena Road
Rockville, Md. 20852
6 April 1976

*Cleared
Ind. desk*

Mr. Jimmy Carter
Plains, Georgia

Dear Sir,

While it may be trite to say that our country is at a major crossroads or turning point in its history, I believe that is precisely the situation in which we find ourselves. We are tied to too many old ideas and concepts when the exigencies of the day call for imagination and innovation. As we enter our third century, we need new ideas for a new era.

I might also add that we need new faces for this new era. We need a president who is not tied to decisions of the past or to special interest groups. We need a man who is his own man. That man, Sir, is you.

I am sure you are giving considerable thought to the myriad of issues facing our nation today. I have taken the liberty of drafting some thoughts on what I consider to be some of the major issues of the day. I forward them herewith for whatever use you may care to make of them.

The very best to you in the remainder of the primaries, the convention and the November elections. You have my support and my vote.

Sincerely,


Richard G. Weidner

PS. Although it may be presumptuous, may I ask that you do not publicly quote me as I am a U.S. Government employee.



Jimmy Carter

Presidential Campaign

For America's third century, why not our best?

Dear *Mr. Holland,*

Thank you for your letter and advice on *the campaign.*

We appreciate your interest in the campaign and hope to make further use of your materials during the general election.

Once again, thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Neil S. Sader
Issues Staff

*Ans - 8-9-76
A. Beach - Vol*

LINDSEY HOLLAND

65 East Nasa Boulevard
Melbourne, Florida 32901

Phone: 724-1226

James

50⁰⁰

April 5, 1976

Honorable Jimmy Carter
P. O. Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Governor Carter:

I was grateful for your letter of March 4th relating to foreign policy and the need for supra-national handling of nuclear power and world environmental problems. I also appreciate your sending me your position papers on energy and nuclear power.

I am convinced that your advocacy of a protective attitude towards natural resources and all life on earth and in the oceans will bring you tremendous support, especially from younger voters, who are a majority.

I voted for you in our primary and I will most certainly support you in the future.

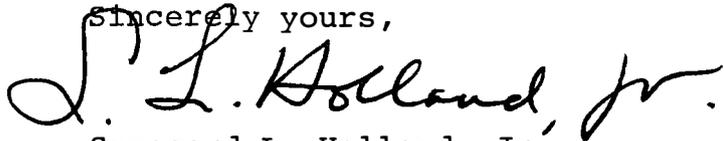
You may already know that the only other candidate who seems to share your appeal because of genuine environmental concern, is Governor Edmund G. Brown of California. Perhaps there are others of whom I am not aware.

The other candidates, I feel, cannot deal objectively with the sovereignty problem. I have recently sent Governor Brown a copy of the enclosed paper dealing with the sovereignty question.

Honorable Jimmy Carter
Page 2
April 5, 1976

Enclosed please find a contribution of
\$50.00. I will be pleased to be of further
assistance in the future.

Sincerely yours,



Spessard L. Holland, Jr.

SLH,Jr/rhd

Enclosures: Paper on sovereignty question
Check for \$50.00

*clipping
must wait after
exam!*

3/17

March 10, 1976

Governor James E. Carter
Plains, Georgia

Dear Jimmy:

As you must well understand, we are all on "cloud nine" concerning the "Carter Sweep" in Florida. In the midst of jubilation, however, we have had a Carter campaign meeting at the University again and I report what transpired. As you have put it, "there is a long ways to go"--but there is certainly room for real optimism.

Professor Parthemos feels that it is by no means too early for your serious consideration of a running-mate who would balance your ticket in terms of ideology, geography and votes. Udall was discussed, but, in comparison to Jerry Brown of California, Udall seems to bring relatively few electoral votes along--to start with. And the liberals are "stuck" with the Democratic nominee. Jackson was also discussed but it was concluded (rightly or wrongly) that: (a) you would have a number of tough primary battles ahead with him (particularly in New York and California), (b) these battles would probably lead to some rather deep scars, and (c) Jackson, with his "instant expertise" and intemperate "snap judgments" on anything and everything would, in the end, be more of a burden than an asset. In a way he is unable to criticize Ford's policies (for example in conventional military forces--i.e. Navy--the USSR did show naval force during the Angola situation--or in energy) because he, Jackson, is as much the actual architect of these policies (such as they are) as anyone else. If there is a problem in Washington (there is), Henry Jackson is very much part of it. He's been "energy czar" in the U. S. Senate, for example, since 1971 (Chairman of the "augmented" committee on Interior and Insular Affairs--Senate Resolution 45 Re. Energy Study). In overall terms, measured against the exigencies of the situation, Jackson has produced nothing. If he can't organize a major project in predominantly Democratic Senate after 5 years, how can he aspire to lead the country as President?

Concerning Jackson's next moves, some felt he would now be occupied with making a list of "what he didn't say about Carter." Personally I do not agree. I believe he will feel that the personal attacks "drew blood" and that he is too inflexible to change tactics in any case. In New York, he is, predictably, going to get as personal as possible. His campaign can be broken, however, as I see it, if his success is limited largely to New York City with the state at large ignoring him for the most part. And within the City, he will probably have Udall to contend with.

