

**Memoranda, 1/75-4/76**

Folder Citation: Collection: Records of the 1976 Campaign Committee to Elect Jimmy Carter;  
Series: Noel Sterrett Subject File; Folder: Memoranda, 1/76-4/76; Container 88

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TO: Steve Stack  
 FROM: Logan M. Clark (716) 422-8316  
 RE: Federal Government Productivity

2/5/76  
 JLP -  
 file under fed. bureaucracy  
 or as is appropriate

I talked yesterday with John Stewart, a senior partner of McKinsey & Co. and former chairman of the National Commission on productivity. He suggested I contact the Commission for additional hard data on federal government size and its implications for Jimmy's reorganization position.

Accordingly, I spoke this morning with Ed Weisberg of the Commission staff (1202) 254-9890. Ed provided the following:

- A BLS projection indicates that if recent trends continue, 1 of 4 workers will be civil servants in federal, state or local government in 10 years.
- Major problem, however, is not in Federal employment, but rather at state and local level. Consider the following:

	Avg. Man Years (000)						Avg. annual growth rate
	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	
Fed Civilian Empl.	2731	2696	2684	2663	2724	2748	+ 0.12%
State + Local	9830	10192	10656	11075	11453	12023	+ 4.11%

Conclusion is that federal civilian employment has been essentially stable since 1970.

- The BLS, Office of Management and Budget, Civil Service Commission, and GAO have worked with the Productivity Commission to develop hard measures on productivity. Measures currently exist for ~~about~~ 61% of federal civil servants, primarily postal service and Bureau of Engraving & Printing. These measures indicate that physical output per man-year ~~has~~ increased 1.6% per year from '67 to '73. Data on '74 and '75 is not yet available.
- Key contacts for further info are as follows:
  - George Keeper, Chief of Staff, Natl Productivity Commission
  - Ed Weinberg, Federal Govt Data, "
  - Nancy Hayward, State and local data, "
  - Elmer Staats, Director, General Accounting Office.

Elmer publishes an annual report containing the GAO Productivity Index at the insistence of Senator William Proxmire.

• Key conclusions and observations:

- although federal employment has stabilized, productivity growth is unacceptably low.
- a key opportunity exists in helping state and local governments becoming more efficient through Federal guidance.
- an ideal level of efficiency will never be achieved, and improvements are always possible. Even though federal employment has stabilized, the levels of the base year (1970) were quite possibly bloated.
- as a case example, why are five agencies ~~not~~ (BLS, GAO, OMB, CSC, and NPC) all showing the same problem?

Ed will be providing me with additional hard-copy data. If you wish to contact them directly, feel free to do so, using my name or John Stewart's. I would not, however, mention association with the Carter campaign. They apparently feel a strong need for an enlarged federal government!!

February 5, 1976

MEMORANDUM

TO: Steve Stark

FROM: Anne Branscomb

RE: Organization of Issue Oriented Resource Panels

There are at least five different reasons for recruiting and organizing volunteer intellectual resources: (1) To draw from the best available thinking on subject matter in order to formulate positions on issues which the candidate wishes to take vis a vis the public, (2) To provide the information and background from which positions may be drawn to appeal to special interest groups, (3) To enhance the candidate's ability to attract the support of identifiable opinion leaders, (4) To build the core of leadership to appeal to specialized constituencies for financial aid and motivated voters, (5) To develop a cadre of professionally qualified people of identified political loyalty for use after the election.

The organization of special panels of advisers in areas of interest to the campaign may be helpful in the long run to increase the appeal of the candidate to special constituencies, and may be useful in formulating positions to be taken along the path to election. It should not be looked upon as a tool for building up the short range resources which can handle inquiries from organizations about positions or to provide the daily briefing that the candidate needs from issues personnel within the campaign organization. In addition, it should be remembered that appealing to volunteers outside the paid staff presents demands upon the campaign staff as well as some hazards to the campaign if the liaison to such groups is handled badly.

Handled well, the increased exposure to a larger constituency than can be reached through party workers and public appeal will be fruitful. To be able to couple particular issues at the appropriate time and place and to gain access to the inner sanctum of particular organizations and special constituencies could prove extremely valuable. If successful, the number of "leaders" who can be persuaded to become advocates of the Jimmy Carter candidacy will increase his credibility and the public's perception of his capability. This is true, even if the intellectual resources are used only to brief the candidate about the most important issues and arguments which are pertinent to particular problem areas whether or not he uses such resources to develop programmatic policy or positive positions. One of the things that impressed me about Jimmy Carter was the manner in which he thoughtfully discussed the alternatives when questioned about his policies, rather than stating categorical positions. Thus the exposure to more specialized knowledge may increase his stature with the leaders of the groups to whom he will be speaking. He needs to build his image as one who can recruit able people to work with him. To digest complex issues and to make choices intelligently and decisively will require teamwork.

Thus the organization which I would propose to help coordinate would do the following: (1) Identify the top people in areas of special interest to the campaign, (2) Seek to recruit one or more of these people to organize a committee of advisers who are committed to the Carter campaign, (3) Organize a forum (small in number) of those who are deemed best qualified in the area of expertise (whether committed to Carter or not) for an opportunity or opportunities to exchange ideas in an informal setting and to permit the candidate to learn what the "best thinking" on special issues might be. The issues which would lend themselves to such small groups are as follows:

- (1) Full Employment
- (2) Tax Reform
- (3) International Organizations and Economic Development
- (4) Health Care and Insurance
- (5) Welfare Policy
- (6) Education
- (7) Land Use
- (8) Court Reform and Public Safety
- (9) Food for the Future - Domestic and International
- (10) Environmental Control
- (11) Urban Development and Design
- (12) Revenue Sharing
- (13) Human Resources (labor)
- (14) Energy
- (15) Innovation - Research and Development
- (16) Minorities
- (17) Women's issues
- (18) Freedom of Information and Privacy
- (19) Banking and Fiscal Policy
- (20) Security Systems - International and National
- (21) Oceans and Fisheries

These informal task forces would also be used to: (1) generate material which the issues staff could process for use by the candidate, (2) provide direct contact for the candidate and/or the issues staff in problem areas in which on going advice may be needed, (3) recommend the proper forum in which issues of special interest should be discussed, (4) help the candidate structure the

Democratic platform in a manner which could provide the best support to attract Independents as well as active Democrats in November.

This activity should be organized in reasonable quiet during the active delegate seeking stage prior to the convention and should not surface as a public effort until late spring or early summer. Thus public statements by such persons should not be solicited until June prior to the convention. Then it may help to solidify support for Carter and to attract uncommitted delegates to his candidacy.

After the convention such groups of advisers can be organized more formally to seek wide support for the candidate in the special constituencies, by planning direct mail solicitation of support by addressing the special interests of those constituencies, by newspaper advertising, by seeking appearances at conventions both for the candidate and for themselves on behalf of the candidate, by television appearances and radio talk shows where they can be arranged for those with whom the candidate agrees ideologically and who can be useful as "leaders" who are expected to sway the opinions of the public or specialized publics.

The same people who serve as issues advisers may not be appropriate to be upfront names to be used publicly in support of the candidate, but they should be able to identify their peer group leaders and identify the right spectrum of people from whom to solicit support. To wit, one can do as much harm as good if a small dissident group comes out in support of the candidate and thus alienates the remainder of the membership of that special constituency from supporting the candidate. This type of organization is especially useful after the nomination--because committed opinion leaders can motivate their constituents to get out the vote. They may also be able

February 5, 1976

to provide substantial independent financial support as well if I understand that confused Supreme Court decision correctly on campaign finances! Groups which lend themselves to the more formal organization are:

- (1) Health Care Professionals
- (2) Lawyers
- (3) Teachers
- (4) Environmentalists
- (5) Consumer Advocates
- (6) Ethnic Minorities - Blacks, Latinos, Oriental, Irish, Italian, Polish, Swedish, Jewish et al.
- (7) Women's Groups
- (8) Farm Organizations - Farmer's Union, Grange, etc.
- (9) Older Americans
- (10) Veterans
- (11) Student Groups
- (12) Bankers
- (13) Fortune 500 Industrial Leaders
- (14) Small Businesses
- (15) Creative Artists- writers, musicians, actors
- (16) Labor
- (17) Social Workers

A note of caution concerning the time and energies of the candidate which must be devoted to this effort. Although the formal groups can operate independently and without the personal involvement of the candidate after the nomination--because the stakes are <sup>high</sup> and self interest great, the informal issue task forces cannot operate without substantial commitment from Carter

Stark

6

February 5, 1976

This will involve both additional time and personal involvement and will require some skill in scheduling and coordinating interaction between Carter and the advisers. The calibre of people which should be sought for this kind of advisory function will not volunteer to participate without some assurance of personal access to the candidate, nor should they be asked to do so. On the other hand the same quality input cannot be purchased on the open marketplace and must be attracted by personal loyalty and commitment to a higher purpose than compensation or personal self interest.

Anne Branscomb  
Five Hidden Oak Lane  
Armonk, New York 10504  
(914) 273-8017,8018

72M

TO: Steve Stark  
FROM: Logan M. Cheek  
RE: Reorganization and Budgeting --  
Carter Position and Track Record

DATE: February 4, 1976

*Dave -  
catalog & file under budget reform*

As might be expected, the recent caucus victories have prompted intense scrutiny of Jimmy's record in government reorganization and budgeting, as well as his zero-budgeting campaign position. I have received specific queries from the Bayh organization, as well as some from well-intentioned professors at the University of Rochester. I expect this scrutiny will intensify in the next few weeks.

Accordingly, I thought you should be aware of the specific issues being raised, as well as my answers to each of them. They are as follows:

- "A similar concept called program planning and budgeting was attempted in the Johnson administration, particularly in Defense under Robert McNamara. If the genius of the Ford Motor Company couldn't pull it off, how does Carter propose to do so?"

Zero budgeting has been tried -- with varying degrees of success -- in over 300 business and government organizations. Organizations using it cover the spectrum of size, industry, and profitability. But one common thread characterizes its successful implementation: the personal commitment and involvement of the chief executive. It was successful in Georgia for that reason, and Carter is committed to the same level of involvement when elected. It was unfortunate for Johnson and McNamara that other critical national and international problems precluded their direct involvement.

- "The Federal budget is necessarily a political animal involving trade-offs among vested interests. Lets suppose a choice has to be made between a new weapons system and funding it by closing a military base. Lets suppose further that the base is in a district represented by a Congressman who chairs a key committee. Any President who thinks he can close that base is being terribly naive."

Earlier versions of ZBB focused primarily on evaluating and ranking programs based on their cost-effectiveness. Recent refinements have addressed this shortfall by incorporating consideration of each program's technical and political feasibility as well as economic merits, and have done so with excellent results. Obviously, compromise is a key ingredient of our national political process. But on matters of principle, the vested interests must be recognized for what they are. Carter successfully stood up to them in Georgia and will do so in the White House. Faced with an unlikely stalemate, he will take the issue to the people in the 1978 elections.

- "ZBB is a complex process requiring experienced practitioners. Its doubtful whether a sufficient cadre is available for Federal government implementation."

Jimmy Carter's executive experience in ZBB is demonstrated and real. The White House is not a place for on-the-job executive training. In addition, with over 300 organizations already using it, a sufficient cadre stands ready, willing, and able to serve in his administration. More fundamentally, ZBB is not that difficult. Those organizations using it attest that, with top-level commitment the process takes less time and effort than traditional approaches. And, those who have not used it but who are exposed to its principles note that it is no different than the logical, disciplined thought process that anyone goes through in making a spending decision. All it really does is to capture that imaginative thought process on paper into a manageable system.

- "Although Carter pulled it off in Georgia, the Federal government is larger than Georgia by a factor of over 100. I doubt whether any man can successfully tackle such a monster."

Federal versus state spending levels are a difference of degree rather than kind. Needs and strategies in health, education, welfare, and law enforcement are similar. And the solutions required share remarkable similarities. The same brand of imagination must be applied to both. But just because the spending level for a Federal program may be 100 times greater does not make the problem any more complex.

- "Carter did not effect a reduction from 300 to 22 state agencies; less than 300 existed in the first place and more than 22 remained."

Carter's 1970 platform promised a reduction in the 146 agencies that could be identified. After assuming office, a follow-up analysis uncovered over 300. While one may argue over the definition of an agency, how many were reduced in Georgia, and how many exist or could be reduced in Washington, the substance of his position is the really critical point: government can and must be made more efficient.

- "Carter did not create ZBB as he claims in his book. (p. 111) 'I became more convinced than ever that my own developing concepts of that I called "zero-base budgeting" were necessary.' Yet ZBB was in fact created at Texas Instruments by Pete Phyr, and their successes were documented before Carter's 1971 inauguration. Due credit should have been given in the book to Phyr, who in fact was Carter's budget director."

This may be a valid criticism, and fortunately one raised only by the knowledgeable experts. Realistically, though, no one individual

or organization can claim to have "created" ZBB. The concept was under evolution and refinement in a number of organizations, including TI, Georgia, and others in the late 1960s. Although not fully fleshed out, Carter was already formulating the concept as a Georgia Senator prior to 1966, and was fine-tuning it in a number of planning boards between 1966 and 1970. Great minds think in the same channels.

These objections should not cause major problems. In fact, I recently appeared on the local PBS news show to review Jimmy's positions. After the usual carping by some local critics, Representative Barbour Conable appeared on camera. (Conable is the ranking Republican of Ways and Means.) He was asked whether ZBB could be implemented in the Federal Government. His statement was most intriguing: "I see no reason why not. And, I'm particularly delighted to see a liberal Democrat (sic) like Jimmy Carter propose implementing a concept I've been championing for years".

Unless I hear from you to the contrary, I'll continue to respond as noted above. As Jimmy will no doubt be confronted with the same questions, it may be worthwhile to pass this memo on to him with your comments.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Lyndon".

WOMEN

74M



# Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

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

Suite 415  
2000 P Street, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20036

February 9, 1976

The Honorable Patricia Schroeder  
Member of Congress  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congresswoman Schroeder:

You may remember that Congressman Andrew Young introduced us at a fund raiser for you two years ago. I have followed your work in the Congress with great interest since then.

A friend has mentioned to me your remarks at the Democratic Forum recently as they concerned Governor Jimmy Carter's position on women's issues. I wondered if perhaps they were based on the flurry of press coverage that emanated from the writing of some political writers in Iowa, rather than from direct personal exposure to him. I believe that much of the confusion that has been created has simply been the price of being front runner.

I am his Coordinator and Advisor for Women's Affairs and having been long involved in the women's movement from the mid-sixties, I find his position above reproach. One of the reasons that I decided to support Jimmy Carter when he first decided to seek the nomination was precisely because of his positions on women's issues. He and his wife worked hard for passage of E.R.A. in a climate which made such efforts daring. His instincts on women's issues are excellent. More and more key women activists are recognizing this.

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



The Honorable Patricia Schroeder  
Page 2

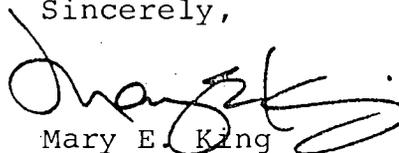
Part of the reason that he is naturally responsive on women's issues is because of his background. He comes from a section of the country where women have always worked -- in the mills and on the farms. His mother is a registered nurse who was for years and still is the only health professional in Sumpter County, Georgia. During the Depression she worked 20 hours a day for prevailing nurse's wages of \$4.50. Later, when she was 68, she joined the Peace Corps and worked in a family planning project in India. His wife's mother was a seamstress before she became the postmistress. His wife, Rosalynn, has been the manager for the family's peanut and certified seed business for years. Throughout the Governor's term, she championed improved mental health.

*Dec.* Our campaign staff reflects his naturally egalitarian nature. Two of the top five staff are women -- the scheduler and deputy press secretary. Sixty-one of the 147 staff members who are paid are women. Their average salary is \$566 a month. The average salary for men is \$561. (We find young men who are willing to work at low pay more easily than women.)

I am enclosing some materials which will give you more information. There has been a tendency in some of the liberal press coverage of Jimmy Carter to discredit him because he comes from the South. It is presumed he is backward. In fact, his record for women, when looked at against the environment in which he held public office, is all the more impressive.

Since I have so much respect for your record in Congress, and as a contributor to your last race, I hope you will give further consideration to Governor Carter's standing on women's issues. I would be happy to meet with you, or keep one of your staff members posted, or help in any way I could to clarify his positions. I know that he would also be very interested to have your thinking.

Sincerely,

  
Mary E. King

Jan.	63% male	\$441	av. sal.
	37% female	386.	av. sal.

For Steve STARK

PROJECT H.A.N.D. (Copy)

GEN 3/2/76  
In house (76M)

February 13, 1976

William J. Vanden Heuvel  
Chairperson  
Jimmy Carter For President  
730 Fifth Avenue, Suite 307  
New York, N.Y. 10019

Dear Bill:

The following are key issues concerning the older residents of Parkchester and its surrounding area:

1) Housing

a) Improvements in rent control to guarantee that tenants, especially the elderly living on fixed incomes, not pay more than a certain percentage (25%) of their income on rent;

b) Increased allocation of Federal housing funds to cities for the rehabilitation of older residential buildings and the building of new senior citizen housing developments (Note: Two - year waiting lists exist for the two public housing project exclusively for the elderly in this area of the Bronx-Glebe Avenue House and Middletown Plaza Project.)

c) Strong Federal protection against the displacement of tenants presently living in residential developments which the landlord seeks to convert to condominium or cooperative housing. (Note: Parkchester tenants are currently facing this possibility; the issue is in the state courts.)

2) Income

a) Guarantee raises in Social Security benefits on at least a semi-annual basis and peg raises to increases in a special Cost of Living Index for Retired Persons. Require the pass-along of all Social Security Increases to elderly recipients of other Federal benefit programs (e.g. Supplemental Security Income, Veteran's pensions).

b) Allow Social Security recipients to work and earn additional income without penalizing them with reduced benefits.

c) Strengthen the Social Security fund's fiscal condition without changing the essence of the program itself.

120 d...  
notice

3600

provided at senior citizen centers funded under title XX of the Social Security Act. Anyone aged 60 or over should be eligible to participate in senior center programs regardless of income.

b) Increase funding for all programs under the Older Americans Act. (Note: While Congress has increased appropriations for such programs each year, both Presidents Nixon and Ford have withheld portions of these funds from the states.)

c) Require that a minimum percentage of revenue-sharing funds be spent by states and cities on services for the elderly.

In terms of priorities, issue (a) of Social Services is of the utmost concern of every older person who comes to Project H.A.N.D. A "means test" is scheduled to go into effect on April 1, 1976 under regulations promulgated by H.E.W. The elderly find it degrading: administratively, it is a waste of time and money. Other top priorities here are: (1) (c) - a hot issue here; condominium conversion of Parkchester is viewed by long-time older residents as a deliberate effort to break up a solid neighborhood and drive out the elderly for the financial gain of the landlord, Harry Helmsley; (2) (a); (3) (a) and (b); (4) (b).

I'll really be looking forward to the 24th. If you need more detailed information on any of the above issues, let me know.

Sincerely,

Bill Arnone

~~P.S. I hope Carter has no Larry Brannon in his advanced crew.~~

Remove its administration from the Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare in order to prevent its political manipulation (e.g. Nixon announcements mailed with 1972 increases).

d) Make age discrimination illegal in employment, credit, and all other economic areas, with vigilant Federal enforcement of anti-discrimination laws.

3) Health

a) Long-range; Establish a national health insurance program which will guarantee fully coverage of health costs of all, including elderly, with minimal out-of-pocket expenses, deductibles, and cost-sharing by recipients. (Note: Many bills are now before Congress; Kennedy-Corman Health Security bill is by far preferred by most older persons).

b) Short-range: Improve Medicare by expanding its coverage, especially to home health care and prescription drugs, and by limiting the amounts that recipients must pay themselves for hospital and physician bills. (Note: In 1975, Medicare paid on the average for only 40% of the health expenses of the elderly.)

c) Strengthen Federal anti-fraud efforts to root out providers of health services (hospitals, physicians, nursing homes) who abuse and defraud Medicare and Medicaid.

4) Transportation

a) Increased Federal aid to urban public transportation systems;

b) Require as a condition of Federal aid, and provide subsidies for, local bus and subway reduced fare programs at all times for persons over 60 and the disabled. (Note: Present Federal law requires reduced fare for those over 65 and those seriously handicapped only during off-peak hours).

c) Increase Federal grants for specialized transportation programs for the elderly (e.g. Dial-A-Ride door-to-door transportation; minibus service).

5) Consumer Protection

a) Stronger Federal regulation of hearing aid dealers, public utilities, pharmacies, funeral homes, supermarkets, repair shops.

b) Federal price controls.

6) Social Services

a) Eliminate completely any individual income means test for senior citizens to utilize the range of services

Governor --

On Tuesday morning, you will be touring a senior citizens center in New York City in what should be a pretty major media event (morning of New Hampshire primary). Enclosed is a list of suggested topics for a short talk and release. Please indicate which you prefer to discuss, any suggestions, and we can work something up more definitive. Please give to Greg and he'll contact me.

  
Steve

Greg suggests that some of this is very strong. tone down a little bit.  
Be cautious.



77M

# Jimmy Carter

## Presidential Campaign

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

Feb. 16, 1976

Dear Steve,

As per your request, I am sending this list of local issues we would like Jimmy to address. Our main areas of concern are agriculture, energy planning, welfare reform, budgeting/taxation, health care and aid to the elderly.

Since you covered Montpelier, I'm sure you know little Vermont has some unique problems and since our primary is being held on town meeting day, we would like the voters going to the polls to know Jimmy has made some policy statements about the very local issues they will be voting on along with casting their primary ballots.

As for agriculture, there is a large cooperative movement in the state because most of the farms (both dairy and vegetable) are small and cannot compete with the larger (and in some cases partially subsidised) out of state farmers for chain store business and because Vermont consumers (who are in general poorer than most others) cannot afford chain store prices. I have also been told than most chain stores operating in the state will not buy most Vermont prices.

How does Jimmy feel about cooperatives, what would he do specifically to make family farms more viable, is he in favor of milk price supports, what would he do about a transportation system in this country that charges Vermonters more to bring in operating material and ship out their produce than any other region?

Energy planning is a second major area of concern since most Vermonters, both in state government and in private life, feel the federal government is not concerned with the plight of cold, energy poor regions. Vermont is a cold climate, rural state, so we have little ability to utilize mass transit systems and the majority of our housing units are high energy consuming, individual family homes. Adding to our problem is the fact that we are at the end of the country's transportation system, so whether we use oil or coal, we will be forced to pay premium prices.

What most Vermonters would like to see is a federal policy aimed at solving the problems of northern New England (do not lump the New England region together - northern New England and southern New England have different problems). We need help developing hydro power, solar power and wood power (wood is our largest natural resource).