Governor James E. Carter
Page 2
March 10, 1976

The wisecracks say that Ford will become increasingly hard to beat if the economy continues its upswing. Personally, I don't necessarily concur. He's too self-satisfied with too little to show for it. Almost any scandal or crisis can set him back severely. There are signs, particularly in the area of foreign exchange, that troubles may loom ahead; and the job situation certainly remains bad. *except for stockbrokers.*

My personal opinion, as you know from earlier private reports to you, is that eventually there will be severe repercussions in the international monetary field (between 1976 and 1979). There is always the possibility also that the Russians will overreach themselves and make Ford look clumsy (which he is) but the general tenor of the Soviet Press in commenting on Reagan's speeches makes it seem clear that they know which side their bread is buttered on until the election is over (i.e. Reagan is "uninformed;" the Administration is "doing fine"). While it won't wash prior to your nomination, during the final campaign a strong position on your part could provoke embarrassing support for Ford in the Soviet Press. Just a thought for future reference. The caterwauling going on between Ford and Congress over the energy "non-policy" situation may also attract increasing public interest and, I think, merits your continuing attention for both political and substantive reasons. More on that later.

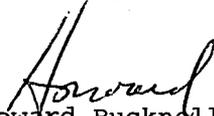
Going back to the meeting, as you perhaps have heard, the Provost at the University has indicated his intention of resigning after a long and bitter feud with some of the faculty. Georgia state politics are involved here in a sense that may be of interest and/or use to you. The Provost's decision brought to light that at least one University group supported him strongly. The Agriculture people apparently are very much part of the Provost-Chancellor "net" that is reportedly quite anti-Carter in its politics. This is important because the agriculturists have outposts all over the state and are quite influential.

I have no practical suggestion as to what to do about this, nor how to sway these people, but I should think a move in that direction, if your staff can perceive one, might be helpful in assuring a good, solid Carter majority in Georgia in the home-state primary in May.

At the meeting, a dozen running-mate names were thrown up. The only really important idea, however, was that of getting an early start on it to permit thoughtful consideration in order to avoid a McGovern-like fiasco under convention pressure.

My prayers continue to follow you. Please give my very best to Rosalynn. You are both carrying such an enormous load with grace, dignity, and purpose. For which we are all grateful.

Sincerely,


Howard Bucknell, III

HB:js

cc: Stu E. Eizenstat.



Jimmy Carter

Presidential Campaign

For America's third century, why not our best?

Dear *Ms. Greenberg,*

Thank you for your letter and advice on *running an administration.*

We appreciate your interest in the campaign and hope to make further use of your materials during the general election.

Once again, thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Neil S. Sader
Issues Staff

*Ans 8-9-76
A Beck-Jol*

7004 Wake Forest Drive
College Park, Md. 20740
April 7, 1976

Mr. Jimmy Carter
Plains, Ga.

#1
Steve
Ind desk

Dear Mr. Carter:

I would like to take this opportunity to offer you yet another bit of gratuitous advice-- not on campaigning, which you seem to have well in hand, but on running your Administration when you take office.

There are two groups in Washington which can make or break your Administration: the Congress and the bureaucracy. I have no special expertise to offer in dealing with the former, but have an unusually good vantage point from which to comment on the bureaucracy.

Virtually all recent Presidents have had difficulty managing the Federal service, and, on the face of it, controlling almost 3,000,000 employees scattered world-wide seems to be an intractable problem. In my view, however, it is not. The key to managing the bureaucracy is the group of some 10,000 career executives, serving in General Schedule grades 16, 17, and 18 and in equivalent positions outside the General Schedule (the so-called supergrades). If you can get the supergrades on your team, the rest of the career service will present no problem.

Contrary to the common view, career Federal executives are an able group. They are intelligent, highly educated, honest, dedicated, and hard-working. Also, as the Republicans suspect, the great majority of them are Democrats. They are, however, schooled in the career ethic of serving each Administration impartially. But all too commonly they are given no real opportunity to serve an Administration at all.

Let me describe what usually happens when a new Administration takes office:

The new President announces his Cabinet and then makes other top appointments. Each of these appointees quickly sets about assembling a staff of trusted lieutenants. Meanwhile, the career executives are anticipating the new agency leadership in much the frame of mind of a young girl about to go to her first dance-- she hopes that she'll be asked to dance but at the same time she's fearful that her partners won't like her.

Then the new crew come on board, acutely aware that their career subordinates know far more about the agency's program and how the Government operates than they will ever know. Reluctant to let their ignorance become obvious and also fearing that they become captives of the bureaucracy, they tend to work within their tight little group of intimates, having as little contact as possible with the careerists.

The career executives, for their part, expect to receive marching orders. They imagine that the new appointees are coming in with a well-thought-out agenda, which is, in fact, rarely the case. The careerists wait, and when nothing much

comes through to them, they begin to try to interpret the clues they have received. Frequently, they interpret them incorrectly, and the new agency head and his people say "What are these clowns trying to do to us?"

Mutual paranoia soon converts what was at the outset a communications problem into a war of attrition. The career executives always win a war of this type-- they may lose a few skirmishes and they may have some individual casualties, but they outnumber the political appointees 10 to 1, and they have massive reserves beyond that. Furthermore, they know all the in's and out's of their business. In short, collectively they are unbeatable.

This, of course, describes the pathology of the career/noncareer interface; unfortunately the pathology is very often the rule. When one understands the disease process, however, it is rather easy to prescribe ways in which it can be arrested. I would suggest the following:

1. You should make it absolutely clear to your appointees that you hold them personally responsible for working effectively with the bureaucracy and that you will not tolerate any failure of program accomplishment caused by lack of cooperation of the career service. Of course, each appointee must be permitted his own management style, but I think you should mandate their
 - establishing a formal policy advisory group with significant representation of senior career officials
 - creating a climate in which information and advice from career executives is routinely sought and considered
 - setting up formal and informal means of communicating downward.
2. Soon after you take office you should deliver an inspirational message to Federal employees, singling out the executives for special mention. The bureaucracy is always waiting for a President they can serve with enthusiasm. Give them some encouragement and you will be well repaid.
3. The reward system for career executives needs to be changed. As it now exists, all the pressures are toward expanding and spending. A bureaucrat can't get status by earning a huge salary; he obtains it by having a large staff and an ever-enlarging budget. There is absolutely no incentive to be frugal. In fact, the frugal manager is penalized and finds himself subsidizing the more prodigal spenders in his agency. Turning the present value system around will take some doing, but it can be done, I'm convinced. Again, it will be crucial to have the career executives on your team and to give them unequivocal signals that your Administration values the individual who meets his program responsibilities at minimum cost.

4. Symbols can be important and "The White House" is a magic phrase even to the blasé Washingtonian. You could earn enormous dividends at little cost by including a handful of top career executives in all large White House social functions. Another device, requiring a slightly greater investment of time, would be to have periodic White House briefing sessions for groups of senior career officials. The actual briefing would be done by one of your aides, but to gain maximum effect, it would be desirable for you personally to spend a few minutes with each group.

I am sure that you appreciate the fact that there is no incompatibility between the above recommendations and your campaign posture. On the contrary, these suggestions would help to make possible what you hope to do. The career executives know what can be cut and what can be consolidated. If they are made members of your team, they will help you develop and carry out your plans. Otherwise, the country will be in for another fruitless and debilitating struggle.

The conventional wisdom is that the President cannot manage the Government. This may be true, but I believe that it has never really been tried. I think it is worth a real effort since the present state of affairs results in poor execution of the public's business. The tension we now have between career and noncareer is not constructive.

Needless to say, I am writing this as a private citizen, since to do so in my official capacity would be improper. I am enclosing a recent publication which describes the Federal executive structure and the characteristics of Federal executives. You may find some of the material of interest.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Sally H. Greenberg". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name.

Sally H. Greenberg



Jimmy Carter

Presidential Campaign

For America's third century, why not our best?

Dear *Mr. Jones,*

Thank you for your letter and ~~advice on~~ *position paper.*

We appreciate your interest in the campaign and hope to make further use of your materials during the general election.

Once again, thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Neil S. Sader
Issues Staff

Apr. 8-9-76
Beck-Jol



SOCIETY OF FORMER SPECIAL AGENTS OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, INC.

THE STATLER-HILTON HOTEL, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10001

Suite 118A

212-947-5765

April 15, 1976

Hon. Jimmy Carter
Former Governor of Georgia
Atlanta, Georgia

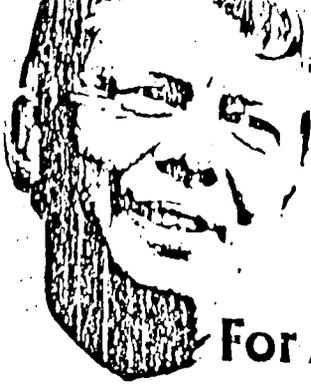
Dear Gov. Carter:

The Board of Directors of the Society of Former Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Inc. has requested that I forward to you as a candidate for President of the United States a copy of the Position Statement of the Society. The preamble and statement are self explanatory.

Thank you for your kind attention.

Sincerely,

Ralph H. Jones
President



Jimmy Carter

Presidential Campaign

For America's third century, why not our best?

Dear *Dr. Schulman,*

Thank you for your letter and advice on *economics.*

We appreciate your interest in the campaign and hope to make further use of your materials during the general election.

Once again, thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Neil S. Sader
Issues Staff

*Ans. 8-9-76
Beck-Ool*

Max M. Schulman

Dr. Rer. Pol. Economist

5419½ Fernwood Avenue Los Angeles 27, Calif.

Phone HO 4-6319

Mr. Jimmy Carter
Atlanta
Georgia 30301

April 23, 1976

Dear Mr. Carter,

Please find here my thesis about the economic disturbance which presses actually upon our country.

In your consistent fight for the main goal, the Presidency of the United States, it might be of importance to know the deeper cause for this baffling stagnation in our economy which has to be called depression.

Since the science of economy has shown us the underlying reason, it teaches also the only possible solution. The redress can not be performed by spending countless billions of dollars; this waste of money did not help before, in the 1930th, nor, for that matter in other countries, and it will not help in the future either.

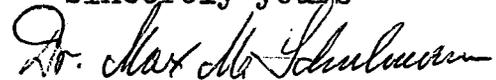
The sensible aim is rather: " jobs without inflation". This aim is absolutely within the realm of reality, and economically feasible with our constitutional and democratic institution.

This pledge, as a vow for your goal, may go directly as a message to the JOBLESS; they will realize whom to trust, on whom to rely, and whom to help as volunteers; it will reconcile you with a big part of labor.

Furthermore, there is the idle capital of entrepreneurs, developers, builders and contractors. They represent the disaster-stricken industry - to call it correctly the key-industry of the nation. They, too, will show a ready understanding and a high interest in your resolve to put the country back on even keel.

If my essay appears to you making sense, please ask me for further explanation. In case it does not gain a favorable impression on you, I ask you kindly to send it back to me.

Sincerely yours



Max M. Schulmann
Dr. Rer. Pol.



Jimmy Carter

Presidential Campaign

For America's third century, why not our best?

Dear *Mr. Zapantis,*

Thank you for your letter and advice on ~~Current and Future~~ *Foreign Policy.*

We appreciate your interest in the campaign and hope to make further use of your materials during the general election.