Jimmy's basic welfare stand has gone over well up here, but it would be nice if he made a statement just for Vermont voters. As can be expected, with a 9 to 10 per cent unemployment rate in the state, our welfare caseload is also high. We presently have 150 AFDC clients per caseworker and 400 food stamp clients per caseworker.

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

The welfare people up here tell us their major problem is lack of money (ha, ha) and they would like to see the federal government pump more money into the system.

As for budgeting and taxation, we could use a release on the Georgia system just for PR and a more clearly defined outline of Jimmy's tax plan - this would be very important.

The feeling here is the present federal tax system uses discriminatory and complicated formulas to raise money which in turn is used to build wasteful armaments and inept bureaucracies. A restructured system rewards conservation, gets the states off the dependency kick and implements national policy as well as raising revenues.

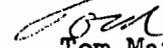
I imagine health care and aid to the elderly could be worked into one release, perhaps coupled with social services for the poor. We do have a large elderly population in Vermont (probably because they are frozen to their beds), so an appeal to them is worthwhile.

What we need is a strong stand on social security, an outline of what Jimmy did for health care services in Georgia and his stand on medical insurance.

That about wraps things up for us, so get to work buddy. Since our primary date is March 2 I realize this does not give you much time, but anything you can get to us in the next week can be put to good use in both the print and electronic media (how's that for professional terms).

Thanks for your help and we will be waiting to hear from you.

Sincerely,

  
Tom Mattia

30 Will ADDRESS Council on 7:00 PM  
IN HOUSE FOR POLICY

68M

NEW HAMPSHIRE COUNCIL ON WORLD AFFAIRS  
11 Rosemary Lane  
Durham, New Hampshire  
03824

January 7, 1976

Dear Friends:

The Council on World Affairs is embarked on a program to bring you the views of the various presidential candidates on American foreign policy in regard to the following questions:

1. What policies and programs should the United States develop and pursue in order to ensure the peace, security and the survival of the world?
2. What should be the moral and/or political bases of American foreign policy?
3. What policies and programs ought to be developed to ensure the adequate distribution of the resources of the world?
4. What should be the form and substance of United States international cooperation with other countries and international organizations?

Congressman Udall spoke to us on November 17, and we recently distributed an abstract of remarks by Senator Birch Bayh in response to our questions.

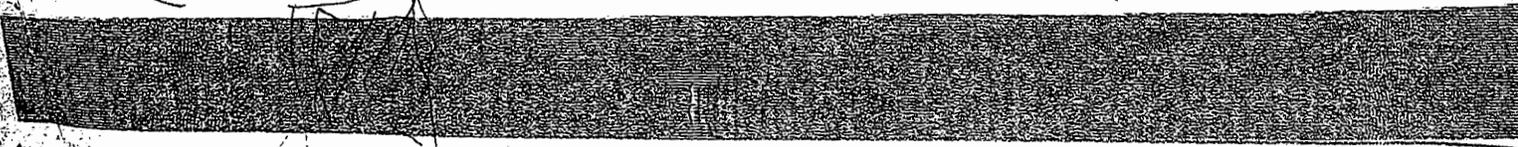
I earnestly hope that you and your friends will come and hear Sargent Shriver and Governor Jimmy Carter, and also participate by asking your own specific questions about foreign policy. This is a unique opportunity for the citizens of New Hampshire to inform themselves and the candidates about "United States Foreign Policy."

Sincerely,

*Susan N. McLane*

Susan N. McLane  
President

SN:dlc



70M

January 24, 1976

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

Dear Oliver:

Enclosed is another draft of our position paper on national education policy. It has been prepared with full consideration of Mr. Carter's own statements. We preferred to express our analysis in the third person, in order to emphasize both the president's crucial importance and our professional standing. We also found advantages in sticking to "issues" rather than shifting to "program" elements. We agree with Mr. Carter on most points and differ unobtrusively, perhaps, on one or two.

We might wish to modify this draft somewhat on the basis of further comments from others; and we shall add a brief appendix addressed privately to Mr. Carter. In final form the candidate might use the position paper in a number of ways.

and  
his staff

My colleagues, Walter Lambert, James McGomas, Ormer Milton, Herman Spivey, and Thomas Sings, were pleased to meet and visit with you, as I was. Several of them have expressed their excitement at Jimmy Carter's showing in Iowa.

Sincerely,

T. McN. Simson

To: Steve Stark  
From: K. Dun Gifford

General in line

Re: Briefing Paper for Issues and Answers 2/22/76

CIA. Accurate and up-to-the-minute intelligence is vital to this Nation's security. The issue in the CIA debate is one of accountability, and not one of new laws or new review boards, as important as they may be. As President, I would take responsibility for the activities of our foreign intelligence agencies, be they successes or failures, as Pres. Ike did with the U-2 and Pres. JFK with the Bay of Pigs. I would also consult on a regular basis with senior members of Congress, and seek the counsel of private citizens as well on foreign intelligence matters.

EMPLOYMENT. All candidates are in favor of jobs, and all candidates are just as united against unemployment. Where we differ is what we would do about it. The matter which most concerns me, to be specific about the unemployment instead of speaking in generalities, is the structure of the unemployment:

#Workers under age 24 -- in their family-forming years -- make up  $\frac{1}{4}$  the labor force, but  $\frac{1}{2}$  the unemployed.

#Each postwar recession pushed 500,000 persons below the poverty level. This recession pushed 1 million.

Government employment is not the full answer, even though gov't employment created 3 out of every 4 new jobs in the last decade. In 1975, 17 states reduced payrolls, and this number will double in 1976. Cities and towns are in no better shape to add to their payrolls. Gov'ts just cannot take up the slack without radically changing our society. But gov'ts can create a climate in which small businesses can flourish and new, permanent and productive jobs created. E.G. railroads, mass transit, solar technology, housing rehabilitation, air and water clean-up.

To accept the idea of the government as the employer of last resort is to give up on the American system.

ECONOMY. Everyone wants a strong and healthy economy. But no one in Washington has found the right cure for the Nation's economic sickness, neither the White House nor the Congress. It's time for a President who has had the experience of running a government, not just talking about it. States cannot print money, and thus cannot run deficits for very long.

ENVIRONMENT. It is a mistake to make environ. laws the scapegoat for inflation, unemployment and a depressed economy. It is just as bad a mistake to let environ. interests and business interests come into confrontation. We can have clean water and clean air at the same time we have a sound economy. But to do so we need conciliation between competing interests, not confrontation. Detente, not increased tensions.

specific people

1974  
1/2/75

80 M

To: Steve Stark  
From: K. D. Gifford

Re: Some Ideas on Further Income  
Tax Responses

2/27/76

1. I have been criticized by members of Congress who are running for President for suggesting that we close the tax loopholes. These same members of Congress have been voting on tax bills for years and years, and now they want to be President. When you fill out your tax returns this year, ask yourself whether you think the tax system is fair. When you vote, ask yourself whether you think it's time for a change, or if you want business as usual.
2. It seems to me that the candidates for President who are members of Congress, who live and work in Washington, don't like an outsider trying to get in to their club. But there's no rule I know of that says you have to be from Washington to run for President.
3. People in Washington--the President and Congress-- have had the chance to close tax loopholes for years and years. They haven't done it, they've just talked about it.
4. I've been criticized for suggesting we change the tax laws, by the very people who vote on the tax laws. I think the tax laws need to be changed to be made more fair, particularly for middle income and working people. And I think that the candidates who live in the glass houses of Washington shouldn't throw stones.
5. Under a complete overhaul of our tax laws, as I have long said I would propose, middle income people will come out ahead on their taxes even without the home mortgage deduction. And so will people who rent, who now do not have that deduction.
6. I don't know why anyone should be surprised that my opponents criticize me.
7. I would be very interested to know what tax loopholes the other candidates would close, and whether they would continue the piece-meal, year-after-year favors for special interests kind of reforms that we have had over the years. The real question is this: Is it time for a change in the leadership in Washington, or not? Shall we make only members of Congress eligible to run for President? Only people who have lived in Washington?

84M

ANNE WELLS BRANSCOMB

ATTORNEY AT LAW

FIVE HIDDEN OAK LANE

ARMONK, NEW YORK 10504

(914) 273-8017, 8018

March 7, 1976

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

Dear Steve:

Please find enclosed an outline of suggestions for science and technology input which I persuaded my husband to sit down and draft before he departed for Ireland. As you probably understand one of the problems of dealing with people such as he is that they are so busy doing their own thing that it is difficult to catch them on the go and get them to focus on the campaign needs. I understand Richard Gardner is in Brazil and Wilbur Cohen (or is it Cohn?) is in China. They are also unwilling to spin their wheels without visible results. This was drafted without benefit of any instructions as to content--and therefore does not direct attention to opportunities for a forum, or specific types of information and people who might be available. For example, Lewis said he did not mention transportation because the major problems in that area are not technological but political and economic--however he would be glad to recommend some people who are au courant with PRT and other technological developments. Also he would suggest that an interview with the public policy people at Science magazine, the organ of the AAAS would be the right way to get Carter's views to the science policy constituency--when he decides that he has something he wants to say to this group or wants to be visible as a candidate who has an ear out to their advisory expertise and the problems of utilizing their capability intelligently in the democratic decision making process.

As to format, it would be helpful to know if this kind of background paper is useful to you; and, if not, how you would suggest structuring information for easier consumption.

I will be meeting with people in Boston area interested in helping out on land use and urban development tomorrow and in Washington Friday evening with Mary Lewis and several others who may be willing to help with staff work in Welfare area. March 9-10 in Cambridge, Mass (617) 253-3124 Prof. Pool's office. In Washington, at Statler-Hilton, March 13-17. Here in Armonk, March 11-12. Cheers. awb

March 11, 1976

To: Steve Stark  
From: Milton Gwartzman

INCREASING EMPLOYMENT THROUGH STIMULATION OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR

Prime example: The housing industry (construction)

This is the largest single industry in the United States. It has had the largest decline in employment of any industry in the country. During the recent recession, over 700,000 construction workers have lost their jobs.

Average number of workers in 1973: 4,015,000  
" " " December 1974: 3,321,000

This is because there have been fewer housing starts in 1975 than in any year since 1945. Only 1.1 million new housing units were started last year, compared with 2.2 million in 1972, and compared with the goal of 2.6 million a year for ten years set out in the Housing Act of 1968

The depression in housing has affected employment in many other fields: The lumber industry is down 25,000 jobs since 1973; the furniture industry down 60,000 jobs; the electrical equipment industry down 240,000 jobs--all primarily attributable to the fact that new homes, which use these products, are not being built.

If housing starts could be increased to only 1.8 million a year, and stay there, it would mean creation of an additional one million jobs. This, in turn, would yield an additional \$5.5 billion in federal tax revenues. Think of it: another million jobs, without adding anyone to government payrolls, and what that would mean in lightening the unemployment and relief rolls.

It is not that people don't want or need new housing. They do. But they can't afford the interest on the loans they need to buy them. The government's high interest rate policy is the chief reason for the depression in the construction industry. Long-term interest rates on new home mortgages today are as high as they have ever been, even though the prime rate (the rate charged by banks on loans to prime corporate customers) has been cut in half, from 12% to 6%. This means that only one American family out of every five can today afford to purchase a new home. Completely shut off are young couples in their 20s and 30s. It also means builders cannot finance the construction of rental apartments, making this the most depressed segment of the housing industry.

In short, our government is helping the big corporations to borrow money at reasonable interest rates, but not American families who want to buy or build homes.

Ways the federal government could increase employment in the construction industry:

1. A less restrictive monetary policy at the Federal Reserve Board, which would prevent interest rates from resuming their rise, and bring mortgage rates down.

2. Legislation requiring the largest pension funds to invest a percentage of their assets in sound, government-guaranteed residential mortgages, in order to retain their tax-exempt status.

3. Elimination of the current Administration freeze on spending of funds appropriated by Congress to stimulate home buying and construction. E.G. Congress last year ordered that 50% of the funds appropriated under Section 8 of the Housing Act be used for construction of new or substantially-rehabilitated housing units. Yet HUD has only allocated 31% of Section 8 funds for this purpose.

another e.g.: Congress has authorized HUD to use funds available under the Brooke-Cranston Act to purchase FHA-insured multi-family housing mortgages that have a (reasonable) interest rate of  $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ . HUD has refused to do so.

4. Reorganization and consolidation of the labyrinthine and complex federal housing programs administered by HUD to speed up decision-making, eliminate red tape and create a climate in which builders, lenders and families know what government aids will be available and can plan their actions accordingly.

87M

MEMORANDUM

TO: The Management Committee  
FROM: Stuart E. Eizenstat  
DATE: March 11, 1976  
RE: Carter Campaign - Leave of Absence

As I have discussed with the Management Committee and with the litigation partners, as well as with many other partners, I have been asked to serve as National Issues Director for Governor Carter's Presidential campaign.

When I presented this possibility to the Management Committee and litigation partners several weeks ago, it was, I believe, received with favor. I made it clear that I would not wish to take even a partial leave of absence from the firm for purposes of serving as Issues Director unless the partners in the firm endorsed the idea and felt that it would be a productive venture both for me, and, indirectly, for the firm.

I was asked by the Management Committee to develop a tentative schedule and I submit this schedule herewith:

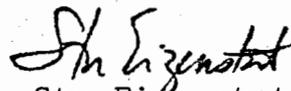
- (1) From March 15, 1976 through April 2, 1976, I would like to spend roughly one-half of each workday at the campaign offices in Atlanta, or in other campaign-related activities;
- (2) After April 2 and through the Democratic Convention, which begins in early July, I would like to take off as much time as I am able to, given my other responsibilities with the firm.

Management Committee  
March 11, 1976  
Page Two

I do not believe currently that at any point in time through the Democratic Convention that I will be able to take full time off because of my ongoing responsibilities in certain files which cannot be shifted to others.

I am very appreciative of the enthusiastic support voiced by those partners with whom I have discussed this matter and I hope that each partner would share that enthusiasm, since I obviously do not intend to take any position which would be viewed as detrimental to the short term or long term interests of the firm.

I will be guided by your collective decision in this regard.

  
Stu Eizenstat

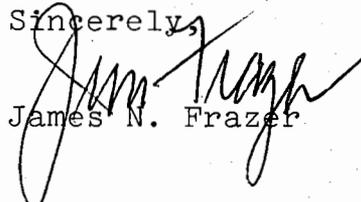
SEE:dan

cc: All Partners

Dear Stuart:

I have no objections with your participating in the Carter campaign. I wish you lots of luck.

Sincerely,

  
James N. Frazer

MEMORANDUM

TO: The Management Committee  
FROM: Stuart E. Eizenstat  
DATE: March 11, 1976  
RE: Carter Campaign - Leave of Absence

*SEE*  
*I am in the*  
*enthusiastic*  
*support group!*  
*I can help you with*  
*your work in any*  
*way so you can*  
*get away more,*  
*pls let me*  
*know*  
*SEE*

As I have discussed with the Management Committee and with the litigation partners, as well as with many other partners, I have been asked to serve as National Issues Director for Governor Carter's Presidential campaign.

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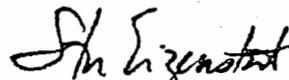
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I will be guided by your collective decision in this regard.

  
Stu Eizenstat

SEE:dan

cc: All Partners

TO SEE  
from 1/11/12

IN - HOUSE

89M

James F. (Jim) Eckhart  
Lawyer

370 Minorca Avenue  
Coral Gables, Florida 33134

March 16, 1976

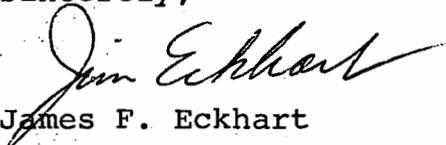
Ph. (305) 446-8908  
444-1133

Mr. Roger Voelker  
Governor Carter's Headquarters  
4651 Ponce de Leon Blvd.  
Coral Gables, Fla. 33134

Dear Roger:

With reference to my letter of February 17th, I am furnishing a supplement to the information which I understand that you got into the hands of the man handling this type of matter for the Governor.

Sincerely,

  
James F. Eckhart

Enclosures

88M

MEMORANDUM

March 16, 1976

TO: Stu Eizenstat

FROM: Mike Chanin

RE: Carter for President --- Firm Position Problem

---

On Face the Nation, Carter was asked why he could not explain in detail his plans for a national minimum health program. He answered that he did not have time to do so because he was campaigning and did not want to take time off from campaigning.

A better answer would be:

I am committed to a national minimum health program developed through participation and leadership of the Federal Government. There are questions as to what mixtures there should be of private and public funding and state and local government involvement. But, these questions are a function of what is politically feasible at the time and what level of program can be obtained at the most advantageous tax cost to those who ultimately pay --- the American taxpayer.

I want the program and I am not going to give up my flexibility and the ability to obtain this program by requiring now that there be a certain level of private participation or public participation or a certain mixture.

- or -

I want the program and I want it more than I want to see the program reflect certain philosophical bents just so long as I am satisfied that the investment of the taxpayer in the program will yield beneficial returns.

This is what I see is the role of Presidential leadership. It involves the ability to lead the Congress and the people in support of a program, while retaining the flexibility to work with and shape the results from the Congressional and public hearings and debates. I expect the members of my administration to be able to point out to the Congress the pros and cons of various

Stu Eizenstat  
March 16, 1976  
Page Two

combinations of funding for a national medical health program and the costs and benefit factors which must be considered in any combination of approaches. But again, I am not going to give up the program by any preconceived notion that it must be structured some way to suit my particular political ideologies. By proper leadership I can help shape the program and most important, get it passed.

The next question will be why is Carter now saying that he is withholding a specific position for flexibility and leadership when he previously said it was because he did not have enough time. The answer is:

The truth is that to formulate a minimum health program that will pass the Congress and will yield acceptable benefits to the American public at acceptable cost levels requires extensive work with Congressional leaders, both in the health and the tax fields, and with the various representatives of public interest groups ranging from insurance companies to medical associations to groups representing older Americans, civil rights organizations, labor unions and welfare recipients.

It is the role of the President, his administration and the Congress to stimulate, guide and participate in this debate. But I am not going to give up the program just to make some academic formulation without this debate first occurring. However, I will push, shove and move the Congress and the American people in support of a minimum health program which represents a good investment for the American taxpayers.

And that is what I believe the American voter wants --- a decent return on his tax dollar, not the preconceived, academic, arbitrary preference of a Presidential candidate. In other words, they want the program, not some sort of an ideological approach.

I do not know if this conflicts with anything which Carter might have said on other occasions, but I believe it will cover him and allow him to use a question of this sort, whatever the subject matter, to get on the attack as to the nature of Presidential leadership. It also involves an implied blow at ideological approaches by Udall, Wallace and Ford.

MHC

/mm

MEMORANDUM

March 16, 1976

TO: Stu Eizenstat  
FROM: Mike Chanin  
RE: Bo Callaway

---

Assuming the nomination is won, stick this thought in a file somewhere for use against Gerry Ford, or maybe Carter should hit Ford now:

The problem with the Republican administration --- whether it is a Nixon administration or one run by his appointees, Gerry Ford and Bo Callaway --- is that the Republican Party has yet to learn to separate the private business affairs of its public officials from the public business.

Thus, we see the sad specter of Nixon's Secretary of the Army, who is also Ford's Campaign Manager, using his time as a public official to use public office space to pursue with other public officials private financial advantages from the Government for himself, his family and his friends. I do not believe the American people want a Presidential administration where the President and his administrators place their private affairs before the business of the public.

In my administration, I will not tolerate public officials who must still conduct private business while on public payroll. I will not tolerate the distractions and conflicts of private gain. This is not a matter of bribery of public officials or undue political influence; rather it is a matter of where you spend your time and where you give your emphasis.

MHC

/mm

**Graduate School and University Center**  
of The City University of New York  
33 West 42 Street, New York, N.Y. 10036

Julius C.C. Edelstein  
Dean for Urban Policy and Programs

**March 17, 1976**

**To: Mr. Steven Stark**

**As promised.**

**JCCE**

## Preliminary Memorandum on Urban Program

All cities are different, just as neighborhoods within a city differ, depending on the people making up the neighborhood; the cities have different problems depending on the variations in their population. But all cities have similar root problems, qua cities. The problems of old cities show a greater similarity than the problems of new cities. The problems of cities in the east (which have stabilized in growth) have a basic similarity, and are different from the problems of cities in what is called the sun belt, a growth sector.

An increasing similarity has begun to develop between the problems of the suburban counties surrounding the cities of the Northeastern metropolitan belt and those of the cities.

Capital accumulated in the cities and/or produced by the populations of the cities of the northeast has been channeled by the federal government and by the banks into the sunbelt areas by public works, highway construction, irrigation projects, manufacturing relocation and development etc.

There needs to be some reverse tilting to relieve distress points and to redevelop and reinvigorate the old cities.

Regional arrangements for service delivery and taxation need to be made. Regional governance structures need to be developed.

Problems of the cities are:

1. Economic relocation and slackened employment due to both urban and national trends
2. Slackened revenues due also to property assessment declines
3. Concentration of distressed populations
4. Inflation
5. Rigidified and over-expanded governmental bureaucracies
6. Expanded responsibility for redistribution of income through welfare, poverty programs, health programs (hospitals and medicaid)
7. Congealment in transport and movement of goods and people
8. Environmental deterioration
9. Crime, drugs, alcoholism
10. Housing stockpile deterioration

Cities are the monuments and repositories of our civilization,  
sites of libraries, museums, galleries, theaters, universities, hospitals.

At the same time, they are springboards of economic enterprise, and the  
centers of civilized congeniality for the young and the aspiring.

The remedies for the problems of the cities are:

1. Full employment
2. Career training and education
3. Special help for the northeast and the southeast
4. Transfer to higher government levels of responsibility for  
service functions; regional governance and special purpose arrangements;  
development of cooperative and collaborative relationships between cities  
and suburbs
5. Federal redevelopment funding for the cities, like RFC;  
economic redevelopment
6. Federal support for state support of cities
7. Legislation for clear criteria for need and constructive use  
in revenue sharing
8. Citicorps

Program for distressed populations

1. Jobs
2. Economic activity
3. Career training and education
4. Citicorps
5. Housing
6. Discouragement of migration

March 17, 1976

INNER CITY PROBLEMS

1. Jobs and job discrimination
2. Unemployment and unemployability of disproportionate numbers, especially youth.
3. Disproportion in access to Education and Training
4. Health
5. Discrimination in treatment in courts, on streets, in public and private
6. Housing
7. Welfare indignities, redtape and denigration of status

Columbia University  
in the City of New York  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10027

4/2  
I read it.  
J

RESEARCH INSTITUTE ON INTERNATIONAL CHANGE  
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

March 29, 1976

420 WEST 118<sup>TH</sup> STREET

Mr. Steve Stark  
Jimmy Carter Campaign  
P. O. Box 1976  
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Steve:

Could you please make sure that Jimmy receives  
the enclosed memorandum?

Sincerely,



Zbigniew Brzezinski

Enclosure

March 29, 1976

TO: Jimmy Carter  
FROM: Zbigniew Brzezinski *ZB*  
SUBJECT: Foreign Affairs and the Campaign

Foreign affairs has not loomed large in the primaries but they will become increasingly important as you approach the nomination. In the Presidential campaign, they might be central, especially if the economy keeps improving.

Accordingly, I would like to talk to you, either by telephone or when you are campaigning in New York or New Jersey about the following matters:

1) Substance.

In Chicago you laid out the general themes of your approach to foreign affairs, and you should be pleased to know that Clayton Fritchley, in his column in the Washington Post last Saturday, described the speech as "the most perceptive speech on U.S. policy made this year by any of the presidential candidates of either party." However, from now on, more substance and detail will be required. I think you should consider giving this spring or early summer - in addition to the planned statements on defense and on energy - one major speech in which you would sketch out in more detail and more analytically than was done in Chicago how you see the world, what trends concern you, what you think the U.S. role ought to be, with special emphasis on the creative role of the trilateral relationship. I believe such a speech would be reassuring to your audiences here, but also quite useful in producing the right echoes abroad.

2) How your campaign needs can best be met.

You will need, it seems to me, three kinds of papers:

- a) Briefing papers on current issues, including responses to likely questions;
- b) Position papers outlining your views in greater depth on more complex problems to be released during the campaign;
- c) Action papers, not to be released, defining needed initiatives immediately after assumption of office, a period of likely maximum presidential initiative, especially if Congress is of the same party.

These will have to be commissioned on your behalf, and I am assuming that you want Richard Gardner and myself, working with Steve Stark, to do so for you, without duplication.

3) Clearances for statements.

While you obviously will make the final decision, any statement on foreign affairs that comes to you should have been cleared by someone who has your confidence and who speaks for you on foreign affairs. This procedure should be regularized, for otherwise endless confusion will result.

4) Coordination.

During my work in the '68 campaign, I was struck by the continuous struggle between various advisers for the candidate's ear. You should remain open to various inputs, but these should be presented to you in a systematic fashion. That means setting up an arrangement which brings various options to you, a form of clearinghouse.

5) White House liaison.

You will be asked at some point to designate someone as your White House liaison for intelligence briefings. You should give this matter some advance thought not only because increasingly you will feel the need to be fully briefed, but also because there should be some connection between this liaison and your overall foreign affairs effort.

After the nomination, you will also need a weekly briefing paper, which is independent of the White House input.

6) Press briefings on foreign affairs.

As you speak up on foreign affairs, press briefings will become increasingly important. For example, when you give a major speech, its basic approach, emphases, as well as international implications should be backgrounded to the press by you, when your time permits it, or by your authorized spokesman on foreign affairs.

Finally, this spring I can continue helping as before; as of this summer and fall, I can adjust my schedule to make myself freer, not only for the ongoing foreign affairs work, but perhaps for campaigning before groups which know me already (e.g. high level business, academia, students, or TV audiences).

I would appreciate an acknowledgement of receipt of this memo.

MEMO

TO: Advisers on Land Use and Urban Development

FROM: Kas Kalba, Carter Campaign

RE: Current Activity

DATE: March 26, 1976

In the two weeks or so since contacting you, a number of individuals have agreed to prepare brief (two-page) issue papers in the land use area. These should be ready next week and will be sent out to you for your reactions and comments, which you can submit by returning a marked-up copy, writing a letter, or calling me.

The topics that will be addressed in this first round of issue papers are the following:

- (1) land use and critical environmental areas
- (2) the federal role in land use
- (3) land use and agricultural land
- (4) interstate and regional land use planning
- (5) land use and property and development rights
- (6) urban land banking

This list undoubtedly does not contain all important issues that could be treated from a national perspective, and I would welcome your suggestions for additional issues and/or offers to do such brief issue papers (underlying concerns and facts; summary of current administration position and/or pending legislation; and recommended options or position) on one or two issues of this kind. Also, my next aim is to organize a set of issue papers on housing and other urban development questions; your recommendations or participation in this area is also welcomed.

Once the issue papers are completed and edited, we will either pursue more specific questions (e.g., flood insurance program, land use aspects of nuclear power plant location) or use the issue papers to formulate a general position paper. Which way we go will depend on the demands of the campaign at that time. In any event, we will appreciate your continuing comments and reactions.

It is also possible that I will be in Washington in about three weeks, at which point I would like to meet with those of you who are in the area. From April 3-10 I will be out of the country; anyone who needs to leave a message at that time can do so at one of my office numbers: (617) 661-2624 or (617) 495-5254) or by calling John Sawyer, (617) 492-5749 (home), who is helping organize this effort.

93M

*File in Gene*

P O Box 457  
Newton Centre MA 02159  
617 965 5440

Kalba Bowen Associates Inc

Kas Kalba  
Carroll G Bowen  
Anne W Branscomb

March 26, 1976

Mr. Steve Stark  
Carter for President Campaign  
P. O. Box 1976  
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Mr. Stark:

Enclosed is some information on our progress with the land use and urban development advisory group that Anne Branscomb asked me to organize for the Carter campaign.

I will send you copies of the issue paper drafts (mentioned in the attached memo) next week.

In the meantime, we would appreciate any information you may have on the candidate's previous statements or record (i.e. in Georgia) relating to land use and urban development. Also, let me know if there are any specific issues you would like to see covered or any other directions or deadlines that we should keep in mind.

I look forward to working with you.

Sincerely,



Kas Kalba

KK:PAC

cc. A. Branscomb

MEMO TO: STU  
FROM: BOB

4/2/76

Called Steve Caulfield, UMWA Health & Retirement Fund, per your suggestion. He is an excellent source. Made quite a lot of sense speaking to issues we have been dealing with in the health care paper. Several important points he raised:

1. Agreed with emphasis on environment and lifestyle as important factors in health of the population.
2. Said one of the most wasteful aspects of delivery system is overbuilding of hospitals, consequent overemphasis on capital-intensive, exotic treatment methods, and consequent overutilization of expensive treatment patterns.
3. Said we should be extremely careful in talking about preventive medicine. PM is easy to say but difficult to translate into an alternative medical care delivery program. Said that there really isn't much that regular checkups, etc. can do by themselves. Wasn't too impressed with the cripplers and killers thing either. Said that the Feb. 19 edition of the New England Journal of Medicine showed that 68% of all people in doctor's offices recently for regular checkups were in the category of the well and the wary well; 3% had undiagnosed diseases which were nipped in the bud solely because of the checkup; and the rest were identifiably ill. Caulfield suggested that we change our language to something like the following: insuring that our people are receiving the proper level of medical intervention at the proper time, and insuring the continuity of properly responsive care. Example: through a program of health education, encourage people to seek early treatment and appropriate treatment, and make such treatment easily available to them. This should include use of physician's assistants, etc.
4. Had a good idea on correction of maldistribution of personnel: instead of making lots of money available for loan forgiveness programs for medical students who agree to serve in rural areas, give the money to local health care associations to sponsor students from their areas who agree to return to practice there for some period.

Gave me two name to call: George Hardy, a friend of his, Director of Birmingham Health Department, the man behind Ford's massive anti-flu campaign. Irving Lewis, professor of Community Medicine, Albert Einstein; JFK & LBJ administrations; who would be willing to help us, he thinks.

At the end of the conversation, Caulfield said he had been looking Jimmy over for a while, and had decided to support him. Was strong in his expression of willingness to help; said he'd be glad to read over a copy of our draft. In any case, will send me a paper on rural health care improvements & other matters.

99M

April 6, 1976

MEMORANDUM

897-7108

TO: Oliver Miller, Atlanta

FROM: Dick Ellis, Washington, D.C. (RAB) - 202/232-8305

RE: Gay Rights and the Carter Candidacy

The Gay Activists Alliance is a national organization open to "straights"—heterosexuals in this instance—as well as gay people, and its goals include the repeal of all laws regulating private consensual adult sexual relationships. Its membership includes both men and women, is heavily Democratic, well organized, articulate, and vocal. Its immediate political program includes all of the following:

1. Small meetings with representatives of the various presidential candidates, to convey a list of specific grievances and solicit each candidate's response.
2. Forums in which these representatives appear before GAA chapters to explain their stands and field questions.
3. Preparation of a Voter's Guide, and additional followups through Gay media in print and radio.

Step (1) has taken place, and Carter people have participated. Step (2) is in progress; again we have participated, in one forum in the District of Columbia on March 16 (excerpts of the Carter portions televised March 17 on the D.C. NBC affiliate's local evening newscast). Another forum in this area is scheduled soon, for Maryland voters. The voter's guide is to be prepared on 20 April.

The Gays are interested not only in the candidate but in his delegates as well. They are determined to see a strong Gay Rights plank in the national platform. They want to see what Carter delegates are like, to learn if those delegates will give the Gays a fair hearing, to see what opportunities there may be for fairly serious support in the Carter camp for the reforms they seek. Accordingly, D.C. Carter delegate Brad Stein came to the March 16 Forum; I believe he made an excellent impression on the people there.

The Gays are concerned over some equivocation by Carter in his stand on sexual discrimination. The Atlanta office is willing to stand on the exceedingly brief prior statement ("No individual's sexual or affectional preference should be grounds for discrimination") but recent statements by Carter indicate that he would reserve judgment in applications of this rule to matters of national security and clearances. A reaffirmation of a less equivocal stand by Carter before the ADA in the Fall of 1975 would be more satisfactory to the Gays. "Laws which regulate private consensual adult sexual relationships should be repealed," say the GAA people. "The security clearance issue tells us that Carter does not have a sophisticated understanding of the Gay issue." A more "sophisticated" view would recognize, for example, the Gays' interest in such executive actions as judicial appointments.

4/6/76

A political footnote: Gay people have been estimated as comprising at least six percent of the electorate, an estimate consistent with other data (Kinsey, the Indiana University researchers, the ACLU). Quite apart from this, there is no question that the D.C. group is exceedingly articulate, informed, and respected within Democratic circles in the city. Gay activists have managed to make both Gerald Ford and Scoop Jackson look foolish--particularly the latter--in public confrontations.

A list of seven specific points has been raised at the preparatory meetings, and repeated again at the forums:

Matters which could be handled by executive action and, therefore, which depend to a significant extent on the candidate's willingness to take a position of executive and ethical leadership:

- (1) Civil service employment: anti-discrimination regulations are in effect covering some, but not all agencies (exceptions include State, FBI, etc.). However, the enforcement of these regulations is not satisfactory to Gays and they believe that all federal operations should be covered. I asked specifically about such situations as postings to foreign service appointments abroad, which can raise problems in sending Gays to places (like portions of West Africa, Latin America) where sexual discrimination is a part of the host nation's social structure. The GAA people respond by citing precedents in female and black staffing in the foreign service and by applying the rule of the non-cooperation with Arab boycotts of Jews: American rules should apply to all Americans and to all U.S.-supported ventures whether at home or abroad.
- (2) Discrimination in service in the Armed Forces, such as the Matlovitch case. A number of cases are pending in Carter's own service, the Navy. How would he handle these?
- (3) Security clearances and the "blackmail" issue.

A second group of issues includes matters that require legislative action. Here the focus is on what Carter would support and fight for; what he would be willing to sign into law whether or not he has taken a personal stand; and what he might be inclined to veto:

- (4) Changes in the immigration laws, which expressly prohibit even visits to the U.S. by homosexuals--the Gays state that people have great difficulty obtaining visas, for example, in artistic groups. (The Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration has not met for over a decade, according to CBS "60 Minutes" broadcast, April 4, 1976.)

- (5) Changes in tax structures, such as allowing joint returns to be filed by gay couples (or some other alteration in the direction of reduced discrimination; actual provisions would probably hinge on a resolution of other tax reform issues, like the present problem of double-income taxation for married working couples).
- (6) Repeal of federal (and support for repeal of state) anti-sodomy laws. The present version of S.1 accomplishes this by omission on the federal level but Gays are concerned that the bill will not be passed. Does Carter support the approach of S.1 on these matters?

And finally:

- (7) Carter's position on Bella Abzug's bill for Gay Rights (H.R. 5452) which simply extends the coverage of all federal civil rights legislation to cover differences in sexual orientation. Does he support this bill?

A couple of additional points: Carter is said to have requested material to study on these questions. Did he get them and, if so, has he looked at them? Also, it is possible that Carter might obtain counsel on these matters by a comparison of the positions of the Southern and the American Baptist denominations (the former is said to be markedly more harsh on homosexuality than the latter).

#### Some Personal Observations

The anti-sodomy issue is the one most likely to bring nervous grins to the faces of Carter people, who may mostly be unaware (as I was) that these laws have been a focus of civil liberties efforts for some time. In a political context, there is of course always the possibility of appearing to be "for sodomy," whatever that might be construed to mean. It will be well for us to recognize that there is a body of case law here and that this is very much a live issue to those who run a risk of prosecution or harassment as a result of such laws.

Guidance for a more detailed policy on sexual discrimination issues for an actual Carter administration could be obtained in a number of ways. The ACLU lumps these issues along with those of abortion and birth control, into a general set of matters having to do with one's right to control the use of one's own body, and applies the doctrine of John Stuart Mill: the state may properly regulate the behavior of competent adults only if that behavior demonstrably threatens the rights, safety or interests of others. The importance of Mill's proposition is that it offers, in a time of shifting moral obligations, a coherent program for the removal of legal sanctions. It sketches the perimeter of an area of human conduct which is, as the Wolfenden Committee urged, "in brief and crude terms, not the law's business." This does not condone or encourage immorality, however defined; it simply gives proper recognition to individual freedom of action and choice." (See The Rights of Americans, 1970, pp. 348-362). Additional sources of counsel could be obtained from the legal, social sciences, and

Action

I propose the following steps:

1. It might be a good idea to get a copy of this memo to Jimmy Carter as briefing material to assist him should he find himself confronted by the Gay Activists. The same might apply to our delegates.
2. Our response to the Gays: I want to be able to pass along something to them by April 19. I would suggest that, first, we acknowledge their grievances and indicate our agreement that each point deserves an answer; second, we should provide explicit answers to some of the points, as follows:

Issue (1) dealing with federal employment discrimination: a stand similar to our position on equal rights for women--we are interested in encouraging the best possible people to work for this government; if the best are homosexuals, so be it--that's their business.

Issue (4) dealing with immigration laws: we can easily support reform on the grounds that we should treat everybody the same, and raise the problem of the ineffectiveness of the Senate Immigration Subcommittee at the same time.

Issue (6), the question of support for the S.1 approach to anti-sodomy, and Issue (7), the Abzug bill: for both of these, I think we ought to support the Gay's requests, which seem reasonable.

On some of the other issues we should hold off if we really don't feel certain of the sensibility of our answers, and we need not hesitate in saying as much. Here I include Issues (2) and (3), the armed forces cases and the security clearance issue; for the former, Carter may honestly not know enough to judge how he'd rule in any specific case (since a look into the details would be mandatory). For the security clearance matter, we should tell the truth and say the candidate appears to be undecided, unless he's not. The tax question should be deferred on the grounds that we simply can't treat it apart from other questions of tax reform.

3. We should participate in the coming GAA forum in Maryland. If possible I would like to have one of the Carter sons there. Let's capitalize on Scoop's dumb act in New York. I would also like to see Maryland delegates attend; a couple of them would be fine. If we do this right, we ought to be able to get good mileage out of it.
4. I would not hesitate to use our experience with the Gays as an illustration of the way we would like to see government itself run, expressed in the way we campaign. That is, we treat serious inquiries with respect, we give people honest and courteous answers, and we're willing to sit down and see if something can be done about their problems.

Your reactions are awaited with interest.

April 12, 1976

The Byrd Amendment

Passed in 1971, the Byrd Amendment, named for its principal sponsor Sen. Harry F. Byrd (Ind. Va.), amended the Strategic and Critical Material Stockpiling Act of 1946 to permit the importation of any strategic commodity from any country if it was also being imported from a Communist country. Since the Soviet Union is a major U.S. source of chrome ore, the effect was to permit the importation of chrome ore, ferrochrome and nickel from Rhodesia, in violation of the 1966 United Nations sanctions against that country.

An attempt by the 93rd Congress to bring the U.S. into compliance with the U.N. sanctions failed. The Senate passed a bill; the House version failed to come to a vote.

HR 1287, a bill that would have stopped the importation of chrome ore from Rhodesia, was rejected by the House on September 25, 1975, by a 187-209 vote. A conservative coalition of Southern Democrats (67) and Republicans (108) provided the bulk of the opposition. The White House, and the State, Treasury, Commerce, and Defense Departments voiced their support of the measure, but did little to aid its passage.

The bill provided for the following:

-- amending the United Nations Participation Act of 1945 by stating that the language of the Byrd Amendment did not apply to prohibitions established under the Act.

-- a requirement of a certificate of origin for foreign made specialty steels imported by the U.S., stating that no Rhodesian chromium was contained therein. The Treasury Secretary would be permitted to allow the entry of steel mill products containing Rhodesian chrome if the purchaser posted bond for them.

The International Relations Committee explained in its report that the second provision was added to notify United States trade partners that the U.S. expected their compliance with the U.N. sanctions and to protect American specialty steel producers from unfair price competition from foreign steel manufacturers using cheaper Rhodesian chrome.

Supporters of H.R. 1287 argued that the U.S. was hurting its long-term relations with Africa by continuing trade with Rhodesia. They pointed out that if the United States wanted a long-term supply of Rhodesian chrome, then the U.S. should comply with the U.N. sanctions.

Opponents of H.R. 1287 argued against it on economic and strategic grounds. They felt that it would make the United States rely too much on the Soviet Union for chrome, and that we would still have to rely on a repressive regime. They brought up the fact that other nations routinely violate the sanctions, that prices would rise as a result of the ban, and that our stockpiles of chrome were insufficient for our defense needs. Chrome is an essential ingredient of missiles, submarines, airplanes and tanks.

Source: Congressional Quarterly, October 4, 1975

Bob Hayden, who is in the Washington office of the United Steelworkers of America, said that the union supported HR 1287 and has supported the repeal of the Byrd Amendment every time the matter came up in Congress. He stated that we have not been getting much chrome from Rhodesia in the last few years, and that now we are not importing any because Mozambique is not allowing Rhodesia to bring their goods across the border.

Stoney Cook said that the sanctions were imposed almost unanimously by the United Nations after Rhodesia split from Britain. We were in compliance from 1966 until 1972, when the Byrd Amendment took effect.

He went on to say that Congressman Young introduced an amendment last week to the Military Procurement Act that would repeal the Byrd Amendment. He feels confident that the House will repeal it the next time it comes to a vote. He said that when HR 1287 failed to pass by 22 votes, there were 35 members who did not vote and that the bill would have passed had they been there and voting.

Both of these men stated that the Administration was not at fault for the failure of the Congress to pass a bill to repeal the Byrd Amendment.

Recommendation: Call for the Byrd Amendment's repeal, thereby bringing the United States into compliance with the U.N. sanctions against Rhodesia.

*David E. Moran*  
David E. Moran  
Issues Staff

The Humphrey Bill was chosen for markup in the Senate. It was strengthened in subcommittee but more amendments will be offered by supporters of the Randolph Bill during floor action. (This is the status on May 15)

#### Recommended Position

Support neither bill

Oppose massive clearcuts but not small ones in certain types of forests such as Douglas Fir in Oregon.

Support true multiple use of National Forests with wildlife and recreation of equal importance as timber production.

Support full reforestation on National Forests

Support the idea that government should take steps to encourage reforestation on private lands.

Recognize that thousands of jobs in the northwest depend on the timber industry.

Say that you will take a personal interest in resolving forest management problems when elected.

100M

## Presbyterian Interracial Council

**Rev. Bryant George, President**  
52 Merrison Street  
Teaneck, New Jersey. 07666

**Rev. Edler Hawkins,**  
Vice President - Assistant Secretary  
225 Ross Stevenson Circle  
Princeton, New Jersey. 08540

**Rev. Kenneth Waterman, Secretary**  
138 Perry Avenue  
Norwalk, Connecticut. 06850

**Rev. C. Mike Jousan, Treasurer**  
199 Christie Street  
Leonia, New Jersey. 07605

April 13, 1976

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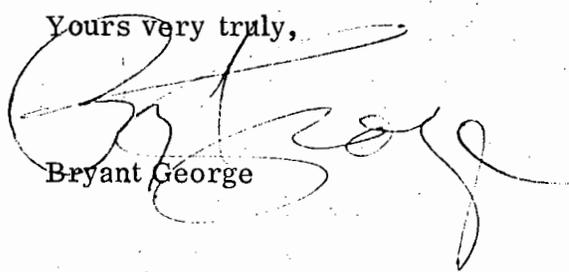
Mr. Ben Brown  
Community Foundation  
33 Howard Street, S.E.  
Atlanta, GA 30317

Dear Ben:

By this letter, I endorse JIMMY CARTER for Candidate for President. Please feel free to use my name with the above organizational relationship in all and any ads, etc., that you get out for Governor Carter.

Please let me know what I can do nationally or locally, to New York, New Jersey, to help Governor Carter win.

Yours very truly,

  
Bryant George

CAUF  
NUC. PRIO FILE

WSB

April 13, 1976

To: Anne W. Branscomb  
Robert L. Ivey  
Steve Stark ✓

From: Wally Baer

The attached editorial from the Los Angeles Times opposes the California Nuclear Initiative, but recommends state legislation to regulate nuclear energy and stronger federal regulation.

I think this is a sound position that Carter might well adopt.

Wally

HARRISON GRAY OTIS, 1882-1917  
HARRY CHANDLER, 1917-1944  
NORMAN CHANDLER, 1944-1960



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101M

6-Part II

MONDAY MORNING, APRIL 12, 1976

# Forcing Answers on Nuclear Safety

We fully support the aims of the three bills on nuclear power plant safety that the Assembly has approved and sent to the Senate.

Some amending of the measures probably will be needed to avoid legal conflict with federal authority in the nuclear field, but these bills are essentially responsible approaches to a problem of increasing national concern. Action on that problem is long overdue.

Unlike Proposition 15, the Nuclear Power Plants Initiative that will be on the June ballot, the bills do not seek to bring nuclear energy use in California virtually to a halt. The state's three existing nuclear generating plants, as well as four others now being constructed, would be exempt from the provisions of the legislation. Approval for future plants, however, would be denied by the state unless the safety requirements sought in the legislation were met.

The first bill, AB 2820, deals with nuclear fuel reprocessing.

The fuel rods that provide the energy to a nuclear reactor must be replaced periodically. The rods, which are metal tubes filled with black pellets of uranium oxide, are not entirely waste. Leftover uranium as well as plutonium, a byproduct of the nuclear-fission process, can be extracted from the rods and recycled. Recycling would both extend the nation's supply of fission fuels and reduce the stock of nuclear wastes that must somehow be stored safely.

But the nation does not now have any functioning nuclear fuel reprocessing plants. As a result, spent fuel rods are piling up at power-plant sites. For lack of adequate storage space, some of these plants may even have to halt operations before long.