Once again, thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Neil S. Sader
Issues Staff

Agas 8-9-76 Vol
Beck

New York, July 9, 1976

Mr. Steve Stark
Issues Coordinator
Jimmy Carter President Campaign
Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Mr. Stark:

Recent press reports, attached, have indicated that Cyprus and the question of military aid to Turkey might become major campaign issues at the initiative of President Ford.

In view of this, I take the liberty of enclosing an article on the U.S. military bases in Turkey and related subjects, as well as supporting documentation.

Enclosed is also a memorandum and other material on the conduct of American foreign policy in general.

Sincerely,


Andrew Zapantis

Andrew Zapantis
210 East 47th Street-Apt.2A
New York, N.Y. 10017

P.S. Last May 12, I sent to Mr. Jody Powell an article of The Economist, London; its conclusion stated that Dr. Kissinger is unable to comprehend the resilience of the American people. (The conclusion was reprinted in the May 31 issue of U.S. News & World Report.) It was gratifying to hear that on June 14, Mr. Jimmy Carter stated: "This country is resilient. We can start again. I believe it can be done and I mean to do it."

Ford May Turn Cyprus Into a Hot Campaign Issue

JACK ANDERSON

WASHINGTON — There is troubling evidence that President Ford is trying to make a campaign issue, Ronald Reagan style, out of the explosive Cyprus crisis.

Just as Reagan sounded the battle cry over the Panama Canal, Ford now appears to be clearing his throat for an attack on the Democrats over the Greek-Turkish-Cypriot impasse.

He is trying to maneuver Congress, apparently, into a showdown over Turkish arms. There are signs that he would like to force a vote on the \$1 billion Turkish arms pact in the middle of the election campaign.

It would be a "can't lose" tactic for the President: His pro-Turkish tilt has already cost him the support of the large Greek-American community. The Democrats in Congress, on the other hand, can't afford to alienate this powerful vote bloc.

Arms Embargo Against Turkey

There is little chance, therefore, that Congress would pass a Turkish arms pact in an election year. The Turks, humiliated once again, might close U.S. bases permanently and turn to the Soviet Union for arms. Then

the voters could expect to hear an almighty cry from Ford against the irresponsibility of the Democrats.

A little background is necessary to understand the political maneuvering. The Turkish army used U.S.-made weapons, in violation of the military aid agreement, to invade Cyprus in July 1974. No great protest was heard from Secretary of State Kissinger, but an angry Congress clamped an arms embargo against Turkey.

The embargo has now been partially lifted and Kissinger has negotiated a new billion-dollar arms pact with the Turks. He deliberately did not include a Cyprus solution as a condition. Thus, the pact is wired with political dynamite.

The House, meanwhile voted to extend aid to both Greece and Turkey through October 1977. But the Senate voted to cut off aid to both nations a year earlier, on the theory that separate arms pacts will be ready this year.

Of course, Congress would never approve a Turkish arms pact, without a Cyprus solution, on the eve of the election. The practical effect of the Senate bill, therefore, would be to reimpose the Turkish arms embargo in less than four months.

Yet, incredibly, the Ford administration endorsed the Senate bill. It looked as if the President was deliber-

ately trying to force a vote on the controversial arms deal.

The refusal of Congress to supply arms to Turkey almost certainly would alienate a staunch former ally. This would hand Ford a hot campaign issue. He could march across the country, Harry Truman style, damning the irresponsibility of Congress.

But, at the last minute, the Ford administration relented and endorsed the House bill, which is expected to prevail. The Turkish arms agreement, nevertheless, could still become an election issue. There are signs that Ford may push for a quick vote anyway.

The defeat of the pact at least wouldn't cut off the arms flow to Turkey until next year, thus avoiding an immediate arms embargo. But it would still be a humiliating blow to the Turks.

The State Department, for its part, has formulated no backup plans in the event the Turkish arms deal is defeated.

We have also learned that Kissinger, in pushing the Turkish arms agreement, has been feeding Senate-House leaders false information. At a recent White House meeting with the leaders, he sought to allay the fears of those who believe he is trying to isolate Cyprus as an issue. We have seen the confidential minutes of that meeting.

The "big issue" with both Greek and

Turkish Cypriots, said Kissinger in his soothing Teutonic tones, is "how much territory to Greece, how much to Turkey." The positions of both sides, he assured the leaders, "are basically reconcilable."

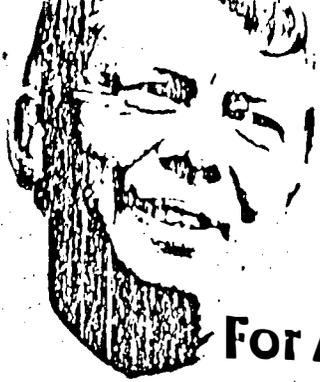
Our associate, Joe Spear, recently returned from a news-gathering trip to Cyprus. He brought back solid evidence that the Kissinger statement is false. The overwhelming consensus among the experts on Cyprus is that the Greek and Turkish positions aren't reconcilable at all.

Basic Issue Is Territory

The basic issue, unquestionably, is territory. Although the Turks constitute only about 18% of the population, they now control the northern 40% of the island. There is every evidence they are digging in for keeps.

At least 12,000 to 15,000 Turks, according to unimpeachable intelligence sources, have been imported from the mainland to alleviate the labor problem and boost the Turkish Cypriots' claim to the territory.

In all the "intercommunal talks" on Cyprus, the Turks have refused to budge on the territorial issue. Spear crossed the "Green Line" between the Greek and Turkish camps and found both sides to be stubbornly uncompromising.



Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

For America's third century, why not our best?

Dear *Dr. Seidman,*

Thank you for your letter and advice on *Foreign Policy.*

We appreciate your interest in the campaign and hope to make further use of your materials during the general election.

Once again, thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Neil S. Sader
Issues Staff

*Apr. 8-9-76
Becht Vol*

From the desk of . . .

ALEXANDER SEIDMAN, M.D.

Governor Carter, I wish to recall to you the fact that an American Ambassador was taken hostage in Sudan and killed in cold blood several days later. The murderers are still free. The President of Sudan recently received by Pres. Ford!! Another Ambassador killed in Lebanon by PLO murderers. The crime remains unpunished. Was our country become a country of cowards? Must little Israel make all the sacrifices in the fight against terror and murder? Of innocent men, women and children? Israel acted in a way America used to act until the policy of astente and appeasement became the national policy of "pragmatism" and "realism".

It was Israel's greatest gift to America's bicentennial celebration signed with the blood of its heroic people. Your statement will be remembered.

Alexander Seidman
with best wishes

Included important background material

ALEXANDER SEIDMAN, M.D.
2200 O'Farrell St. — WA 2-3400
San Francisco, California 94115

July 4th, 1976

Dear Governor Carter,

June 13 of this year I had send you a letter and statement on the Middle East. I had stated that the Nixon-Kissinger-Ford years of foreign policy had caused great harm and anxiety to Israel and the American Jewish community.

Kissinger's deceptive, manipulative policy of "detente" with Soviet Russia did not prevent the Jom Kipur war, did not prevent the Arab oil embargo, which wrecked the economy of the free world. His policy led to the Finlandization of Western Europe and Japan. It almost wrecked the Atlantic alliance. He frustrated the deep yearning of the American people for a foreign policy of morality. He helped in the genocide of the Kurdish people perpetrated by the Iraqi Arab despots. He did not prevent the Turkish aggression against Cyprus. He opposed the advance of the cause of human rights when he opposed the visit of the great Russian humanist and poet Solzhenitsyn at the White House, for fear it might offend the "sensitivity" of the Kremlin. In Helsinki he helped seal the fate of the captive nations of Eastern Europe. Peace in Middle East is farther removed than ever before because of a policy of "evenhandedness" and "reassessment", which is appeasing the unholy Arab-Soviet alliance at the expense of Israel, which is fighting for its very existence as a nation and as a people. His despicable Middle East policy unquestionably is also responsible in the final analysis for all the events, which led to the "legitimization" of the murderous PLO, the infamy of the anti-Zionist resolution etc. etc. I could enumerate many more examples of Kissinger-Ford foreign policy "successes".

Copy of this article by Seidman material published

Governor Carter, I had studied your policy statements on foreign policy, on the Middle East, on Israel. Specifically, I studied with great care your recent major foreign policy address. What a magnificent breath of fresh air!! I refer specifically to your words that "violations of human rights are no longer the internal affairs of any one nation" and that the United States in the future must again form a partnership of democracies, a "community of the free", a "democratic concert of nations". You deplored the U.S. "role as the world's leading arms salesman". You stated that "internal oppression" in countries, receiving help from the United States is repugnant to the American people. You recognized Israel's struggle for survival while at the same time as an ally and vanguard of the free world. Governor, these are ideas, values, philosophies the American people, specifically the American Jewish community, will be voting for in November.

Dr. Kissinger too made a "major foreign policy speech", while in Europe recently. I read it carefully. It is a unashamed plagiarism of the ideas that you, Governor Carter, had presented in your address before the Foreign Policy Assn.. Another example of the intellectual fraud practiced so frequently by Dr. Kissinger. Dr. Kissinger, your London speech is eight years too late!!!

P.S.

Item: American Jewry is jubilant. Israel struck a mighty blow for its people, against Arab and Ugandan Hitlers, in a legend of sacrifice for the free world against murder and terror. (Governor, I urge you to acknowledge this historic event as Mr Ford did.) ITEM: Egypt, the Kremlin and K. Waldheim, first to attack Israel's heroic act for humanity. An "interesting" partnership!!!!!!

Alexander Seidman, M.D.
Respectfully,
Alexander Seidman, M.D.

opies to: Government of Israel, ZOA, Sen. H. Jackson, others
Prof. Zbigniew Brzezinski, advisor on foreign affairs



Jimmy Carter

Presidential Campaign

For America's third century, why not our best?

Dear *Mr. Cotrell,*
Charles Kirbo has asked me to
thank you for your letter and advice on *the Vice Presidency.*

We appreciate your interest in the campaign and hope to make
further use of your ~~materials~~ *ideas* during the general election.

Once again, thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Neil S. Sader
Issues Staff

Ans. 8-9-76
Beck - Vol

June 30th, 1976

Dear Attorney Kirbo:

Listening to the broadcast over
Channel 28 on our T.V. June 28th, 1976, 8:15 PM
WNET Ford Foundation.

First time we have seen Charles Kirbo
a good advisor to Jimmy Carter.

You look and sound like a good man,
and that is why I take the liberty of writing to you
regarding Carter's selection of a running mate.

The news now says that our Mayor of
Los Angeles - Bradley is being considered.

If Bradley is chosen as a running mate,
we for four of us will not vote for Jimmy Carter. Our
votes wont mean much - but multiply ours by thousands.

Bradley is a do nothing Mayor and very
disappointing in so many crisis situations that have arisen.