AB 2820 would prohibit future nuclear power plant construction in California, until the Legislature, by a simple majority vote, has certified its satisfaction that a federally approved nuclear fuel reprocessing plant existed that could handle spent fuel rods from those plants.

The second bill, AB 2821, would hold up approval for new nuclear power plants pending a study by the State Energy Commission of the feasibility and

effectiveness of putting nuclear reactors underground.

No study has ever been made of the economics and technology of placing reactors beneath the ground. Yet the safety features of the idea are apparent. The main danger in any nuclear-plant accident would come from escaping radioactive gases. An accident that occurred in a reactor underground could be largely contained by the surrounding earth shell, with radiation leakage greatly reduced or eliminated.

The feasibility of putting reactors underground should have been closely scrutinized and decided on by the federal government long ago. There is no reason why California cannot conduct its own study and, if the idea is found feasible, require subterranean reactor siting.

The third bill, AB 2822, would bar future nuclear plant construction in California until the Legislature certified by a majority vote that the federal government had adopted satisfactory procedures for the long-term disposal of nuclear wastes.

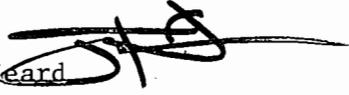
Present procedures involve only temporary storage of wastes from both weapons production and nuclear power plants. Leakages of liquid radioactive material from such storage sites have occurred. A number of different processes have been proposed, which scientists think are feasible in terms of both safety and economics, for long-term disposal of wastes. The U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission is currently studying both proposed disposal sites and methods. But, more than 30 years after the United States entered the nuclear age and began accumulating dangerous nuclear wastes, decisions have yet to be reached.

We think AB 2822 is sound in insisting that these decisions be made.

We have argued before, and we continue to believe, that nuclear safety questions should preferably and properly be dealt with at the federal level, because the problem is a national one. But federal authorities have been disturbingly and sometimes inexplicably slow in arriving at necessary final answers. In the absence of responsible federal action, responsible state efforts to force answers are justified.

102M

To: Steve Stark

From: Jamie Heard 

Re: State Aid to Public Schools

As you requested, I have looked into the question of state aid to non-public schools. Here are the results of my effort. The research has consisted entirely of reading Congressional Quarterly, National Journal, court decisions, and law review articles. Please let me know if you want additional information on specific subjects.

April 16.

Chas in D.C. office.  
This may reach you before  
the memo-fax.

Jamie

## The Constitutional Question

The most significant issue is constitutional: whether state aid to non-public schools violates the Religion Clause of the 1st Amendment ("Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof....") made applicable to the states by the 14th Amendment.

Since 1971 the Supreme Court has spoken three times on this question. The Court has applied a three-part test in deciding the constitutionality of state aid to non-public schools: (1) state aid must have a clear secular purpose; its primary effect must be neither to advance nor inhibit religion; (3) it must avoid excessive government entanglement with religion. All three conditions must be satisfied. The Court's application of this standard reflects a very skeptical view toward the constitutionality of state aid to non-public schools. The Court has continued to approve of limited assistance given directly to non-public school students, but its rulings probably mean that any large-scale state assistance to non-public schools would be found unconstitutional.

• Here is a summary of recent decisions.

Lemon v. Kurtzman (1971) and companion cases. The Court held unconstitutional a Pennsylvania statute that authorized the "purchase" of "secular educational services" from non-public schools and a Rhode Island statute that provided for salary supplements to non-public school teachers. Both statutes, in effect, provided for direct aid to non-public schools; in both states, Roman Catholic parochial schools were the primary beneficiaries. The Court found that both statutes were unconstitutional on the ground that "excessive entanglement" between government and religion would result.

Committee for Public Education v. Nyquist (1973) and companion cases. The Court's decision in Lemon seemed to leave some room for aid in indirect forms. On the premise that excessive entanglement could be avoided, some state legislatures enacted statutes providing for assistance to parents of students attending non-public schools. New York enacted statutes providing for tuition reimbursement and tax credits. The Supreme Court, in Nyquist, found both to be

unconstitutional on the grounds that the primary effect was to advance religion. Also in Nyquist the court struck down a N.Y. statute providing direct money grants to non-public schools for essential maintenance and repair; the Court ruled that the primary effect of these grants, too, was to advance religion. In the companion case of Sloan v. Lemon, the Court struck down a Pennsylvania statute authorizing tuition reimbursement for non-public school students. The reason: the primary effect would be to advance religion.

Meek v. Pittenger (1975). The Court invalidated the Pennsylvania statutes making auxiliary services, instructional equipment, and instructional materials available to non-public school students. Auxiliary services, included counseling, testing, psychological services, speech and hearing therapy, psychological services, and other services for exceptional, retarded, or disadvantaged children similar to services provided in the public schools. The instructional materials included periodicals, photographs, maps, charts, recordings, and films. Equipment included projectors, laboratory items, and recorders. The Pennsylvania statutes also authorized loan of textbooks.

The Court upheld the loan of non-religious textbooks directly to students in non-public schools, but it ruled that provision of services, equipment and other materials was unconstitutional on the grounds that the primary effect of these laws was to support the establishment of religion.

Permissible State Aid:

The Court's decision probably means that any large-scale, comprehensive state aid intended to aid either students in non-public schools or the non-public schools directly is unconstitutional. Assistance of a minor nature still seems acceptable. Loan of textbooks has been approved in Meek v. Pittenger and Board of Education v. Allen (1968). So have transportation assistance to non-public school students, Everson v. Board of Education (1947), and release of public school students to attend religious education classes outside of public schools, Zorach v. Clauson (1952). A number of states do

provide transportation assistance and textbook loans. Some also provide health services, driver education, and subsidized meals to non-public school students.

#### Higher Education

The Supreme Court has taken a distinctly different approach to state aid to non-public institutions of higher education. It has upheld federal construction grants to colleges and universities, including church-affiliated colleges and universities, as well as state aid to help church-affiliated schools obtain low-cost construction financing. The reason for the difference seems to be that the Court does not believe religiously-affiliated colleges and universities are engaged in religious education to the same extent as non-public elementary and secondary schools.

#### Federal Assistance

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act apparently provides for some forms of federal financial assistance to students attending non-public schools. I have not had time to check this out. It might be useful to know what kinds of assistance are provided and how much money is available.

#### Pennsylvania

Aid to students attending non-public schools is ~~primarily~~<sup>obviously</sup> a matter of considerable importance in Pennsylvania. All three of the Supreme Court rulings since 1971 have involved Pennsylvania statutes. Seventy-five per cent of the schools that qualified for assistance under the Pennsylvania laws invalidated in 1975 were church-related schools. In 1971, approximately 20 per cent of all elementary and secondary school students in Pennsylvania attended non-public (mainly parochial) schools.

April 15, 1976

To: Steve Stark  
From: Jamie Heard  
Re: Private School Segregation

On April 26 the Supreme Court will hear arguments on four cases (Runyon V. McCrary, McCrary v. Runyon, Fairfax-Brewster School, Inc. v. Gonzales, Southern Independent School Association v. McCrary) which raise the question of whether a private school's policy of refusing to admit applicants solely because of their race violates the 1866 Civil Rights Act, 42 USC §1981, by denying blacks the same right, guaranteed by the Act, "to make and enforce contracts...as is enjoyed by white citizens.

The U.S. District judge who tried the cases found that the two private schools involved--the Fairfax-Brewster School in Fairfax County, Virginia and the neighboring Bobbe's school--had a policy of not accepting black students. The judge ruled that this policy violated §1981. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the fourth circuit upheld the district court's ruling on this issue (it reversed the district court's award of attorney's fees; this question, too, along with several others, is being argued before the Supreme Court on April 26, but the most important question involves the schools' admissions policies).

I have not had a chance yet to review any of the briefs (it is worth noting that many major civil rights organizations and the Justice Department have asked the Supreme Court, in amicus briefs, to affirm the decision of the district court and the court of appeals on the admissions issue) but the decision of the Court of Appeals and the dissenting opinions (reported at 515 F.2d 1082) frame the admissions question adequately.

The majority viewed the admissions policy of the schools as discriminatory and unlawful. The 1866 Civil Rights Act, Chief Judge Haynesworth wrote, "prohibits the rejection of a black applicant when his qualifications meet all other requirements and race is the only basis for his rejection." In reaching this decision, the court found that no constitutionally protected right of free association or privacy was involved.

The schools are private only in the sense that they are managed by private persons and they are not direct recipients of public funds. Their actual and potential constituency, however, is more public than private. They appeal to the parents of all children in the area who can meet their academic and other admission requirements. This is clearly demonstrated in this case by the public advertisements. Within that constituency, they may not exclude a black applicant, solely because of his race, while accepting white applicants with comparable qualifications.

The dissenting judges were of the view that the right to exclude blacks from private schools is beyond the reach of §§1981. In reaching this conclusion, they gave considerably more weight to the argument of the schools and other defendants that important rights of privacy and freedom of association were involved. The dissenters took a much more theoretical and less pragmatic view of the private nature of the schools than did the majority.

A final ~~view~~ observation. The defendant schools in this case are not "segregation academies" in the sense that they were established specifically for the purpose of circumventing court-ordered public school desegregation. But the issues involved are of obvious importance to such schools. Recognizing this, the Southern Independent School Association, which represents some 300 private Southern schools, many of them segregation academies, intervened in these cases on the side of the defendant schools.

I am attempting to get copies of plaintiffs' briefs and the Justice Department amicus brief. Please feel free to contact me if you have additional questions on these cases.

2727 29th St., N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20008

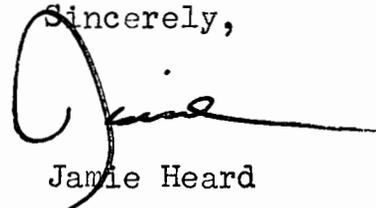
April 16, 1976

Steve--

One additional thought on the private school segregation question. It seems to me that anyone who favors the enforcement of open housing laws would have some difficulty explaining why he favored letting private schools discriminate against applicants solely on the basis of race. Many of these schools are private in name only; they hold themselves out to the public in a way which defies their claims to privacy. Others, and here I mean the segregation academies, have been established largely to circumvent the law. I am sure you all are familiar with what private academies have done to undermine support for public education in parts of the South.

Very best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Jamie Heard', with a large, stylized initial 'J'.

Jamie Heard

105M



# Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

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

MEMORANDUM

TO: Hamilton Jordan  
FROM: Mary King *in file*  
SUBJECT: Mailing to 100 Women's Groups  
DATE: April 21, 1976

For your information, the enclosed letter and attachments were sent to the following organizations:

- |   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>ACLU - American Civil Liberties Union</li> <li>AFL-CIO National Women's Committee</li> <li>All Nations Women's League</li> <li>Alliance of Media Women</li> <li>Analysts and Clothing Workers of America</li> <li>American Association of University Women</li> <li>American Association of Women and Community &amp; Junior Centers</li> <li>American Business Women's Association</li> <li>American Federation of State, County &amp; Municipal Employees</li> <li>American Jewish Congress, Women's Division</li> <li>American Nurses Association</li> <li>American Women's Clergy Association</li> <li>Association of American Colleges, Project on the Status &amp; Education of Women</li> <li>Association of Junior Leagues, Inc.</li> <li>Association of Women Business Owners</li> <li>Association for Women in Science</li> <li>B'nai B'rith Women</li> <li>Catalyst</li> <li>Catholic Women for E.R.A.</li> <li>Center for American Women &amp; Politics</li> <li>Center for a Woman's Own Name</li> <li>Center for Law &amp; Social Policy</li> <li>Center for Women Policy Studies</li> <li>Center of Concern</li> <li>Church Women United</li> <li>City's Advisory Commission on the Status of Women</li> <li>Connecticut Women's Educational and Legal Fund, Inc.</li> <li>Council of the Southern Mountains / Women's Committee</li> <li>Equal Rights Advocates</li> <li>Equal Rights-Advisors</li> <li>Equal Rights for Women in Education Project</li> <li>Education Commission of the States</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Federally Employed Women</li> <li>Federation of Supplemental Employees of the Government</li> <li>Feminist Press</li> <li>Feminist Women's Health Center</li> <li>Future Homemakers of America</li> <li>Girls Clubs of America</li> <li>Gray Panthers</li> <li>Hadassah</li> <li>Healthright, Inc.</li> <li>Institute of Women Today</li> <li>Institute on Women's Wrongs</li> <li>Leadership Conference of Women Religious</li> <li>League of Women Voters</li> <li>Lesbian Feminist Liberation</li> <li>Lesbian Mothers National Defense Fund</li> <li>Lutheran Church Women</li> <li>Mattachine Society - Women's Committee</li> <li>MOMMA</li> <li>Mure - Integrate Abora (MIA)</li> <li>National Abortion Rights Action League</li> <li>National Assembly of Women Religious</li> <li>National Association of Commissioners for Women</li> <li>National Association of Social Workers</li> <li>National Association of Women Lawyers</li> <li>National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors</li> <li>National Association for Women in Criminal Justice</li> <li>National Black Feminist Organization</li> <li>National Coalition of American Nuns</li> <li>National Commission on the Role of Women, American Jewish Committee</li> <li>National Committee on Household Employment</li> <li>National Conference of Puerto Rican Women</li> <li>National Congress of Neighborhood Women</li> <li>National Council of Jewish Women</li> <li>National Council of Negro Women</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>National Education Association, Education Center on Sex, Pregnancy and Birth Control</li> <li>National Federation of Professional &amp; Technical Women's Clubs, Inc.</li> <li>National Federation of Press Women</li> <li>National Gay Task Force</li> <li>National Institute of Spanish-Speaking Women</li> <li>National League of American Pen Women</li> <li>NOW - National Organization for Women</li> <li>NOW Legal Defense &amp; Education Fund</li> <li>National Panel of American Women</li> <li>National Resource Center on Women Offenders</li> <li>National Spanish-Speaking Business Women's Association</li> <li>National Women's Education Fund, Inc.</li> <li>National Women's Political Caucus</li> <li>Phi Delta Gamma</li> <li>Planned Parenthood</li> <li>Population Association of America / Women's Caucus</li> <li>Stewardesses for Women's Rights</li> <li>Unitarian Universalist Women's Federation</li> <li>United Auto Workers Community Action Program</li> <li>United Methodist Church, Women's Division</li> <li>Women in Communication, Inc.</li> <li>Women for Media Change</li> <li>Women on Words and Images, Inc.</li> <li>Women's Action Alliance</li> <li>Women's/Caucus for Art</li> <li>Women's Equity Action League</li> <li>Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press</li> <li>Women's International League for Peace and Freedom</li> <li>Women's Law Project</li> <li>Women's Legal Defense Fund</li> <li>Women's Strike for Peace</li> <li>Young Women's Christian Association</li> <li>Zonta International</li> </ul> |
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# Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

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

APR 20 1976

Dear Friend,

As a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the United States, I am deeply committed to equality for men and women in all aspects of life. Full equality under the law, as provided in the Equal Rights Amendment, is essential to equal opportunity for women in the United States.

I see the creation of the United States National Women's Agenda as a landmark, and am writing to you because I know your organization also supports the Agenda. I was the first presidential candidate to endorse the Agenda as circulated by the Democratic Women's Agenda. For the first time, women in large numbers, representing a diverse array of organizations, have agreed to support specific goals to achieve basic rights for over half its population. The Agenda displays unity and concern for issues and policies that are beneficial to all women and men.

I am deeply supportive of all eleven goals of the Agenda and will use the influence of my office, when elected, to make these goals a reality. My congratulations are extended to all the women's groups which have contributed to the planning and support of the Agenda, and to the Task forces which are now being formed. My wife, Rosalynn, visited the headquarters of the Agenda in New York in March to learn more about its progress. I would like to help you implement these goals in the future.

Enclosed is a copy of my Statement on Women's Rights, and an excerpt from Women Today in which some of my positions on women's issues are explained. In taking a stand on these issues, I have considered seriously the hopes reflected by the Agenda. When I am elected, I will do everything in my power to banish discrimination against women. Your support for my effort to seek the office of the President of the United States will not be forgotten, and I will not let you down.

Sincerely,

Jimmy Carter

2000 P. ST. N.W. SUITE 415 WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 202/659-9610

**CARTER ANSWERS 'WOMEN TODAY' QUESTIONNAIRE**

In the last issue of *Women Today* (Vol. VI, No. 5) we listed the questions and answers to our Presidential candidate questionnaire. JIMMY CARTER, a Democratic Presidential candidate, did not respond in time to meet our deadline. His response was received in our office March 8, and we are listing his answers below. No other responses were received since our last issue.

1. I strongly support the Equal Rights Amendment. I campaigned for 262 days last year and in every state, including those states which have not yet ratified the Amendment, I have consistently and unhesitatingly advocated passage of the Amendment. As Governor of Georgia, I fought hard for the passage of ERA. But in the South, the textile industry and the John Birch Society have been strong and effective opponents in discouraging ratification of the Amendment. In my own Presidential Campaign, my beliefs in equal rights are evident. Women are fully involved. . . . I believe that the Democratic Party must make an effort to see that the Amendment is passed. As a candidate, I will insist that the ERA be made part of the Democratic Party's national plank. As President, I will use the influence of the office both to see that the Amendment becomes law, and to set a style of leadership that clearly and unmistakably makes equal rights and equal opportunity national goals.
2. One of the most far reaching social and economic changes of recent years has been the very rapid increase in the employment of women, particularly mothers of young children. Women work because, like men, they need the money. Today, nearly two out of every five mothers of preschool children bring home a paycheck. I believe that federal aid is desirable to help the states and localities fund necessary day care services. The need for these services is growing rapidly. Six and one-half million children under the age of six have gainfully employed mothers—a number which has increased 30 percent in the last seven years. Many of their families cannot afford the full cost of day care which meets essential standards. I do not believe we are now able to extend the concept of public education entitlement to all children below the present school age level whose parents wish them to benefit from early childhood education. Because it is in the public interest that no child be neglected, I favor public subsidies for day care services for children with employed mothers in low income families. For those families with incomes between low and moderate level, and able to meet part or most of the costs, subsidized fees should be scaled to ability to pay. I will, when elected, recommend legislation to implement my policy.
3. I do not believe that colleges and universities should be exempt from the affirmative action provisions of Executive Order 11246 and revision order No. 4. This order requires affirmative action plans of all contractors with contracts of \$50,000 or more and 50 or more employees. Enforcement of these plans should be strenuously handled by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP) to end sex discrimination in our educational institutions, as well as in other agencies. Since sexual discrimination in higher education was not legally prohibited until the Higher Education Amendments of 1972, I feel that colleges and universities as employers may actually need the impetus of affirmative action. There is another aspect to this question. According to a 1975 Civil Rights Commission report, "Although DHEW awarded numerous contracts for the evaluation of programs affecting women in 1972, only 5 percent of the total contracting funds were identified as having been awarded to women-owned firms." I see this as a major concern for women since discriminatory practices have historically limited women's participation in business. As President, I would see that Federal contractors hire women without bias, and that OFCCP, in its review of contracts, treats the problem of sexual discrimination against women business owners with honest concern.
4. I do not approve of exempting physical education from the Title IX regulations of the Education Amendments of 1972. Title IX has broken down many barriers to women in institutions of higher learning and will over time be one of the most effective tools to end sexually discriminatory attitudes. If physical education were excluded from the regulations of Title IX, discrimination against women in this segment of their education might continue. I have always felt that physical health is vital to mental health, and excluding women from equal opportunities to participate in all types of sports would be unfair. I would like to see my eight year old daughter, Amy, be able to

excel in any sport she might choose, just as my sons have been able to do. I would oppose any legislation that would weaken the provisions of Title IX. I am still studying the issue of revenue-producing sports and will be analyzing that issue on a continuing basis so that I can comment later.

5. I believe that changes are necessary indeed to make the current Social Security system more equitable for women and men. The payroll tax that finances Social Security takes a larger slice out of the income of the low income worker in relation to his or her ability to pay. Anyone earning over \$50.00 a quarter pays 5.8 percent to Social Security. Since women are clustered at the bottom of the economic ladder, and since there is still a 60 percent differential between the salaries of men and women for the same work, this has an adverse affect on women. I am presently studying one proposal that has been advanced which would assure every adult his or her own Social Security record. The record would be built up and maintained throughout his or her working life. This proposal aims to eliminate the inequity faced by working wives who do not receive benefits for having contributed to the Social Security system, a goal with which I am certainly in accord. I believe that eventually the Social Security system must be less regressive so that the highly paid contribute more to the system. This would help equalize the system for women.
6. I would strongly recommend that consideration be given to the introduction of an income tax credit for families with two wage earners and to single persons who have family responsibilities. These revisions would make the present income tax structures more equitable for married and unmarried persons.
7. I am firmly committed to equal opportunities for women and men in all aspects of life. The "Displaced Homemaker's Act" would help end discrimination against a segment of our national work force that makes valuable contributions to the welfare and economic stability of the Nation. I have great concern for the woman who chooses to stay home and devote full time to caring for her family. She is one of the most vulnerable members of our society. Faced with a seriously high divorce rate and the prospect of widowhood at age 55, the homemaker without a marketable skill could have a difficult time, and legal protection for her is almost non-existent. This bill would establish nationwide model program centers to provide legal counseling and services for individuals who have worked in the home for a substantial number of years and are having difficulty in finding employment. Therefore, I see the passage of the "Displaced Homemaker's Act" as valuable in meeting two of our national goals. First in our priority to provide jobs for every American who wants to work; and secondly, in our national effort to end discrimination against women.
8. I strongly encourage the availability of more part-time jobs in our economy. I would support legislation which would increase part-time employment, especially that legislation which is intended to benefit housewives, retirees. As a further aid to working women, I support the concept of a more flexible work-scheduling program. A woman who is forced for economic reasons to seek employment outside the home, or a woman who is able to combine her career interests with a family, deserves support from her government.
9. I have consistently stated that I oppose Constitutional amendments to overturn the Supreme Court's decision. I believe that abortion is the doctor's treatment for failed birth control, and that in the long run the need for abortion services can be minimized by providing better family planning services. This means stronger family planning programs, more accessible services, and improved contraceptive technology. I have always believed in preventive health care, and this question is no different. Although we have 159 counties in Georgia, it became one of the few states in the nation with family planning clinics operating in every county health department under my administration. Participation in the family planning programs increased by 200 percent just during the first two years of my administration. The Supreme Court left many questions unresolved including parental or spousal consent, and the problem of late abortions. Those questions are being litigated in the courts. As President, I would be guided and bound by the courts' decisions on these and other questions pertaining to abortion services.
10. I do not like the idea of government money being spent on abortions, and I do not think government should do anything to encourage abortions. But I am aware that the courts have been requiring Medicaid, for example, to pay for this service. I would like to see us as a nation reach the stage where no one who is poor is ever forced to obtain an abortion because she could not obtain proper family planning. On this question, and the question of private hospitals, I will be guided and bound by the courts.
11. No. Please refer to number 9.

MYRA E. BARRER - PUBLISHER

**TODAY PUBLICATIONS & NEWS SERVICE, INC. • NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING • WASHINGTON, DC 20045 • (202) 628-6663**

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# Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

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

FOR RELEASE: 3:00 PM, March 31, 1976

CONTACT: Mary King, Advisor and Coordinator,  
Women's Affairs (202) 234-0660 or 659-9610

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- Rosalynn Smith Carter, wife of the candidate for the Democratic nomination for President, Jimmy Carter, today received a medallion of honor from the National Organization for Women (NOW) in recognition of her continued support for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA).

The award was presented to Rosalynn Carter at the Mid-Atlantic Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign headquarters by NOW Chair One Eleanor Smeal.

"My husband and I are strong supporters of ERA because we believe it is right," Mrs. Carter said. "The Southern states did not want to give women the right to vote half a century ago, and we knew that ERA would not be popular in the South. But we favored it because it was the right thing to do."

"Everywhere I go, and in all twenty-five states where I have campaigned since April 1975, I have spoken out in favor of ERA, and I will continue to do so," she continued.

"To me, ERA means equal rights for women and equal pay," Mrs. Carter said. "In my state there are many women who are the sole support of their families. They should receive equal pay for the work

-MORE-

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A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

they do that is comparable to that of men. Statistics tell us an unfortunate story -- that despite substantial progress in the last few years, the median wage of women is still about 60 percent of that of men. Many businesses and lending institutions still have long-standing practices of sex discrimination. The ERA would help provide legal and practical guarantees of equal rights for women in employment, credit and other areas."

#

# News Release



## Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign For America's third century, why not our best?

### STATEMENT ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS

I am firmly committed to equality between women and men and in promoting a partnership concept in all aspects of life.

In spite of the Equal Pay Act of 1963, the earnings gap between men and women is great. Full-time working women earn 60 cents for every dollar earned by full-time working men. Laws, executive orders and significant interpretations of the law, however, are bringing financial pressure on many employers to end sex discrimination. In the first six months of FY 75 one-third of all charges filed with EEOC were for sex discrimination, amounting to 10,773 cases, with the percentage on the rise. I support the efforts of women to achieve equality through court action when that is required.

As a further aid to working women, I support the concept of flexible hours for full-time employees. The recent upholding by three circuit courts of appeal of the EEOC guidelines stating that child-bearing leave must be treated as any other temporary disability has far-reaching implications for working mothers.

I have great concern for the woman who chooses to stay home and devote full time to caring for her family. She is one of the most vulnerable members of our society. Faced with a seriously high divorce rate and the prospect of widowhood at age 55, the average homemaker without a marketable skill has a very difficult time and legal protection is almost non-existent. We must insure that we do not demean the roles of homemaker and rearer of children. I firmly believe that there is no higher calling for a man or woman than the care of the children they bring into the world. I also believe that there is much that our educational, legal and other institutions can do to prepare and

support both parents in this extremely crucial role in our society.

As we remove the barriers which have denied women participation in business and education and other fields, we also have the tremendous opportunity to give men the opportunity to be fathers and husbands in the finest sense of those terms.

Education is another area where women have not gotten a fair return on their investment. Now that Title IX guidelines have finally been approved, enforcement must be obtained to end sex discrimination in education. Women entering law school have increased from 10.2% in 1970 to 23.7% in '74; and medical school enrollment for women went from 11.1% in 1970 to 22.2% in '74. But in spite of these important advances, there are practically no women in administration, few principals, college presidents or superintendents. Under pressure from feminist groups throughout the country, textbook publishers are taking long overdue steps to portray women and men more realistically in their publications. The importance of this cannot be overstated because children accept limiting, stereotyped notions of woman's place and man's place in society at a very early age.

The media too frequently portrays women in an inaccurate, belittling manner. More women must be appointed to the Board of Governors of the Public Broadcasting System, the Federal Communications Commission and the Federal Trade Commission.

On October 28th the Equal Credit Opportunity Act becomes law. This Act and the Housing and Community Development Act promise substantial improvement in women's credit problems. The enforcement provisions must be upheld.

I support the Equal Rights Amendment. Even though it has not yet been ratified, the coalitions and organizations forming throughout the country are producing valuable results. These networks of women working together for a common cause will inevitably bring about needed legal reforms; in fact, are already producing such reforms.

As Governor of Georgia, I provided support from my own budget and contingency fund for the Commission on the Status of Women to enable them to undertake two important studies; Rape and the Treatment of Rape Victims; and the Equal Rights Amendment and Georgia Law. In

addition, I appointed women to seven major positions never before held by women in Georgia, including a state judgeship. I encourage women to seek positions with major decision-making responsibility and I have women in important roles in my campaign for the presidency.

As President, I would ensure that:

-- laws prohibiting sex discrimination in employment, advancement, education, training, credit and housing be strictly enforced;

-- strong efforts be made to create federal legislation and guidelines to eliminate sex discrimination in health and disability insurance plans;

-- social security laws be revised so that women would no longer be penalized;

-- women have equal access to health care systems and voluntary family planning programs;

-- adequate childcare be made available to all parents who need such care for their children;

-- strong efforts be made to reform existing rape laws. I urge passage of the National Rape Prevention and Control Act.

In the last presidential election 4 million more women than men voted. That is a significant upsurge in political participation by women. In 1974 there was a 29.5% increase in women elected to state legislatures. Although these gains are impressive, women constituted only 8% of the state legislatures. The first woman governor and New York's first woman lieutenant governor are among 45 women presently holding statewide elective office. These women are the vanguard of an army of women who will in time seek public office.

With women making up 52% of our population, it is possible to envision a time in the not-too-distant future when half our doctors, lawyers, scientists, scholars, writers, business leaders and government officials will be women. The dreams, hopes and problems of a complex society demand the talents, imagination and dedication of its finest citizens without regard to sex. As partners we can provide the very best leadership for this country's third century.

# News Release



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P.O. Box 7667 Atlanta, Georgia 30309 404/897-7100

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109M

April 28, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR STEVE STARK

The Governor Exon memo of June 1975 is excellent in most respects and dangerous in some, but not as new as he indicated. There is certainly enough good to cause you to encourage his ideas. Key points are identified and discussed below:

- 1. - (P.4) The "parity income" idea is a good one, and was first used in the Agricultural Act of 1936. It means "farmers should get as much for the labor, management, and investment as others in comparable businesses."
  - A study done for Congress in 1966 indicated that even then many larger family farmers earned parity incomes.
  - Since 1972, most full-time farmers have done so, except for bad cattle periods, crop failures, etc.
  - Attacking "parity prices" as Governor Exon did is good economics but probably bad politics among farmers, especially members of the Farmers Union and Dairymen. It is OK in Farm Bureau states like Indiana.
- 2. - Stability (Governor Exon's second point) is highly valued by farmers, as indicated by the continuing demand for price protection.
- 3. - Long term policy goals (p. 6) are fine, but see below for problems with the mechanisms for achieving the goals.
- 4. - Production management (p. 5) is a dangerous term in 1976, and should be avoided like the flu.
  - Farmers want full production and good prices; bad crops in many countries (not Butz's farm policies) have given them exactly that combination for several years.
  - Production management is a bi-partisan fall-back position -- to support prices and incomes if crops are very good and surpluses reappear. (It is not mentioned in your press release or in my paper sent in mid-March entitled "Policies for Food Abundance and Farm Prosperity.") Secretary Butz sometimes uses the terms "supply-management" as a scare tactic among farmers.
- 5. - Determining Agricultural Policy outside USDA (p. 5) is an old and appealing idea for "keeping farm policy out of politics."
  - Doing it "outside the Congressional Structure" is impossible, but a Board could make recommendations for regulations which would apply if Congress did not disapprove in a certain number of days.

*John Schmitt*

MEMORANDUM

TO: JIMMY CARTER  
FROM: STU EIZENSTAT  
RE: SPEECH ON THE CITIES IN NEW YORK, APRIL 1

I now understand that the format for your appearance before the Democratic Mayors in New York on April 1 will be all questions, except for a three minute summation at the end.

However, it is felt that you should hand out the enclosed position paper and then summarize its major points (I will prepare the summary after you go over the draft of the position paper).

I cannot emphasize enough the importance of distributing a major position paper on the Cities:

1. I believe the Mayors are expecting and hoping for a major statement.
2. Coming two weeks after our major foreign policy speech it offers a domestic balance and stresses the degree to which we are committed to specify our thoughts on major issues.
3. The meeting which Steve Stark and I had on Wednesday with the Liberal Labor Coalition (UAW, AFSCME, UMW, etc.) stressed directly the importance of such a statement regarding the cities. They are insistent on knowing your domestic views. I truly believe many of these unions will be on significant help in the later, industrial state primaries, if we can convince them you are not an ultra-conservative.
4. I do not believe there is anything controversial in the paper. But coming from a Southern Governor, it will take on added force.
5. Most of the recommendations from Harvey Sloane's draft have been incorporated. Mayor Sloane has told Peter Bourne that he expects the Mayors at the meeting to be tough on you, and wants you to give a thorough presentation.

Cities: Urban Policy for the Remainder  
of the Twentieth Century

I believe that the future of America is directly dependent upon the good health and welfare of our nation's cities.

Our cities and metropolitan areas are the main staff of life for the majority of Americans. They provide entertainment, employment, and housing to millions of Americans. They are the repository of our nation's cultural institutions, art galleries, symphonies. They are the economic backbone for an increasingly urbanized nation.

But our cities are facing a crisis which can no longer be avoided. Many of our major cities are rapidly losing population, to smaller communities and to surrounding suburbs. It is often the affluent who have fled, robbing cities of needed talent and depriving them of a needed tax base--leaving the poor, who are more heavily dependent on local government services. Just as people have left many of our urban areas, so too have businesses and jobs, thereby further eroding the municipal tax base, and making it more difficult for localities to provide for the increased demand in municipal services. New forms of revenue have not been <sup>MADE</sup> available to localities to replace their shrinking tax base. Crime and the fear of crime in our major urban areas keep people out of our cities and make our cities places of forboding rather than ~~places of~~ hope.

This disturbing but very real trend has come at a time of both tremendously escalating municipal costs and a rising demand for municipal services. ¶ If our cities fail, so too will our country.

Yet in the face of these enormous problems, our nation's cities have been faced with eight years of self-styled "benign neglect" by

the Nixon-Ford Administrations. In fact, the Republican policy toward our cities has been nothing short of conscious, willful indifference to the plight of urban America. They have promised new programs, such as Special and General Revenue Sharing, to supplement existing programs, and have instead used them to supplant current programs and to lower the level of assistance to cities. Two Republican presidents have purely and simply written off our cities. They have pitted our suburbs and rural areas against our major urban communities. Their policy has been divisive and disastrous. Rather than launch an attack on our cities' problems, they have declared a war against the cities of America. Our cities have needed help and the Republicans have turned their backs. Our cities needed financial assistance and the Republicans have given them crumbs. Our cities needed attention and the Republicans have given them neglect. Indeed, one of my major Democratic opponents is more interested in funding exotic and unnecessary weapons systems than in using that money to uplift the quality of life in our cities.

Between 1972 and 1974 alone, the Republican Administration cut \$4.5 billion in urban programs and another \$7 billion in programs to aid the poor, the untrained, the unemployed, and the medically indigent, all at a time when municipalities lost \$3.3 billion in purchasing power.

Our country has no urban policy or defined urban goals, and so we have floundered from one ineffective and uncoordinated program to another. Hopes have been raised only to be dashed on the rocks of despair when promise after promise has been forgotten.

We need a coordinated, directed urban policy from the federal government to develop a creative partnership with our cities for the

survival of urban America in the balance of the Twentieth Century. This policy must recognize that our urban problems stem from a variety of factors, each of which must be dealt with directly and forcefully--problems of urban decay, declining tax base, crime, unemployment, lack of urban parks and open spaces.

#### 1. HUMAN NEEDS AND UNEMPLOYMENT

We must begin our urban policy by recognizing the human needs of the individual people who live in our cities. The essential building block of our urban policy must be the provision of a job for each person capable of holding down gainful employment. I believe every person has a right to a job.

But our urban unemployment rate is intolerable. This high level of unemployment means less tax revenue for cities, increased social tension, and higher crime rates.

Unemployment nationally is at 7.6%--at least twice the acceptable level. And yet this figure, which the Republican Administration in Washington points to with pride, is itself a gross understatement of the unemployment problem afflicting our major urban areas. According to the United States Department of Labor, central city unemployment for 1975 was 9.6%, as opposed to 8% for non-metropolitan areas and 5.3% for the suburbs. For the poverty areas of cities that figure is 13.8%, and for blacks in these areas it is 17.6%. Overall, center city black unemployment is at the rate of 14.1%. In 1975, every fourth black worker was unemployed and the majority of them were ineligible for unemployment compensation. Teen age black unemployment in some areas of America approaches the staggering figure of 40%.

Indeed, even these figures are deceptive of the real problem,

for they do not include the literally hundreds of thousands of people who have gotten completely out of the labor market due to their frustrating inability to find a job.

These are not simply figures. They represent the crushed dreams of millions of Americans ready and willing to work. The 9.6% unemployment rate in our central cities alone means 2.6 million people out of work.

To make dramatic improvement in the unacceptably high unemployment rate, I propose a creative, joint program of incentives to private employers and a public needs employment program funded by the federal government. Such programs will more than repay our investment, not simply in making taxpayers of those now on unemployment insurance or on welfare, and not simply in generating additional revenues to the federal, state and local governments--although each 1% decline in the unemployment rate will produce \$13 to \$16 billion in federal tax revenues; but rather in restoring the pride and self-respect of those too long ignored and cast aside.

These tax incentives to private industry should be geared directly toward the ~~the~~ provision of jobs for the unemployed, and toward encouraging industry to locate new plants and offices in urban areas where unemployment is high.

Almost 85% of America's workers depend on private industry for jobs. Most of the unemployed will depend on recovery in the private sector for renewed job opportunities. We cannot afford to ignore well-designed, job related incentives to private industry to help reduce unemployment. These should take the form of:

---accelerated depreciation for the construction of plants and equipment in high-unemployment areas, and

---an innovative employment tax credit

The employment tax credit would give businesses a tax benefit for each person they hired who had been previously unemployed for a minimum of four weeks; but, as a further inducement to maintain the new employee on a permanent basis, the benefit would be rescinded in later years if the employee were terminated for other than job-related performance within twelve months of his initial employment. As a further stimulant to private industry to hire the unemployed, the federal government should increase its commitment to fund the cost of on-the-job training by business.

However, private industry cannot meet the task alone. The federal government has an obligation to provide funds for public employment of those private business cannot and will not hire.

The Nixon-Ford Administration's priorities have been grossly misplaced. While adequate unemployment compensation is necessary to protect the unemployed, their best protection comes from jobs. It has been estimated by the Joint Economics Committee of Congress that each 1% of excess unemployment adds at least \$4 to \$5 billion in costs for unemployment compensation, food stamps, and welfare.

It is an incredible misallocation of resources for the current Administration to spend between \$17 and \$20 billion dollars for unemployment compensation and an additional \$2 to \$3 billion on food stamps due to unemployment, and yet only \$2½ billion on public jobs programs.

Certainly, money is better spent in creating useful public service jobs to take people off of welfare, food stamps and unemployment compensation and make them tax contributors; <sup>yet we are asked</sup> ~~than~~ to tolerate a policy adjusted to support an unacceptable status quo. Therefore, I propose the following program of public employment as an investment

in human beings, an investment which will more than be repaid in up-  
lifted lives, and increased tax revenues, *and decreased welfare, food stamp and  
unemployment compensation payments.*

---an expansion of the CETA program (Comprehensive Education and  
Training Act) through which direct federal funds for municipal and  
other jobs have been provided, with administrative responsibility  
resting at the local level. This program was originally designed  
merely to combat structural unemployment in a period of mild reces-  
sion. It cannot now deal with the cyclical unemployment caused by  
the severe recession we are in, without an expanded and strengthened  
role. It now provides only 300,000 jobs. It should produce at least  
twice this number of jobs. [N.B. National Conference of Mayors wants  
one million jobs at a gross cost of \$10 billion. The House has pas-  
sed an expanded CETA bill for 600,000 jobs at \$6 billion] The 9.6%  
unemployment rate in our central cities could be reduced to the 6%  
level by the provision of 800,000 to 900,000 <sup>public</sup> jobs to the unemployed.

---Passage of the accelerated public works program vetoed re-  
cently by Mr. Ford. [NB \$2.5 billion and within the spending ceiling  
~~set~~ by Congress.]

---Funds for 800,000 summer youth jobs should be provided. [N.B.  
\$528 million; Ford just announced his support of this proposal]

---Perhaps the biggest single problem created for the poor who  
live in our cities is the current welfare system <sup>and welfare reform would be the single</sup> [N.B. New York <sup>most important</sup>  
City spends \$2.5 billion on welfare of a total \$11 billion budget; it <sup>action we could</sup>  
funds 30% of that cost] As currently constituted, it is a crazy  
quilt of regulations administered by a bloated bureaucracy. It is  
wasteful to the taxpayers of America, demeaning to the recipients,  
discouraging ~~the~~ work, and encouraging ~~the~~ breakup of families.  
The system lumps together dissimilar categories of poor people, and

differs greatly in its benefits and regulations from state to state. It is time that we broke the welfare and poverty cycle of our poor people. My recommendations are designed to satisfy the following goals: (a) we must recognize there are three distinct categories of poor people--the unemployable poor, the employable but jobless poor, and the working poor; (b) no person on welfare should receive more than the working poor can earn at their jobs; (c) strong work incentives and job training should be provided for those on welfare able to work; (d) family stability should be <sup>encouraged</sup> ~~maintained~~ ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ by assuring that no family's financial situation will be harmed by the bread winner remaining with his dependents; (e) efforts should be made to have fathers who abandon their family be forced to continue support; (f) the welfare system should be streamlined and simplified, with a small bureaucracy, less paperwork, fewer regulations, <sup>improved coordination</sup> and reduced local disparities; (g) persons who are legitimately on welfare should be treated with respect and dignity.

To achieve these goals, I propose a single, fair, uniform, national program of welfare benefits funded by the federal government, with strong work and job incentives for the poor who are employable and with income supplementation for the working poor, and with earnings tied so as to encourage employment, so that it would never be more profitable to stay on welfare than to work. No one able to work, except mothers with preschool children, should be continued on the welfare rolls unless job training and a job were accepted. [N.B. The net federal cost of a federal guarantee of \$4,000 for a family of four, which would be 75% of the poverty level, would be \$11 billion, due to savings on AFDC, SSI, and food stamps. At a level

of \$4800 for a family of four, or 90% of the poverty level, the cost would be, net, \$15 billion)

The programs I have proposed will be repaid by increased tax revenues; their financing can be assisted by the \$5 billion to \$8

billion streamlining of the defense budget I have suggested. [N.B. Mayor *Mayor of Milwaukee* thinks the defense cut statement is among the most important lines you can talk about]

## 2. ASSISTING THE FISCAL NEEDS OF THE CITIES

While we must concentrate on the human needs of those who live in our cities throughout the country, we cannot ignore the fiscal plight ~~of~~ our cities themselves. A recent authoritative survey showed their plight dramatically. Of the cities and towns surveyed, a total of 122 began the last fiscal year with combined surpluses of \$340 million and ended the fiscal year with a combined \$40 million deficit. This has forced cities to raise local taxes an estimated total of \$1.5 billion, or to cut back on important municipal services. These local governments experiencing fiscal difficulties, which in no way are of their own making, had to eliminate 100,000 <sup>municipal</sup> positions last year alone. The deflationary adjustments state and local governments together were required to make removed \$8 billion from the economy last year.

To alleviate the suffering our cities are being put through by high inflation and continued recession, I propose the following:

---Counter-cyclical assistance to deal with the fiscal needs of cities particularly hard hit by the recession. The \$2 billion of counter-cyclical assistance recently vetoed by Mr. Ford is essential and affordable. In fact, it is within the budget resolutions adopted by Congress. This aid will go to create new jobs and to maintain current levels of service in hard-pressed cities. I understand that <sup>without such aid cities such as</sup> ~~Detroit~~ <sup>Detroit</sup> may have to cut back ~~that Detroit alone would have received~~ some \$38 million in counter-cyclical aid, and that without such aid, essential services, may have

~~have to be cut back.~~

---Extension of the Revenue Sharing program for five years, with an increase in the annual funding level to compensate for inflation and with enforcement of the civil rights provisions of the bill to guarantee against discriminatory use of the funds. The Ford Administration has proposed only a \$150 million per year increment for inflation; this will merely put our cities further into the hole due to the drastic impact of inflation on their real purchasing power. I propose that the annual inflationary increment be \$500 million.

(N.B. The Administration's proposal with the \$150 million increment would cost \$39.8 billion over the 5 3/4 year lifespan proposed for the extended program. The National Conference of Mayors proposal for a \$500 million increment would cost an additional \$350 million per year or about \$2 billion more over 5 3/4 years). I will study whether the Revenue Sharing formula should be amended in the future to place greater emphasis on areas of high need. Moreover, I believe a greater percentage of Revenue Sharing funds should go to the cities and less to the states and that localities should be allowed to use these funds for defraying the costs of education, which they are currently forbidden to do.

---Federal tax incentives to encourage inner-city improvements and encourage urban investment by private industry and by state and local governments, such as tax credits for incremental increases in property taxes due to improvement in targeted areas within our cities. <sup>This would</sup> ~~in order to~~ provide local governments with needed tax revenues, while assuring industries investing in high unemployment areas that their property taxes will not increase as a direct result of added investment in those areas.

---Study the creation of a Federal Municipalities Securities Insurance Corporation to assist localities in marketing their bonds

and to provide voluntary self-controls in municipal financial matters. [N.B. *Mayor Sloane believes that this would be self-sustaining except for the 12<sup>th</sup> year's funding, by a small reassessment against the value of Securities issued*]

### 3. SOLVING THE PHYSICAL NEEDS OF OUR CITIES

The problems our cities are facing are compounded by their often deteriorating physical state.

Housing has deteriorated enormously and new housing is often unaffordable. 1975 was the worst this nation has had in 29 years in the number of housing units constructed. Although this nation in 1968 legislated a goal of 2½ million new housing units per year to meet current needs, last year witnessed the construction of barely 1 million units. At the same time, housing costs have risen so rapidly that only three in twenty <sup>(15%)</sup> of America's families can afford new housing. The government now has thousands upon thousands of abandoned and unused dwellings under its control while tens of thousands seek better shelter.