So many are considering a recall movement
to oust him from office. Something you wont hear from those
in control. It is not because he is black, he just doesn't
have it.

If you need the black vote - please find
someone who has accomplished something.

Carter is a good man and deserves a
better ticket.

Sincerely,

John Contrell.



Jimmy Carter

Presidential Campaign

For America's third century, why not our best?

Dear *Mr. Tanner,*

Thank you for your letter and advice.

We appreciate your interest in the campaign and hope to make further use of your materials during the general election.

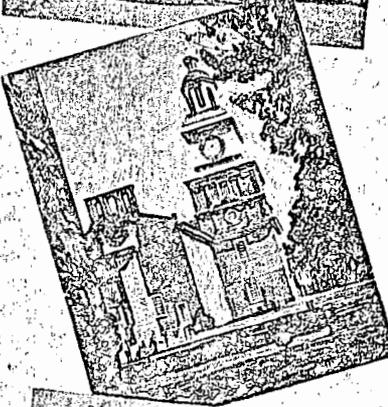
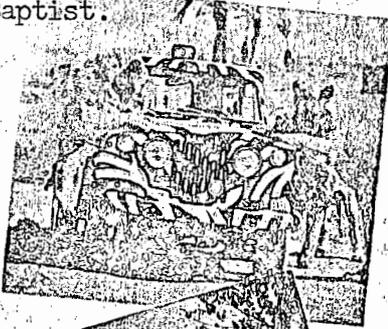
Once again, thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Neil S. Sader
Issues Staff

*Ans 8-9-76
A Bech-ool*

... 1, 1890.
Ethnic background, Southern Baptist.



with the implication that fundamentalists by and large are anti-Semitic. I have attended fundamentalist churches all my life, received my training in fundamentalist schools, and have read countless books and articles on the fundamentalist persuasion and have yet to find anti-Jewish sentiment. To the contrary, mainstream fundamentalists regard the Jews as God's chosen people and strongly support the Israeli position in the Middle East.

The Rev. L. R. TUCKER
Crown Point, Ind.

So soon after our experience with "Graham-Quaker" Nixon, the last thing this nation needs to have is another church-oriented President.

S. BEATY TANNER
Kettering, Ohio

Plugging the Paranormal

After reading Dan Greenburg's "Confessions of a Nonbeliever" (MY TURN, June 7), I conclude that he has indeed drunk deeply at the font. If he really expects us to take seriously such an obvious promotion of his forthcoming book, I advise him to stick to soft drinks and avoid the spirits. *

I concur. DAVID PAROISSIEN
Northampton, Mass.

That's Entertainment

Your article about "That's Entertainment,"

*(that gave me this idea.)

Advice:

"Stick with soft drinks, avoid strong spirits."

But, contrarywise, this: Soft spirits say, let well enough alone. Jesus was not a soft spirit. Jesus died at the age of 32 simply because, he did not let well enough alone.

S. Beaty Tanner
Kettering, Ohio

S. Beaty Tanner

111 Madison Ave
New York, N.Y. 10022

Letters Editor:

Candidate Carter had best not reiterate his 'Evangelical goodness' claim. - Lions do not carry a sign saying, 'I am a Lion.'

Patricia Andrews

870 Minota Avenue Akron, Ohio 44306

NOTE

The question which prompted that was: "Who killed Jesus?, the Romans?, or the Jews?" P.S. Only recently, the Roman Catholic church has changed its position, has 'recanted' from condemning the present-day Jewish Jewish people.

Spring 1976 Volume 7 Number 2

THE COMMON CAUSE REPORT FROM WASHINGTON

IN COMMON



Jimmy Carter

Presidential Campaign

For America's third century, why not our best?

Dear *Mrs. Kavaleri*,

Thank you for your letter and advice.

We appreciate your interest in the campaign and hope to make further use of your materials during the general election.

Once again, thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Neil S. Sader
Issues Staff

*Ans.
8/9/76
S. L.
Vol.*

June 25, 1976
11:59 P.M.

Mr Jimmy Carter
c/o Spark Matsunaga
Washington D. C. 20515

Dear Mr. Carter,

John 14:26

"But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you."

Dear Mr. Carter, I am somebody who is nothing, nothing, nothing, in Jesus Christ writing to you because I'm certain that God have chosen you as the next President of our country.

Mr Carter I love America and have prayed for America. Now more than ever, we need

to uphold our flag and stand united before our maker, the Heavenly Father. I learned way back in elementary school what our flag stood for. We memorized it and only recently have I recalled what the colors stood for. White for Purity, Blue for Loyalty, Red for Courage. The Stars for our United States. We were told, United We Stand - Divided We Fall. We need no generation gap. We don't have to accept such lies. We are still united. I have read that you became uniquely aware of the Holy Spirit. No mere Christian could make that statement, I know.

I am surprised very much so that - all I see on TV teach me something the Lord Jesus Christ wants

me to know, I have seen today the real cry of the youth of our country and I was touched. They don't want any phoniness, I have seen the pound of the right hand and that's exactly how the Heavenly Father pounds when He is angry. The youth of our country is asking for a true cause. Well, God has called upon the youth of our country. He wants them to stand up and stand united marching forward with the great flag of our country held in all its majesty before them. My heart which is in union with the Heavenly Father, the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost saw the great number of youth

united with the flag before them. I don't know what to do with this except to bring it before you to ask you will you lead our youth the way the Heavenly Father wants them to march forward dispelling the foul evil spirits away from our country to where they belong in Hell? He must have team work. Will you lead our country so we will indeed be ^{all} united with the Heavenly Father and so we can truly say, "In God We Trust."?