Likewise, our municipal transportation systems are faced with difficult times. For ~~more than~~ the last twenty years, more than \$230 billion has been spent at all levels of government for our highway system. From 1967 to 1975, expenditures from the Highway Trust Fund averaged about \$4 billion per year; the Administration's 1977 fiscal year budget outlay for highways reached \$7.1 billion. From the end of World War II until the middle sixties, no new major transit construction project was undertaken with public support. Cities were faced with deteriorating buses and subways and inadequate maintenance programs and schedules. Public transit ridership declined from almost 19 billion ~~in 1946 to~~ in 1946 to only 5.5 billion in 1973, reflecting the poor state of our municipal

transit systems. By the end of 1974, operating deficits for existing public transit systems nationally were expected to have reached \$900 million. We cannot continue to allow our mass transit systems to languish and remain a stepchild. Mass transit, if properly supported, can serve as the means to encourage increased use of our cities as places of business, shopping, ~~new projects and sources of~~ <sup>AND</sup> entertainment; and can correspondingly enable urban workers to reach jobs located in the suburbs; all with less pollution and energy use than the present systems of transportation.

To <sup>help</sup> solve the physical problems confronting our cities, I submit the following agenda on housing which will, in addition, put back to work hundreds of thousands of unemployed construction workers and fulfill our national commitment to build 2½ million housing units per year.

---direct federal subsidies and low interest loans to encourage the construction of low and middle class housing.

---expansion of the highly successful <sup>Section</sup> 202 housing program for the elderly, which utilizes direct federal subsidies.

---increased emphasis ~~on~~ the rehabilitation of existing housing to rebuild our neighborhoods, through programs such as the <sup>Section</sup> 312 program.

---greater attentio~~ness~~ to the desires of local communities in the placement and funding of housing as promised, but not carried out, in the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974.

---greater effort to direct mortgage money into the financing of private housing.

---prohibiting the practice of red-lining by federally sponsored savings and loan institutions and the FHA, <sup>which has had the effect of depriving certain areas of the</sup> and encouraging ~~some~~ <sup>MORE</sup> loans

*necessary mortgage funds for upgrade them!*

for housing and rehabilitation to the poor.

#### 4. MEETING THE ESTHETIC NEEDS OF OUR CITIES

Our cities can never be what we desire so long as they remain an undesirable environment in which to live and raise a family. Yet too frequently, the specter of crime <sup>destroys this environment and creates an atmosphere</sup> ~~has transformed our cities into~~ concrete oceans in which each person lives in constant fear of the actions of others. All Americans have the right to live free from <sup>crime</sup> the fear of crime. Unfortunately, ~~in many places~~, this right has been torn asunder.

Surveys indicate that large percentages of the American public fear to ~~enter~~ come into the cities or walk their <sup>own</sup> neighborhood streets at night. Rising crime rates give reality to these fears. Figures show that one in every four American families will fall victim to crime within the year. A child born in a large American city and remaining in that city throughout his or her entire life stands a greater chance of meeting a violent death than did the average American soldier during World War II.

In order to restore order and tranquility to our cities, I propose:

---a reform of our judicial system to ensure that swift, firm, and predictable punishment follows a criminal conviction. I believe crime is best deterred by the certainty of swift justice.

---a revision in our system of sentencing eliminating much of the discretion now given to judges and probation officers, and insuring greater certainty in sentencing and confinement and a higher percentage of serious criminals being imprisoned.

---reasonable restrictions on the purchase of handguns, <sup>including restriction of handguns, reasonable licensing provisions, a waiting period on the purchase of guns, a ban on the sale of cheap</sup>  
 ---upgrading of the rehabilitation programs available to criminals while in prison. <sup>handguns in the prohibition ownership of guns. Certain persons with criminal records.</sup>

---a concerted attack on the drug trafficking ~~organizations~~ and ~~other forms of~~ organized criminal activity with which our cities are afflicted.

---federal assistance to the crime prevention programs of local governments with a minimum of federal regulations.

---an attack on unemployment, the root cause of much of our urban crime, through the programs I have mentioned previously. We should recognize that \$3 billion has been spent since 1967 by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration in order to fight crime, with more than half of this amount going to the nation's police forces. In spite of such assistance, crime has accelerated during every year this program has been in operation. <sup>This points up the</sup> ~~There is no~~ better illustration <sup>solely through</sup> of the futility of attacking crime through quick cosmetic remedies while ignoring ~~the~~ <sup>its</sup> basic causes.

*Moreover, an urban existence is often lived out in a sea of concrete.*

To make our cities more attractive and culturally viable, we should direct greater emphasis on the establishment of parks in urban areas, and we must also expand programs such as the Urban Walls Program and federal assistance to the arts.

##### 5. PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE MAYORS

For too long, the doors of the White House have been shut to the needs of the cities and to the Mayors who represent them.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, one of the prime movers behind the National Conference of Mayors, recognized the need for a close partnership between the Executive Branch of the federal government and the Mayors of America's cities.

As President, I shall develop close, personal working relationships with you. I will beef up the role and functions of the Domestic Policy Council to serve as a direct link to you.

You are on the firing line every minute facing tough problems. I do not intend to let you stay there alone, without the full support of the President, nor disarmed, without the aid and resources to combat those problems.

You also have my assurance that the Federal Government itself will be pro-city. Too often the Federal Government has pursued policies which have encouraged urban decay, such as past procedures in the location of federal buildings, <sup>and the construction of highways through urban neighborhoods.</sup> As President I intend to put a halt to ~~such~~ such counter-productive policies.

I believe that together we can build an urban America which will be the envy of the rest of the world, <sup>and, more</sup> ~~more~~ importantly, ~~in~~ <sup>a place</sup> ~~where our citizens can live~~ ~~and play and work together as brothers, in peace and harmony.~~ where our citizens can live and play and work together as brothers, in peace and harmony.





# Jimmy Carter

## Presidential Campaign

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

Washington, D.C.  
April 25, 1976

On behalf of Jimmy Carter, it is indeed a pleasure to welcome you to the Foreign Policy and Defense Task Force and we look forward to a close working association in the months ahead.

As indicated in Governor Carter's statement to the press (see attached), the primary purpose of the Task Force is to stimulate thoughtful discussion and consideration of the broad range of foreign and defense policy issues and to provide the Governor the very best individual and collective counsel on alternative policy choices facing the United States in its foreign relations.

We plan to hold the first meeting of the Task Force in New York on Monday, May 24. The meeting will begin at 3 PM at the Century Club, 7 West 43rd Street and will be followed by cocktails and dinner at 7 PM for those able to attend. Please inform Dr. John Kotch, our Foreign Policy Coordinator, at (202) 659-9610 as to whether you plan on attending the meeting and dinner.

Please find enclosed, in addition to the Governor's press release on the formation of the Foreign Policy and Defense Task Force, his recent address to the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations and Washington Post interview. Finally, a list of the names and addresses of Task Force members are included in order to facilitate direct communication with them.

With best wishes,

Dr. Peter Sourse, Mid-Atlantic  
Coordinator

Mr. Steve Stark, Issues Coordinator

National  
Association of  
Record Merchandisers

IN HOUSE SPEECHES

Club 10-Lane  
Speaks

NARM - Mar 22

34M

Miami

Dear Tom -

This is the gist of what we would  
believe to be appropriate for Jimmy to  
state at the ~~the~~ Narm dinner on  
Mar 22<sup>nd</sup>

The audience will consist of men  
& women representing every record Co  
and every major seller of records  
in the country. They come from a  
broad geo - cross section.

The talk will be billed as "non-  
political" but his very presence is,  
of course political. I'd suggest that  
the speech be somewhere around 25 to  
30 minutes and say:

Whatever anyone's pol. preferences,  
Candidate etc - we should demand  
a certain standard from government.  
The quality of life that we are  
entitled to - - the right to  
certain freedoms in our lifestyle  
and expression - -

The matter will be very  
significant to our industry



that faced hostility in the  
1950s day because of long  
hair, work protest etc.

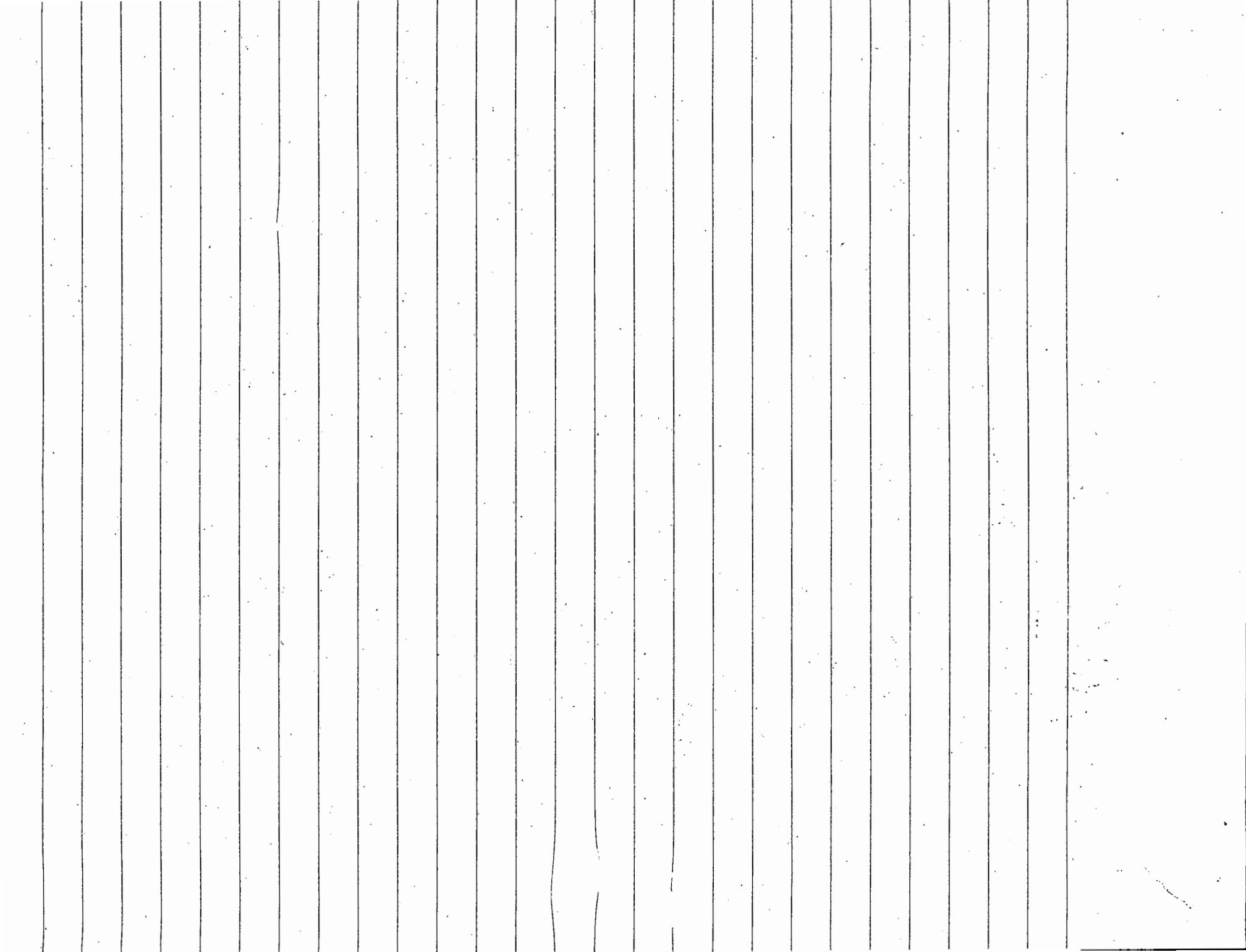
Youngs understands of some  
of the field of the music business  
and the people involved can be  
very helpful - - no other could do  
has any sense of that at all.

We should perform the necessity  
to become involved in the  
political process - - the inclusion  
of young people with their  
energy and resources & enthusiasm  
the recognition that those rock n  
rollers of the sixties are now  
deeply into the mainstream of  
American life and will continue  
taking over and the need for today's  
government to understand what they  
are all about.

These are not a few random  
thoughts. I'll be happy to discuss  
with you speech notes - all by  
the through and the 17<sup>th</sup> and  
see more from the 18<sup>th</sup> on.

(Denny)

Joe Smith



Jody --

Please take one final look at this before it goes off to New Hampshire ---  
especially questions 2&3, 4, 6, 7, 8, and 15.

Also -- Do you want to sign it, or shall Steve or myself?

IN HOUSE  
MEMOS

9/11 3/18

JODY  
N.H. GUN CONTROL

ENCLOSE ARE

1. Questionnaire
2. Proposed revised answers
3. Background for questions

Washington

April 28, 1976

From John Kotch  
To Steve Stark for Traveling Party  
Zbigniew Brzezinski  
Richard Gardner.

If you are called upon to respond to a question concerning Secretary Kissinger's current trip to Africa and the future of American policy toward Africa as outlined in his address in Luanda, Zambia (see attached sheet) on April 27, 1976, the following is submitted as guideline:

1. I welcome the Secretary's trip to Africa as a long overdue expression of interest in an area of real importance to the United States. During the Nixon-Ford years, what policy we have had toward Africa has been one of confrontation with black African nations over political and developmental priorities and of cozying up to those governments of Southern Africa which have denied their black citizens the fruits of full political participation.

2. While I think it is now too early and inappropriate to comment on his trip as a whole before the Secretary returns to the United States, I do welcome his statement of American support for majority rule in Southern Rhodesia. In the initiatives proposed in his Luanda address, the Secretary has enunciated a set of principles from which few Americans would dissent. In particular, the commitment to a speedy transition to black majority rule (within two years), support for a secure future for both whites and blacks in a Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia) that has achieved racial justice and a constitutional structure with minority rights and majority rule, the denying of the present Rhodesia regime U.S. support, either diplomatic or material at any stage in its negotiations with African states or liberation movements, the intention of the Administration to urge Congress to repeal the Byrd amendment allowing for the importation of Rhodesian chrome, humanitarian assistance to Rhodesian refugees, and economic assistance for those nations caught in an economic bind by the boycott.

They are principles which are at the root of our own moral and political heritage. However the key question is how vigorously a new policy of American concern for Africa will be implemented after the Secretary returns.

3. I profoundly regret that it took Soviet and Cuban pressure to bring about this American initiative. I believe that the United States should have taken this step at least a year ago and in the case of the Byrd amendment, taken a more vigorous position in lobbying for its repeal over the past several years during which time we have been in formal violation of the United Nation's sanction program against Rhodesia.

4. The art of leadership, both in Congress and internationally, is not to follow in the wake of events but to anticipate and shape them. The art of leadership, in other words, is leadership that replaces indifference with genuine moral concern and provides a sense of historical direction.

Dr. Brzezinski recommends that the foregoing be issued as a press release.

Excerpts from The New York Times

Proposals contained in Kissinger Luanda speech

I Regarding US policy toward Rhodesia, the Secretary made the following points:

1. The US is committed to support British Prime Minister Callaghan's proposal in which independence for a new Rhodesian state with full majority rule (Zimbabwe) must be achieved within two years following negotiations between the present white minority regime and representatives of the black majority. Whites and blacks should have a secure future in a Zimbabwe that has achieved racial justice under a constitutional structure providing for both minority rights and majority rule.

2. The present Rhodesian regime cannot expect US support, either diplomatic or material, at any stage in its conflict with African states or liberation movements. On the contrary, it will face our unrelenting opposition until a negotiated settlement is achieved.

3. The US will take steps to fulfill its obligation under international law to mandate economic sanctions against Rhodesia by urging Congressional repeal of the Byrd amendment (which allows for the importation of Rhodesian chrome in defiance of a UN sanction against Rhodesia) and seeking the compliance of other industrial nations with such a boycott.

4. The US intends to communicate directly with Rhodesia regarding our views on the urgency of a rapid negotiated settlement leading to a majority rule, our intention to have no official representation in Rhodesia nor to provide Americans in Rhodesia with assistance and protection. Instead Americans will be urged not to enter Rhodesia and if there <sup>be</sup> urged to leave.

5. In addition, the United States intends to provide humanitarian assistance to Rhodesian refugees, assist other nations, such as Mozambique\* which has sustained economic hardship as a result of an economic boycott of Rhodesia, and to provide a full program of economic and technical assistance to an independent Zimbabwe.

II Regarding Policy toward Namibia (occupied by South African authorities since 1971 in violation of both the UN General Assembly and the International Court of Justice) the Secretary made the following points:

1. The US reiterates its call on South Africa to permit all the peoples and groups of Namibia to express their view freely under UN supervision regarding the political future and constitutional structure of their country.

2. South Africa should announce a definite timetable acceptable to the world community for the achievement of self-determination for Namibia. The US is prepared to work with the world community and especially African leaders to determine future steps to be taken with respect to a rapid and acceptable transition to Namibian independence. This would be accompanied by a pledge of US economic and technical assistance to Namibia and a lifting of US restrictions on trade and investment to Namibia.

III Regarding US developmental assistance, the Secretary made the following points:

1. In advance of a major proposal before UNCTAD next week in Nairobi, Secretary Kissinger stressed the need for economic development in the areas of trained local manpower, rural development, advanced technology and modern transportation.

\* \$12.5 million in economic assistance has been earmarked for Mozambique

MEMORANDUM

TO: BOB HAVELY  
FROM: Tom Joe  
DATE: April 8, 1976  
SUBJECT: Comments on Draft Health Care Statement

I have reviewed the draft health care statement with great interest and think that it's approach is sound and basically on the right track. I do, however, have a few suggestions for improvement.

1. The paper needs to be put more in a coherent framework so that the discussion of individual items becomes part of an overall strategy. One suggestion is to build on the strategy of a phased-in approach to the development of universal access to a comprehensive health care system. But saying that means that you will need to be a little more specific about what will be phased-in first, etc.

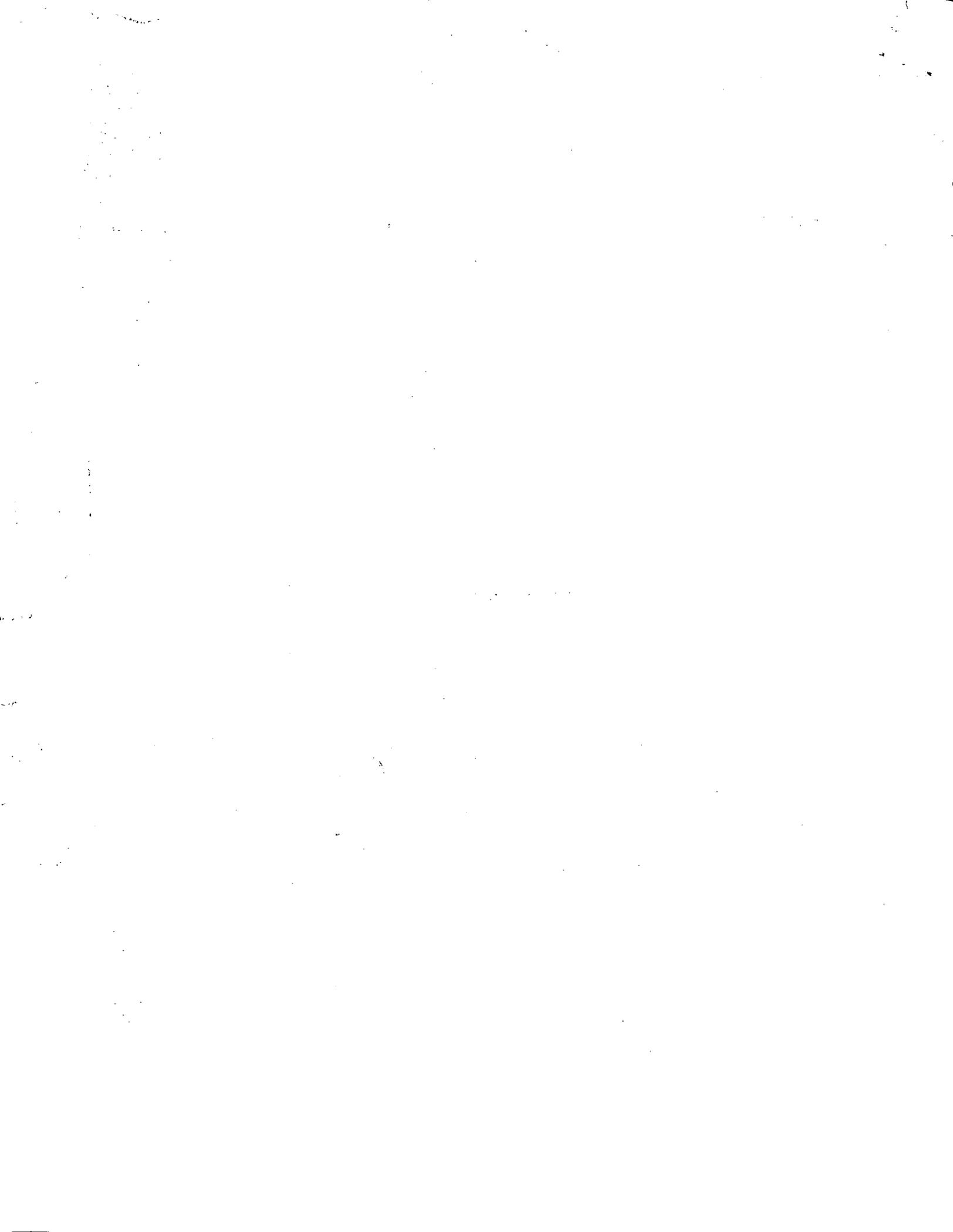
One way of doing this might be a recognition of the need to first phase-in services for the most vulnerable - the old, the young and those with catastrophic illnesses. We need some version of catastrophic coverage (related to income) so that individuals and families will not be forced into bankruptcy by an illness of a family member. We simultaneously need to focus resources on preventive care by providing comprehensive prenatal and early childhood care. Thirdly, we need to develop a national approach to increasing utilization of direct preventive services (i.e., blood pressure checks, quick response to heart failure, immunizations, etc.).

2. The issue of financing must be addressed head-on in the paper. Firstly, the recognition that improvements in health care delivery will not be cheap but that costs are escalating phenomenally anyway. Without any further expansion at all, we can anticipate increases in Medicaid and Medicare costs on the average of 20% per year. We should therefore think positively

about redirecting the increased costs rather than negatively about an "expensive" new program. Further, I agree that any financing scheme should be part payroll tax and part general fund.

3. A final issue which should be addressed either in this statement or in a separate one is long-term care. The whole area of LTC (e.g., nursing homes, intermediate care facilities under Medicaid, boarding homes, rest homes, children's institutions and mental institutions) requires a very bold reworking. It must be carefully examined to sort out its goals and functions and should not, in my opinion, be included wholesale in a national health insurance program. LTC now represents the single most costly item under Medicaid (about 35% of total costs) and mostly pays for room and board services. The medical dollar should not have to cover the costs of institutional room and board services for the elderly and disabled. The costs of long-term care are increasing faster than even medical costs and there is very little satisfaction about services provided by anyone - the client, taxpayers, owners, etc. GAO, the Moss Committee, the New York State Moreland Act Commission and the almost daily scandals in the nursing homes and large institutions for the mentally ill and mentally retarded are sufficient evidence for an immediate overhaul of what I referred to as the long-term care or institution problem of our society. I think this area should be addressed by Mr. Carter and I would be glad to provide assistance to you in framing the issues.

I am enclosing a speech prepared for Mr. Carter by Ruth Hanft, which you may have received by her directly.



ADAM WALINSKY  
1343 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS  
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019

March 19, 1976

Mr. Steve Stark  
Box 1976  
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Steve:

This is to follow up our telephone conversation of yesterday afternoon.

1. The first and essential point is that New York is not irretrievably lost. Of course, Jackson has the lead, and of course he is on the ballot in more districts. But the lead can be overcome, and New York reporters are smart enough to focus their attention on those districts where you are on the ballot. It is far too early to despair. [It is also far too early to try to discount Jackson's expected victory by complaining about the primary system. Like all supposed cosmopolitans, we are really very insular: we do not like outsiders complaining about our politics. Better to announce that you are glad to challenge Jackson on his own turf.]

2. By knocking you off the ballot in Brooklyn and parts of the Bronx, Jackson may have unwittingly done you a favor. Those are the areas of his greatest strength: thus he has discounted in advance victories he would have won in any case. You can now contest him primarily in areas where he is weakest, where you have the greatest chance.

3. This leads to the natural conclusion that you must add the liberal strength to your own; a tactic your Governor has shrewdly set out to do by making this appear as a two-man race. There are three problems to this strategy. First, the liberals are not so easily won. Two, as you chase the liberals, you run the sharp risk of destroying the base you will need if the Governor is the candidate in November. Three, there are just not that many liberals any more; their strength is vastly overrated.

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4. As I have stressed to you before, the Jewish and liberal votes (plural, because they overlap but are not the same) are not in any event the most critical votes in New York. Rather, the predominant New York vote--even in a primary--is in fact predominantly Catholic, and is overwhelmingly not liberal. The supposed liberal predominance is really a misreading of an historical quirk. That is, in the primaries of both 1968 and 1972, liberals were able to coalesce their vote, and add to it from normally more conservative groups, because of a single issue, the war, distaste for which cut across ideological lines. Meanwhile, the regulars were totally demoralized by the Johnson withdrawal (1968) and the Humphrey collapse (out of money, he gave up on New York after the California primary in 1972). McGovern carried the New York primary, with a majority of a 12 percent vote. For an appraisal of the true nature of the New York vote, see the enclosed memorandum I did for George; he chose not to follow its counsel. For this and other reasons, he lost the election here by 1.2 million votes.

5. The conservative swing of the New York electorate, outlined in that memorandum, does not mean automatic gains for Jackson. In fact, as with so much else, it has tempted him to excess. It is true that many Jews are concerned about Israel; and for many of these, his position on the Middle East is very attractive. But he is so strong on the issue that many suspect his sincerity, he is too good to be true. Moreover, he is so headstrong in his anti-communism that I have begun to detect undertones of concern that he might provoke a war unnecessarily. It is also true that many New Yorkers are concerned, resentful and above all fearful of blacks (again, see the memo). But here also, it is important not to overdo, and Jackson's stridency against bussing appears, again unnecessarily, to be an insult to blacks (which New York will not tolerate), and somewhat hysterical besides; we want to know that a candidate is for us, not that he is against another group. Our ethnic balances are far too delicate for such meddling.

(N.B. While it is important not to go too far on Israel, it is vital to go far enough. I am more than a little disturbed by the Governor's statement that under no circumstances would he send troops to the Middle East. Surely he does not mean to give the Russians the free hand, to intervene with their own troops, that Nixon and Kissinger claim to have denied them in 1973. That would, in my judgment, be wrong. It could also, unless corrected, cost you the state in April or November.)

6. Jackson, most importantly, shares with you (and Udall) one enormous handicap. You are all Protestants. So of course, was Franklin Roosevelt, and so were all Presidents before 1960. But the Protestant we really remember is Lindsay (if you don't know New York, read the memo to see what that means). At least in the major industrial states, the split between nativist-fundamentalist-dry Protestants, on the one hand, and immigrant-urban-wet-mobile Catholics and Jews, on the other hand, is one of the most enduring and tenacious in our politics. I could write volumes on the historical origins of the split, many of which can be traced down to this day (for example, the eternal struggle of Catholics to preserve their parochial schools, which began in New York as an answer to Protestant proselytizing in the "public" grammar schools). For now it is enough to say, as I did in my earlier letter to Oliver Martin (copy attached), that what we here, immigrants and their descendants, want to feel about a politician is above all that he cares about us: not because we are all little lambs of Jesus, but because we are people, because we hurt and cry and get drunk and make mistakes, because we are weak and need leaders, because we are talented and want recognition, because we have sweated and want rewards. All this, and his utter failure to comprehend and relate to it, is what really destroyed McGovern. It was also, I believe, the fundamental source of Robert Kennedy's enormous strength: like us, he bled, and with him, we bled not only for ourselves but for others. That is the way New York would like to feel again. But we have at least as much difficulty relating to Jackson and Udall, on these scores.

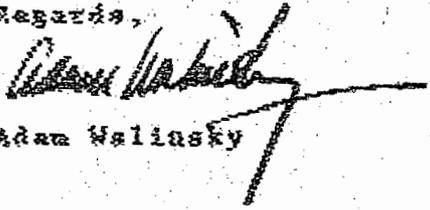
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as we do to Carter. In the deepest and most fundamental sense, New York's heart is all up for grabs. (In this connection, I urge you to read the materials on parochial aid I sent to Miller.)

7. If New York is a stone, waiting for an Arthur to pull out the sword, your Governor has thus far failed to find the handle. He has as yet made no emotional connection with anyone here. His supporters (like the supporters of the other candidates) are only maneuverers, using his candidacy as a moment's support in the piranha-infested waters of our politics: to mix aquatic metaphors, they are pilot fish hoping they have latched on to a shark; let him turn out a dolphin, and they will be gone. The vital connection, with the voters, cannot be made until they know who he is as a human being. They want to know if he cares, and about what; they want to know if anything arouses his passions. We, who are passionate about everything, are profoundly suspicious of one who appears to be passionate about nothing. Mind, I am not saying that he has to pound the table like Jackson, or shout and giggle like Hubert. Nor need he clutter his speech with adjectives. He need only, if that is his style (in as quiet a voice as he likes), tell us what he finds Unacceptable, or even not tolerable. And what he would do to change it.

In accordance with your request, I will outline some suggestions for a speech on the city, guided by these considerations. Given the time available, it will be a very rough outline indeed. But if you and he find the ideas agreeable, let me know and I will try to help out on the details. I warn you, however, that a speechwriting is a very personal business, and only someone like yourself with a deep knowledge of the man, his ideas and his speech patterns should attempt so delicate a statement. Please also note that giving such a speech will require certain alterations in your New York schedule.

Regards,

  
Adam Walinsky



March 19, 1976

A Note on the Memorandum

This memo is like a good book that is out-of-date. You can use it, but only with careful accounting for the changes since. Briefly, I draw to your attention:

1. It was addressed to George McGovern, and therefore slants heavily toward urging him to move away from the left. You need no such advice. However, to engage the center it is necessary but not sufficient to avoid the left. Therefore the thrust of the specific proposals, if not their detail, remains intact.

2. The racial issues have receded since the memo was written. Blacks and black issues are less at the forefront of our consciousness, because organized black demands have almost ceased. Even the recent budget cuts, falling heavily on minority programs, have aroused barely a peep of controversy. The net of it is that under the duress of economic hardship, the blacks are quiescent and the whites preoccupied. Objectively, many conditions are worse than before. It is just that we have lost our will to fight them: the predominant response to crime now is simply to move away. Again, this is not to say that crime and violence and fear and the deep hunger for a government with some authority, are no longer potential issues. Nor is it to say that we can no longer be moved by pleas for justice. It is to say that we have a deepened cynicism that any politician will or can do anything about them.

3. By contrast, the Israel issue has been raised greatly in sensitivity and volatility. It will not do to simply criticize Kissinger. For Jews here, he is a very ambivalent figure; we like to criticize him, but are not sure whether we like others to do so. We are even a little uneasy about Jackson's criticisms.

4. Our skepticism of politicians in general has, if anything, vastly increased. Carey, who won a great victory (57.7 percent) in 1974, got barely 75,000 (41.3 percent) actual votes more than McGovern, who was utterly trounced in 1972. The difference is that the total vote was 7.1 million in 1972, and only 5.2 million in 1974 (indeed, of those who went to the polls in 1974, 5 percent cast no gubernatorial ballot at all). What hope we retained has vanished in the disgraceful performance of our politicians in the budget crisis. Carey has truly dismal job rating in 1976: about 3 percent excellent, perhaps 25-30 percent good, the rest fair or poor. Deane is off the charts. They are all good people from whom to keep one's distance.

5. The greatest change in New York since the memo is the extent to which vitality seems to be draining out of the entire city. It is not just jobs, or the increasingly arcane and precious arts, or the prevalence of porn theatres; the very juice seems to have vanished from our politics. Every volunteer you see today stands where literally hundreds stood a few years ago. The fiscal crisis has left us resentful and bemused, resigned to stewing in our mess along with the mediocre and venal politicians we have elected. Nothing would do us more good now, there is nothing we would more like to hear, than a forthright demand that we get off our asses and get to work. If we thought the country needed us (if we thought we needed ourselves) that alone would be a great shot in the arm.

A.W.

Memorandum to Senator George McGovern:

The New York Campaign

Everyone agrees that New York is a special place. The political meaning of that phrase used to be that New York was uniquely liberal, advanced, Democratic. The realistic political meaning today is that New York is uniquely radical and conservative, and alienated from the Democratic party; and that New York well may be the major industrial state now most favorable to President Nixon and least favorable to you. As of today:

---You are aligned only with a small segment of the people you need;

---Voters and leaders you must have (particularly Catholics and Jews) are profoundly alienated and actively opposed to you;

---The Republicans are mounting an enormously effective and lavishly financed (\$18 million) campaign to carry the State;

---Your campaign is being run here by the wrong people, on the wrong issues, to win the support of the wrong voters.

In short, without immediate and major changes, your New York campaign is headed straight for disaster. This memorandum will attempt to explain why and suggest an alternative strategy.

I. Basic New York Arithmetic. At the outset, let us set the equation straight. As I understand their statements, Wade and others begin with the 1968 Humphrey vote, and the kids, and come up with a big win. This is nonsense.

True, Humphrey did win the State with a bare 50%:

Humphrey (D-Liberal) . . . . .	3,378,470
Nixon (R) . . . . .	3,007,932
Wallace (AIP) . . . . .	358,864

Note that the Nixon-Wallace total is only 13,000 (.002%) short of Humphrey.



But the real equation begins to appear more correctly from the 1970 gubernatorial vote:

Goldberg (D-L) . . . . .	2,413,672
Rockefeller (R) . . . . .	3,128,261
Adams (Conservative) . . . . .	421,529

And even more sharply from the 1970 Senatorial:

Ottinger (D) . . . . .	2,124,303
Goodell (R-L) . . . . .	1,414,868
Buckley (C) . . . . .	2,217,047

What happened in 1970 is clear. Both Goldberg and Ottinger suffered massive defections--on the order of more than half a million votes--from the previous basic Democratic voters, for a swing of a million votes. These voters were overwhelmingly Roman Catholic, the Irish and Italians who answered yes with great fervor to Buckley's question "Isn't it about time we had a Senator?"

What I further believe to be true is that the basic Democratic vote in New York can no longer be held to include those voters who defected to Buckley and Rockefeller in 1970. At best, these represent a swing vote, which must be assiduously and heavily wooed.

To this difficult picture must be added the further complication of the Jews. Every percentage point of the Jewish vote represents 21,400 votes, leaving for later the intricacies of the interlinked reasons for defections from widely disparate Jewish voting groups, I have spoken to no one who does not think that at this time Nixon would get at least one-third of the Jewish vote. (One of the very most important Jewish leaders, Rabbi Morris Sherer, whose name is unknown to your New York people, says it could go as high as half). But even at one-third, the arithmetic is: Nixon got 17 percent in 1968. If he doubles that now, the swing - one vote lost plus one vote gained for Nixon--represents a difference of 725,000 votes from 1968, and about 500,000 votes from 1970.

Moreover, Nixon will this time have the Conservative line to absorb, inter alia, the 1968 Wallace vote. So: assuming the impossibly favorable 1968 vote as a base, you are down 700,000 votes, without allowing for 1) the kids or 2) Catholic defections from 1968. Assuming the 1970 vote as a base, allowing for the Buckley Catholics, and the 1972 Jews (but without counting the kids), you would now be down about 1.7 million votes.



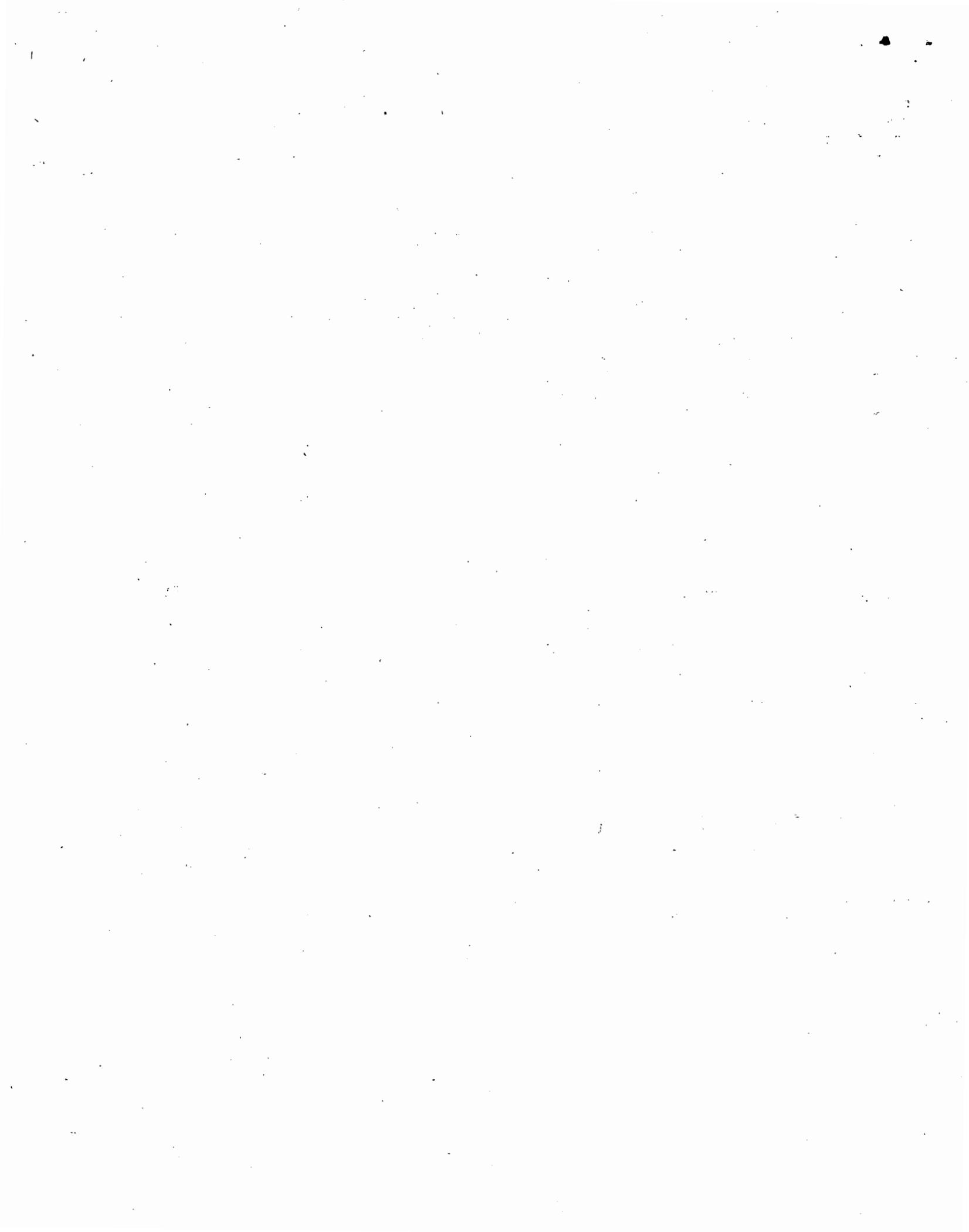
This deficit cannot be made up by youth, blacks, etc. You will hear a lot of promises about registration drives. Do not believe them. Despite massive efforts over a decade for registration of the blacks and Puerto Ricans who represent an increasing percentage of the New York population, the New York Presidential vote has been going down: From 7.28 million in 1960, to 7.16 million in 1964, to 6.75 million in 1968. In 1964, Robert Kennedy's massive registration effort netted 100,000 new voters. In 1970, even with Basil Patterson on the ticket, blacks were totally apathetic about voting, and that is not likely to change this year. The problem is that the ghettos--Harlem and the South Bronx and Bedford Stuyvesant, and their counterparts all over the State--have become so disorganized, their social fabric has disintegrated to such an extent, that as the old church-going voters die off they are being replaced in the population by young bloods and foxes who have not the faintest trace of a connection with the political system. The older vote, moreover has been thoroughly infiltrated by Rockefeller: for example Wyatt Tee Walker, the closest New York collaborator of Martin Luther King, is Rocky's Urban Affairs Advisor, and the mortgage on his church (as do many others) comes from the Chase Manhattan Bank.

As to the potential first-time voters, there may be two million in the state. But of these, I would guess at least one-third are black and Puerto Rican; less than 25 percent of them will vote, so we are down at best to 1.5 million. Even if 80 percent of the remainder register and vote, that is all told only 1.3 million; and of these, the Buckley kids and disaffected militant Jewish youth (let alone the upstate Republicans) will make up, conservatively, one-third. That leaves you at most with a margin of 400,000, possibly 500,000, from the first-time voters. It is important, even vital. It is not enough.

But New York can be won. The point of this is not to write off the state as irretrievably lost. Rather it is to urge the necessity of the drastic changes in emphasis, issues and personnel that I believe must be made if it is to be carried this fall.

II. What New York is About. There can be no better place to begin than with the Almanac of American Politics:

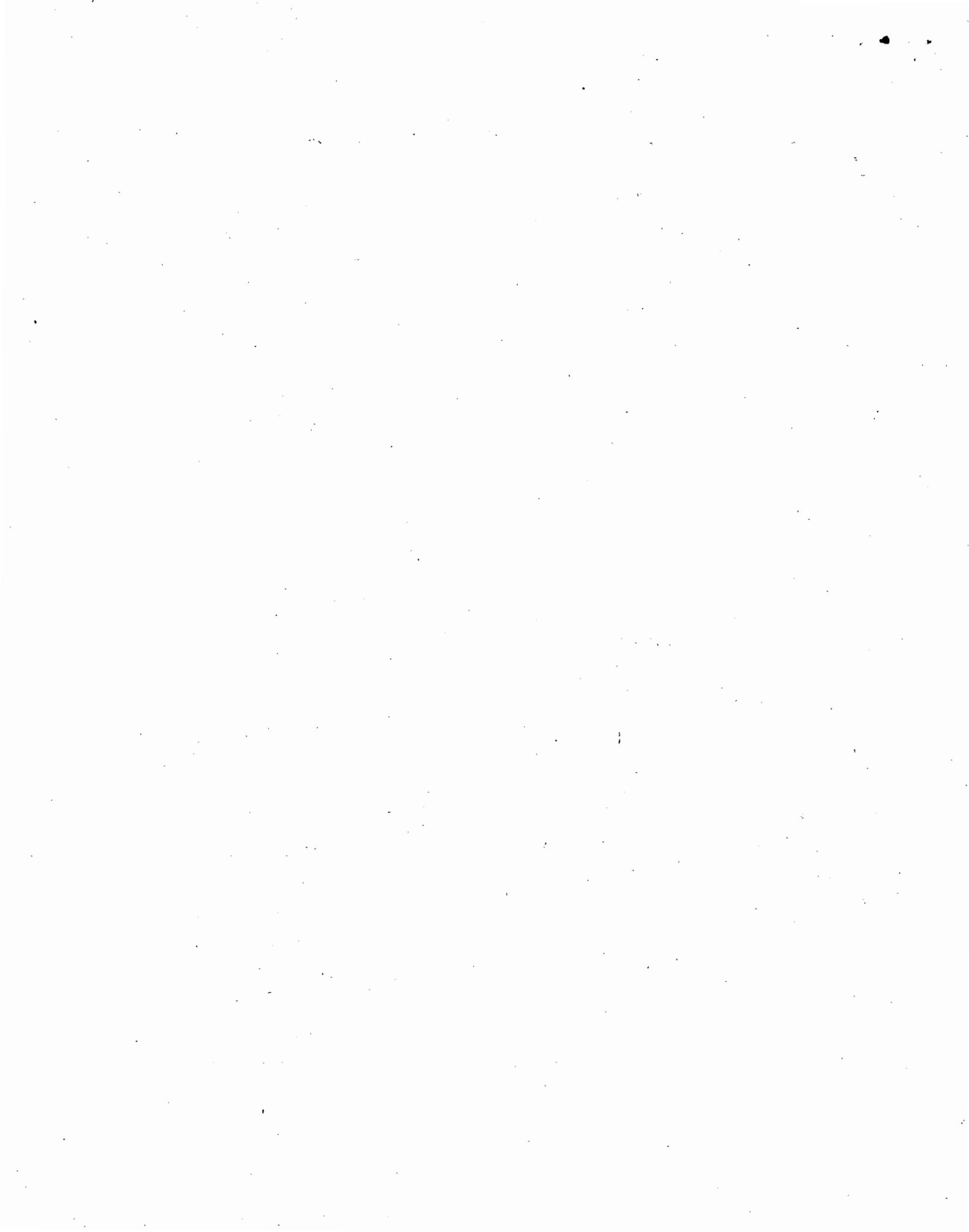
"In political discourse, 'New York' is shorthand for the 'Eastern liberal establishment' and for all the hopes and fears that the word 'liberal' conjures up. But New York is not as liberal as all that.



In 1969, the idea of a U.S. Senator from this state out of the Conservative party was laughable. It is not so today. And even the 1968 election results should have made the pundits question New York's political image. Humphrey's margin in that election looks impressive in raw figures--378,800 votes--but in percentage terms it was smaller than his margins in Massachusetts, Michigan and Minnesota. Humphrey bested Nixon in the state by 7%.