How can everything be so bad when our flag say we stand for Purity, We are Loyal, We are Courageous, We are united.

I see a clean America.

Love in Jesus Christ
Janet Kawakami

P.S. I am 49 years old.

When God pounds with
His Right Hand, I tremble.



Jimmy Carter

Presidential Campaign

For America's third century, why not our best?

Dear *Mr. Hopkins*,

Thank you for your letter and advice on *civil servants*.

We appreciate your interest in the campaign and hope to make further use of your materials during the general election.

Once again, thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Neil S. Sader
Issues Staff

*Ans.
8/9/76
P.L.
Wal.*

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
School of Public and Environmental Affairs

400 E. SEVENTH STREET
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA 47401

TEL. NO. 812-337-7989



18 May 1976

msw

Governor Jimmy Carter
Plains, Georgia

Dear Governor Carter:

I applaud the general thrust of your statements on the Federal bureaucracy and government inefficiency. What you have said thus far in the campaign needed to be said, it was appealing to many voters, and it accomplished your purpose.

However, I suggest that you now consider an addition to your statements which would strongly affirm your support for thousands of civil servants who are doing an excellent job day-by-day and who need a positive boost in that effort.

You know as well as I that morale in the Civil Service is at a low point. The terribly wounding effects of the Nixon administration and Watergate have not been overcome. Yet no one (as best as I can determine) has made a positive, forthright statement in support of the majority of civil servants who continue through all this to do excellent, honest, and responsive service.

I strongly recommend that you take the lead in praising civil servants who deserve praise. Reaffirm your respect for, and faith in, good civil servants. Raise a high standard for government service, condemn those who fail to meet it and weed them out, but recognize those who do their jobs well.

A brief draft of such a statement is enclosed for your consideration. I trust that you will place a high value on the strategic and vital importance of a dedicated, responsive Civil Service, and that you will be sensitive to the need that now exists for you to offer reassurance to its members. Failure to do this can do great damage to the morale of the Civil Service and to the confidence of young people considering careers in the public service.

This brings my best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

Jack

Jack W. Hopkins
Professor of Public and
Environmental Affairs

JWH:da



Jimmy Carter

Presidential Campaign

For America's third century, why not our best?

Dear *Mr. Shea,*

Thank you for your letter and advice *for on a speech*

We appreciate your interest in the campaign and hope to make further use of your ~~materials~~ *ideas* during the general election.

Once again, thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Neil S. Sader
Issues Staff

*Ans.
8/9/76
P.L.
Vol.*

222 Caswallen Dr.,
West Chester, Pa., 19380
Feb. 15, 1975

Steve Stark
Jimmy Carter Staff
P.O. Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia, 30301

Dear Steve:

I called a few weeks ago and said I was going to mail ~~xxx~~ an idea for a speech and I know you have been waiting with baited breath.

It~~x~~ needs expansion: intro, quotes, facts, etc.

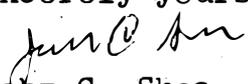
But its short to present this thesis:

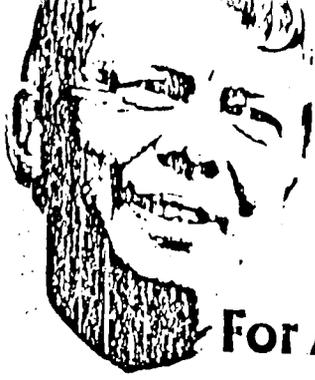
1. Media cries for honesty, meaning short simple answers to questions
2. Honesty is: there are no simple answers--many problems complex, inter-related, require systems approach
3. Part of dishonesty of current politics includes:
 - a. simple minded" super promises" that can't be met
 - b. providing public with scapegoats: young, blacks, new yorkers, etc.
4. You know the honest man and capable man by his
 - a. willingness to say many problems are not easily solved
 - b. willingness to admit dependence on others-Congress, God, etc.
 - c. important thing is to sense his direction and appriach--and Jimmy is a healer and unifier and a compassionate man.

I hope it meets the Jimmy style and philosophy.

In any case, no nasty letters, I'm a Carter delegate candidate here.

Sincerely yours,


John C. Shea



Jimmy Carter

Presidential Campaign

For America's third century, why not our best?

Dear *Mr. ?*

Thank you for your letter and advice.

We appreciate your interest in the campaign and hope to make further use of your materials during the general election.

Once again, thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Neil S. Sader
Issues Staff

*Ans
8/9/76
P.L.
Vol*

P. O. Box 1976 Atlanta, Georgia 30301 404/897-7100

Steve Hank in 2709 E. Sudbury Ct.
Atlanta, Ga 30340
25 February 76
Include Hank in
economic advisers

Dear Jimmy:

The growing pressures to limit government activity and to curtail "consumerism" will call for the careful development of new domestic policy in the very near future. For years, regulatory policy has gone forth on an ad hoc basis & results have not matched the objectives. Currently, President Ford's simplistic deregulation proposals ignore the grounds for government interference in the first place. For some kinds of production the market mechanism requires constraint to allocate goods & resources effectively; in others, government must supplant private enterprise altogether. The extent of government participation & regulation at all levels must be adjusted to suit the functioning of the system. The notion of "too much" or "too little" government is no basis for policy.

Consumerism lengthens the production chain to include product-use liability & increases costs to private enterprise. While protection of consumers is important, product-liability procedures & consumer safety boards offer new distortions to the market system.

Regulation & deregulation are complex issues & call for careful analysis & innovative policy. I would urge that you offer leadership in this vital matter but only after the most painstaking study.

Recovery proceeds without surprises & in familiar patterns. Gradual gains for the next eighteen months to two years seem assured.

As you will know, I'm extremely pleased with our progress. Call me if I may be of help. Best wishes!

Sincerely,
Hank Thomas



Jimmy Carter

Presidential Campaign

For America's third century, why not our best?

Dear *Mr. Weiss,*

Thank you for your letter and advice.

We appreciate your interest in the campaign and hope to make further use of your materials during the general election.

Once again, thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Neil S. Sader
Issues Staff

*Apr 8-9-74
Beck-Vol*

ALLEN WEISS

8 TUERS PLACE

UPPER MONTCLAIR, NEW JERSEY 07043

(201) 744-7870

April 15, 1976

Mr. Steve Stark
Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign
PO Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Mr. Stark:

I have been talking to Charlie Walther, New Jersey Affirmative Action Officer, and he suggested that I write to you concerning the ripples generated by a sudden concern about ethnic neighborhoods.

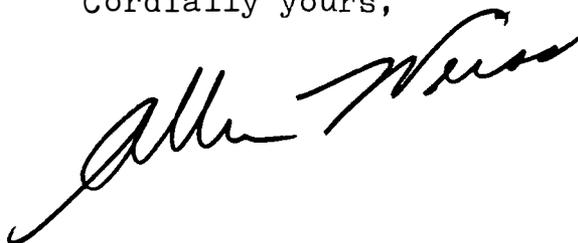
My feeling, supported by the enclosed editorial from the Newark Star-Ledger, is that the answer to attackers ought to include a program on housing and an approach to urban problems. In the interests of brevity, I will outline some thoughts below.

1. A complete housing program should meet the needs of low- and middle-income groups, and of young families and senior citizens.
2. Stimulating the construction industry through housing programs and mortgage assistance would assure a sustained economic recovery for the nation. A surge in the economy in 1972 proved to be only temporary, and the level of business activity slumped badly in 1973. It would be a tragedy if we permitted a recurrence of that experience in 1977.
3. Federal programs require integrated housing, which is an effective way to desegregate areas. Certainly those who dislike busing ought to approve integrated housing as a more desirable means to the same end.
4. Urban centers are more than mere collections of ghettos or invitations to crime. The traditional role of cities has made them centers of civilization in all ages. For us, perpetuation of the American heritage, and of world civilization, depends on restoring our cities as centers of a resurgence of cultural activity. The quality of life of our citizens, and of future generations, depends as much on spiritual endeavors as it does on material progress. In fact, helping our people to fulfill their spiritual needs is part of the pursuit of happiness and therefore a responsibility of our government.
5. Jimmy Carter's record as Governor of Georgia provides ample proof of his ability as executive and administrative head of a

large state. If that record is not sufficiently familiar to the voters in other sections of the country, then perhaps those reporters who complain of voter unawareness should be spreading the word about the Carter record instead. And when Jimmy Carter criticizes the inadequacies of the Ford administration, that criticism comes from a qualified source: Jimmy Carter's own credentials assure that he knows what he is talking about. Let the doubters examine Governor Carter's record and candidate Carter's programs, comparing them with the records and programs of the other candidates so that they may come to fair and informed conclusions of their own.

Let me take this opportunity to congratulate you and the entire staff for a well-run campaign. Thanks and good luck!

Cordially yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Alvin Karpis". The signature is written in black ink and is slanted downwards to the right.

VIEWPOINT

Carter's gaffe

Jimmy Carter showed he was human after all — he made a mistake. It was an uncharacteristic lapse in a primary campaign that had, up to that point, been well planned and adroitly executed, even though it has not been strong on issues and policy positions.

The former Georgia governor's gaffe concerned open housing, a volatile area where he said he would vigorously enforce civil rights laws but he did not think the government should take the initiative in changing the "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods.

The statement drew immediate protests from Governor Carter's black supporters, but it is to his credit that he immediately apologized and did not attempt to seek a murky sanctuary of being quoted out of context and other such semantical side-stepping.

It is difficult to perceive how this unfortunate choice of phrase-making should be politically fatal to Mr. Carter, although his hard-pressed Democratic opponents were quick to seize on the inadvertent verbalizing. He noted later that he should have said "ethnic character" or "ethnic heritage," a phrase that would not have been as potentially offensive as his unaccountable slip in discussing ethnicity, the homogeneous patterns that are universally characteristic of ethnic neighborhoods in this country.

Governor Carter's momentary lapse could hardly be viewed in the politically apocalyptic dimension of Gov. George Romney's "brain-washing" blunder on Vietnam that wiped him out as a Republican presidential candidate.

No doubt Mr. Carter has hurt himself, but the real issue is not of a momentary lapse on neighborhood ethnicity but his position, if elected President, on federal initiatives involving segregated housing in urban and suburban communities.

It's no secret that government housing policies in the postwar period have fostered trends and patterns that have isolated cities among dominantly white affluent suburbs, leaving center cities with poorer, older populations and community tensions. Instead of neighborhood homogeneity, these policies created ghettos and widespread despair.

These are grave, fundamental social problems that are a legitimate concern of government. And they are central issues in a presidential campaign that must be fully acknowledged by all candidates, including Mr. Carter. The voters have a right to ask of anyone who aspires to be President what initiatives and policies he would undertake in an attempt to resolve the urban dilemma. That is not a matter of semantics, but of strong policy stands on social composition.

The Star-Ledger

S. I. NEWHOUSE, Publisher

MORT PYE, Editor

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