Political analysts commonly divide New York into three parts: New York City, which casts about 40% of the state's votes and which is usually heavily Democratic; the suburbs, with about 20% of the votes--a share that is slowly increasing; and Upstate, by itself larger than all but eight states, which casts the remaining 40%. But an understanding of the complex politics of the Empire State requires a look beneath the City-suburb-Upstate trichotomy at the fissures and currents which lie below. As in most states, political alignments in New York grew from the antipathies of successive waves of its immigrants. Alexander Hamilton's Federalists opposed the rule of the Dutch Patroons, and the new-rich and the would-be rich of Aaron Burr's National Republican party challenged the hegemony of Hamilton's merchants and bankers. Later, when the Irish arrived and found the WASPs in control of the Whig party, the immigrants became Democrats and soon came to dominate the party. Later arrivals--the Italians, for example--tended to be more Republican than the Irish, since the Irish did not go out of their way to welcome them into the Democratic party. The most important ethnic antipathy, and one that continues to echo in various ways in New York politics to this day, was the one which developed between the Irish of Tammany Hall and the Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe.

As everyone knows, the Jewish immigrants and their descendants have been much more successful, given the standards used by our society to measure success, than any other American ethnic group. But as the Jews rose in economic and social status, they retained their liberal political attitudes: in most states, the Jewish vote is heavily Democratic. In New York--where nearly half of the nation's Jews live--the Jewish voters' mistrust of Democratic Tammany led to the creation of third parties during the



'30's and '40's; first the American Labor, then the Liberal party. With the third party on the ballot, one could vote for Roosevelt for president and for the anti-Tammany Republican LaGuardia for mayor. The power brokers of the Liberal party, primarily aging Jewish union leaders, skillfully used the promise of their line on the ballot to promote the nomination of liberal candidates by both major parties. Their most recent success was the reelection of Mayor Lindsay in 1969 on the Liberal line of the ballot after he had lost the Republican primary.

The same attitudes that led to the formation of the Liberal party explain the election of liberal Republicans like Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and Sens. Irving Ives, Kenneth Keating and Jacob Javits. Up through the mid-'60's, Rockefeller and the others built on the traditional Republican voting base and won over Democrats who voted for the national ticket but were disgusted with the local Democratic machines. The Republicans were aided by the ineptitude and hamhandedness of Democratic leaders like Carmine De Sapio of Manhattan and Congressman Charles A. Buckley of the Bronx.

This pattern began to break up in the '60's. In 1962 the Conservative party fielded its first slate of candidates; its objective was to force Rockefeller and other Republicans either more to the right or out of office. Conservative party leaders were surprised when most of their votes came not from traditionally conservative Upstate, but from Brooklyn, Queens, and the Bronx; from ancestral Democrats upset with what they saw as the consequences of liberal policies.

Another development was scarcely noticed, coming as it did in the year of the massive and well-publicized LBJ landslide. That was the election of Sen. Robert F. Kennedy in 1964. Most observers were unimpressed by Kennedy's margin--almost twice as large as his brother's four years earlier--and attributed the younger Kennedy's showing to Johnson's coattails. They pointed out that Kennedy had suffered severe defection from upper-income liberals, particularly in Manhattan; these liberals resented what they saw as a Massachusetts carpetbagger running in New York and were also upset because Kennedy was nominated with the approval of Democratic party bosses. What the pundits missed was Kennedy's strong showing among the lower-income, predominantly Catholic

voters of the outer boroughs of New York City, and his strength in the Upstate cities of Buffalo, Syracuse, Utica and Albany. In many such working-class areas, Kennedy ran even with Johnson, and there is no reason to believe that these voters were not perfectly capable of splitting their tickets. In the end, Kennedy lost the intellectuals and a significant percentage of the Jews, but he forged a new, populist coalition of blacks, Puerto Ricans, and white Catholics. Many of the white Catholics would later vote for Buckley and support the Conservative party.

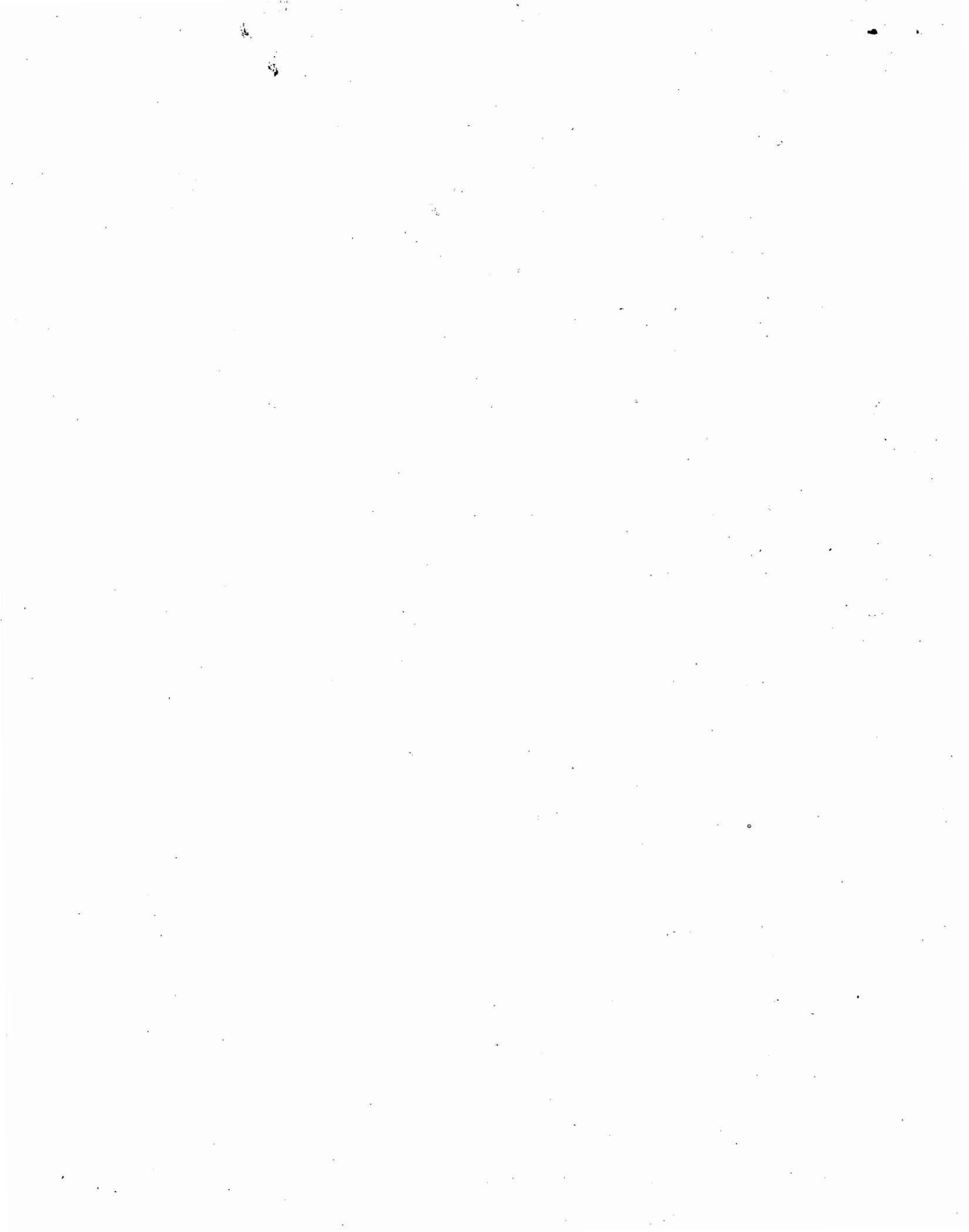
The press, however, was more interested in the coalition assembled by Mayor John V. Lindsay. In 1965, and then again to an even greater extent in 1969, Lindsay won the overwhelming support of affluent liberals in Manhattan and large margins in black and Puerto Rican areas. In both elections he won with less than a majority and lost the four boroughs outside Manhattan. But many found his victories quite satisfactory. These victories took City Hall patronage away from the Democratic machines and also made him a possible presidential candidate. Only in New York could a 42%-mayor be considered a promising presidential vote-getter, Democrat or Republican. The campaign in 1969, during which Lindsay was called a 'limousine liberal', shows the extent to which cultural differences have replaced ethnic origins as the basis of the City's political alignments; the Beautiful People (and their poor allies) versus the dutiful people; Manhattan versus Queens; radical chic versus Joe. The battlelines were set for the 1970 Senatorial election.

'Isn't it time we had a Senator?' was the way James Buckley's signs asked the question. 'We' was the people who voted for Nixon but, with the success of the Liberal party, never had the chance to vote for a senator with similar views. 'We' are the blue-collar workers, service employees, and civil servants who live in heavily mortgaged houses in Queens and Staten Island, struggling with high taxes and New York's outrageous cost of living--people, therefore, with little patience for the 'welfare chiseler' and with the City's poor generally. 'We' was disgusted by Leonard Bernstein's party for some of the City's Black Panthers.

Goodell's strategy was modeled after Lindsay's, and had produced victories for the state's liberal Republicans. He expected to hold the normal Republican vote and win a plurality by attracting the antiwar support of both whites and blacks. The strategy didn't work. President Nixon and the increasingly conservative Gov. Rockefeller gave covert support to Buckley, whose views, after all, were far closer to theirs than Goodell's. Vice-President Agnew then attended a Buckley dinner in New York City. But even before these signals went out, Goodell's Republican support had collapsed; he ran third, usually a poor third, in every published poll. As it turned out, Goodell got only 29% of the votes Upstate--down from Sen. Javits' 54% in 1968--and only 17% in the New York City suburbs--down from Javits' 52%. The weakness of the old liberal Republican strategy came to the surface; most of the votes such candidates received were cast by people who did not share their views on the issues. Eventually, voters began to wonder when 'we' are going to have a sen Most Upstate WASP Republicans stayed with Goodell, but the switch to Buckley was massive among Upstate Catholic Republicans.

The candidate of the Conservative party ran best among Catholic voters, who probably cast a solid majority of his 39% plurality. He was especially strong in Suffolk County, one of the two to give him an absolute majority. Suffolk, at the eastern end of Long Island, is the fastest-growing part of the state--up from 666,000 to 1.3 during the '60's. This is where thousands of middle-class families from Queens and Brooklyn have settled in what are, by any comparison to the City bucolic suburbs. Buckley's strength among the Catholics paralleled that of Gov. Rockefeller's. In 1970, the increasingly conservative governor lost out the City votes he needed to win in the Catholic areas of Queens and Brooklyn rather than in the liberal precincts of Manhattan, which is where he got votes in 1966.

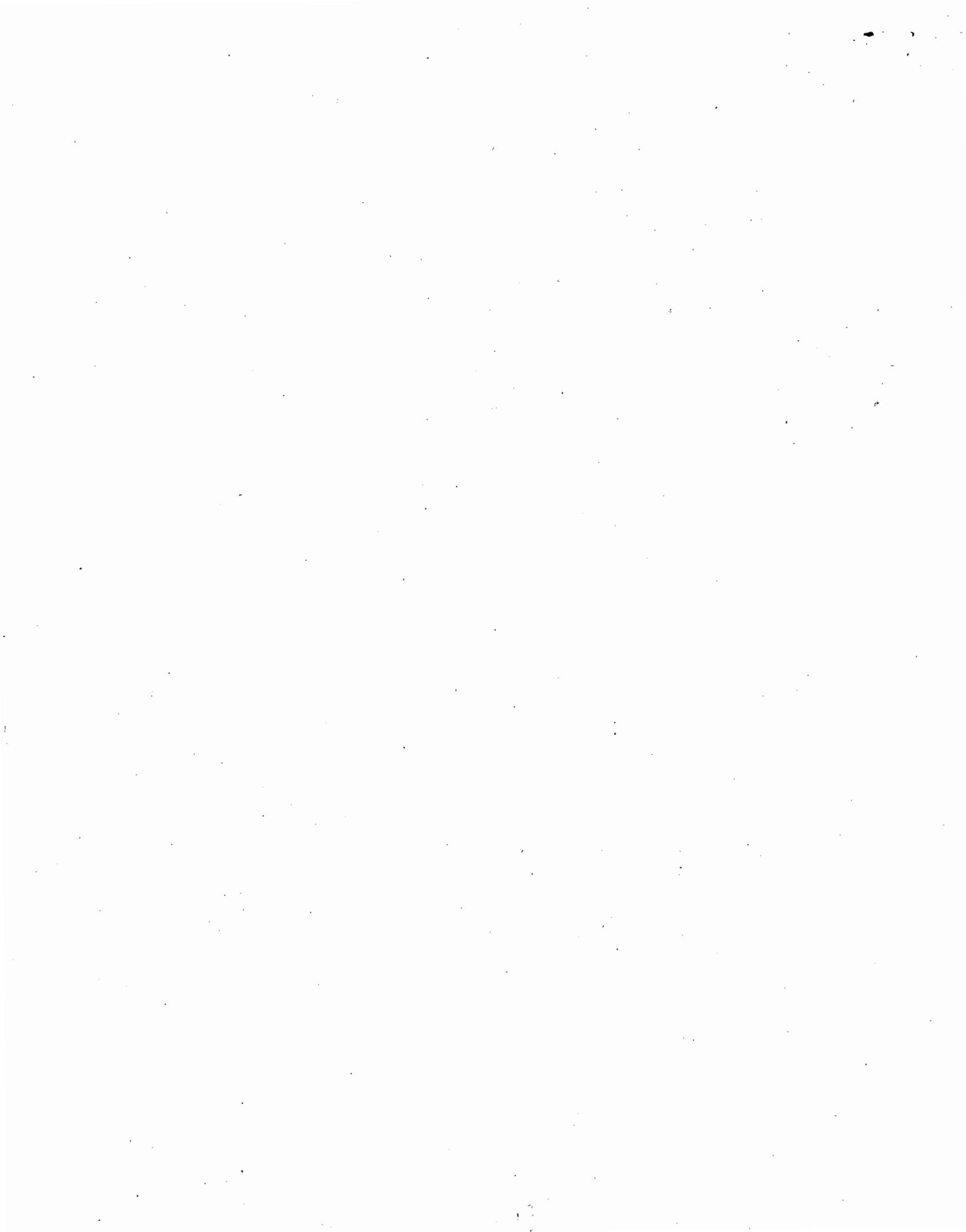
Columnist Kevin Phillips has claimed that growing conservatism of New York's Catholics is a harbinger of a nationwide trend. But Phillips'



dition is only typical of a kind of New York parochialism that assumes anything that happens here will soon happen everywhere else. In this case, it probably won't. The peculiarities of politics in New York explain why the state's Catholics vote conservative. In Massachusetts, Sen. Edward Kennedy is the man in the state's politics; Kennedy is very popular with the Catholic voters in Massachusetts and the Catholic vote there has become increasingly liberal in recent years. In metropolitan New York, Mayor Lindsay is the politician who gets the publicity. His name is mud in most Catholic neighborhoods and the City's Catholic vote has grown conservative. Political allegiance is a badge of cultural style in New York, and so long as liberal politics remain a plaything of the rich, liberal politicians will have a tough time winning elections in places like Suffolk County, Queens, and the blue-collar suburbs of Utica. In states where there is not such a voluble liberal elite, there is less likely to be a conservative reaction."

To this excellent summary, I would add the following:

A. New York politics are a jungle. Past campaigns here have tended to be run less for the benefit of the candidate than for the future political advantage of those who are "supporting" him. State-wide and national candidacies are often viewed as clubs with which the various factions and individuals can beat their opponents within the party. Certainly there was alot of that during the primary: for example, a state Committeewoman from Westchester opened your first headquarters in the county with her own money; the NDC "reformers" ran against her for State Committee on the grounds that they were the McGovern supporters, (I) and ran the campaign against her out of the McGovern headquarters for which she had first paid. I do not regard the Brooklyn or Manhattan activities as basically different. More important, there is some evidence that the same personal emphasis may be carrying over into the general election; I note, for example, a Times story that some of the people here would like you to do a poll on public attitudes toward Rockefeller. In 1960, Robert Kennedy acquired a reputation for ruthlessness by telling Eleanor Roosevelt and Co. "I don't give a damn whether the reform movement survives after November, and I don't care whether you survive after November. I just want to elect my brother President." You need that kind of friend here.



B. The Jews are not so liberal any more.

Jewish success in New York--their dominance in the arts, professions, business--conceals the fact that the Jewish community is sharply separated by classes and consciousness. Beyond the liberal-professional prototype, there are, far more numerous, the aged Jewish poor and lower middle class, candy-store owners and cabdrivers, civil servants and teachers, active and retired; small professionals, accountants and traffic-court lawyers; and there are the unassimilated Orthodox, who tend to work at particular trades like the diamond market. Except for the liberal-professionals, Jews in New York have felt particularly threatened by the rise of the blacks: the last decade has seen more and more Jewish neighborhoods--the Grand Concourse, Williamsburg, Borough Park--pushed by blacks, then invaded, finally overrun by black poverty, black crime, black violence. The Harlem merchants whose stores were burnt out and burglarized in the riots were largely Jewish; the school teachers who felt the sharp edge of black demands on the school system--demands for relaxed discipline, for abandoning merit promotion tests, for community control, for black hiring quotas--were largely Jewish; the ugliness and violence of the great school strike fell most harshly on Jews (though typically for New York, it was the power play of a Jew, Albert Shanker, that was primarily responsible for the racial and anti-Semitic content of that strike).

It is no news that many Jews have a persecution complex; it would be unfair to call it paranoia, since nearly every Jewish family in New York had some relative who perished in the Holocaust, and many have barely escaped it themselves. In the 1960's, under the blind benevolent gaze of John Lindsay, that dormant persecution complex turned into living fear. It was worse because many Jews resented what they saw as ingratitude for the bountiful help of Jews who were for so long in the forefront of the effort for social reform. And the Jews, with their passion for and belief in the written Word, took all too seriously the genocidal ravings of the most wildly possessed of the black rhetoricians. (Allow me to assure you that the presence at Miami Beach of Imamu Baraka, the former LeRoi Jones, will cost you some substantial number of votes in New York this fall.)

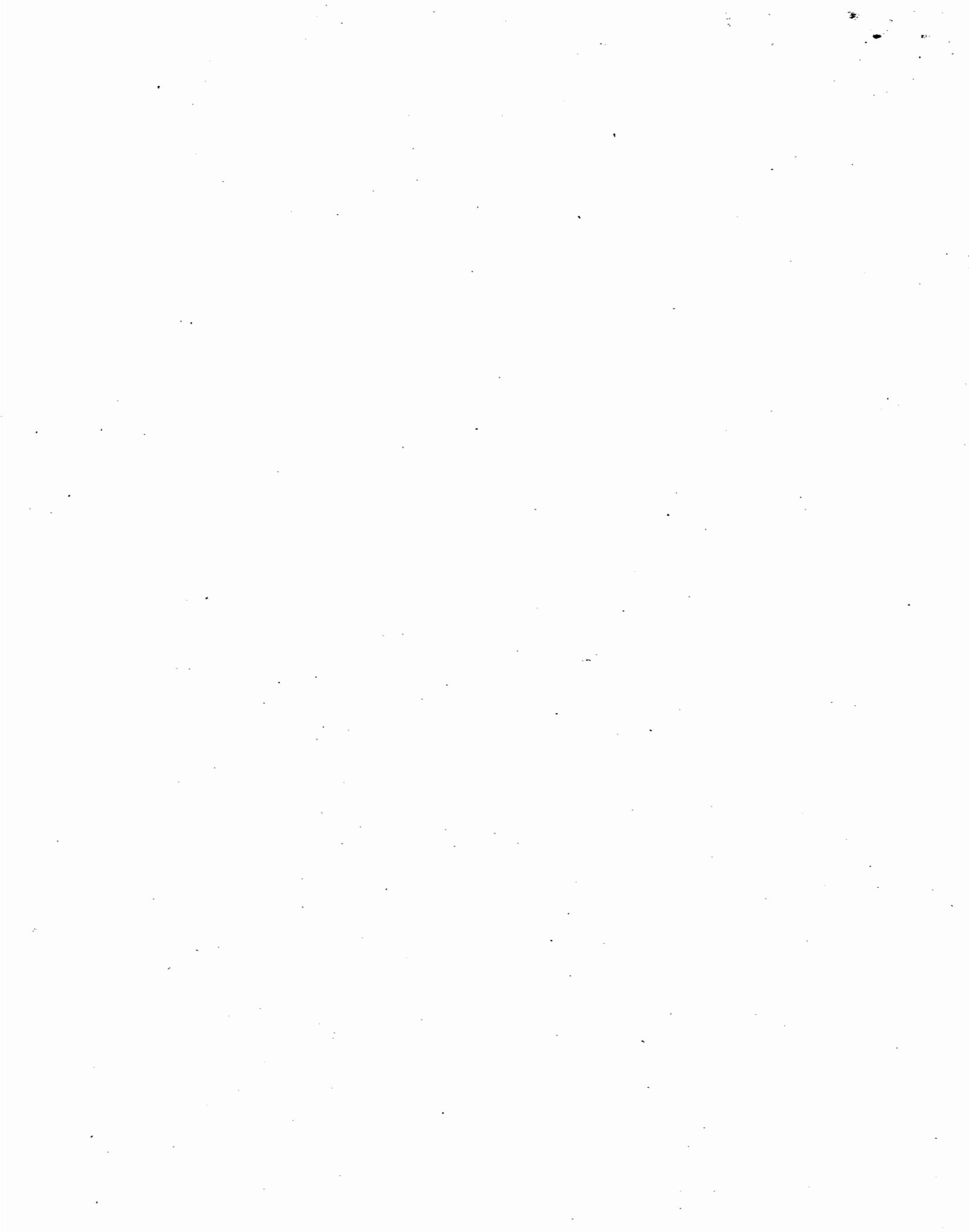
The upshot of all this--the pressure on neighborhoods and jobs, the crime and violent rhetoric--is that

Jews in New York are now substantially and actively hostile to black demands. Jewish kids, of course, or many of them, continue in the vanguard of the "revolutionary" movements, left alone the reform wing of the Democratic party. But their parents, and the less affluent of the kids--those you never see at NDC meetings, but do see whenever the JDL holds one of its demonstrations--are increasingly conservative, even reactionary.

It is in this perspective, moreover, that the otherwise inexplicable concern over Israel must be evaluated. Israel is more than the ultimate sanctuary, the one place on earth that is really safe. It is also the sole and single evidence that Jews are not always pushovers for physical violence. Cripple Israel, leave her again at the mercy (even hypothetical) of her enemies, and every Jew in America is back where he was before 1967; a survivor, a hanger-on, ready for the ovens whenever the kvoim decide to let the blacks have their fun. The Israel issue increases in volatility in direct proportion, not only to what Anwar Sadat or the PFLP do, but also in proportion to what Jesse Gray and Sonny Carson and Brooklyn COKE say and do.

This is not Portnoy's Complaint. It is the very stuff and substance of Jewish life in New York City today. And that is why you are having such difficulty with the Jewish vote here. It is not only Israel, though that is terribly important. It is the fact that you do not appear to Jews as a figure who has heard the crazies say that killing a shopkeeper is a revolutionary political act, or as a man who would draw the line against such people on the inevitable day when they decide to kill all the Jews, or even on the day, every day, when one or two of them decide to rob one or two Jewish stores, or beat up one or two Jewish teachers.

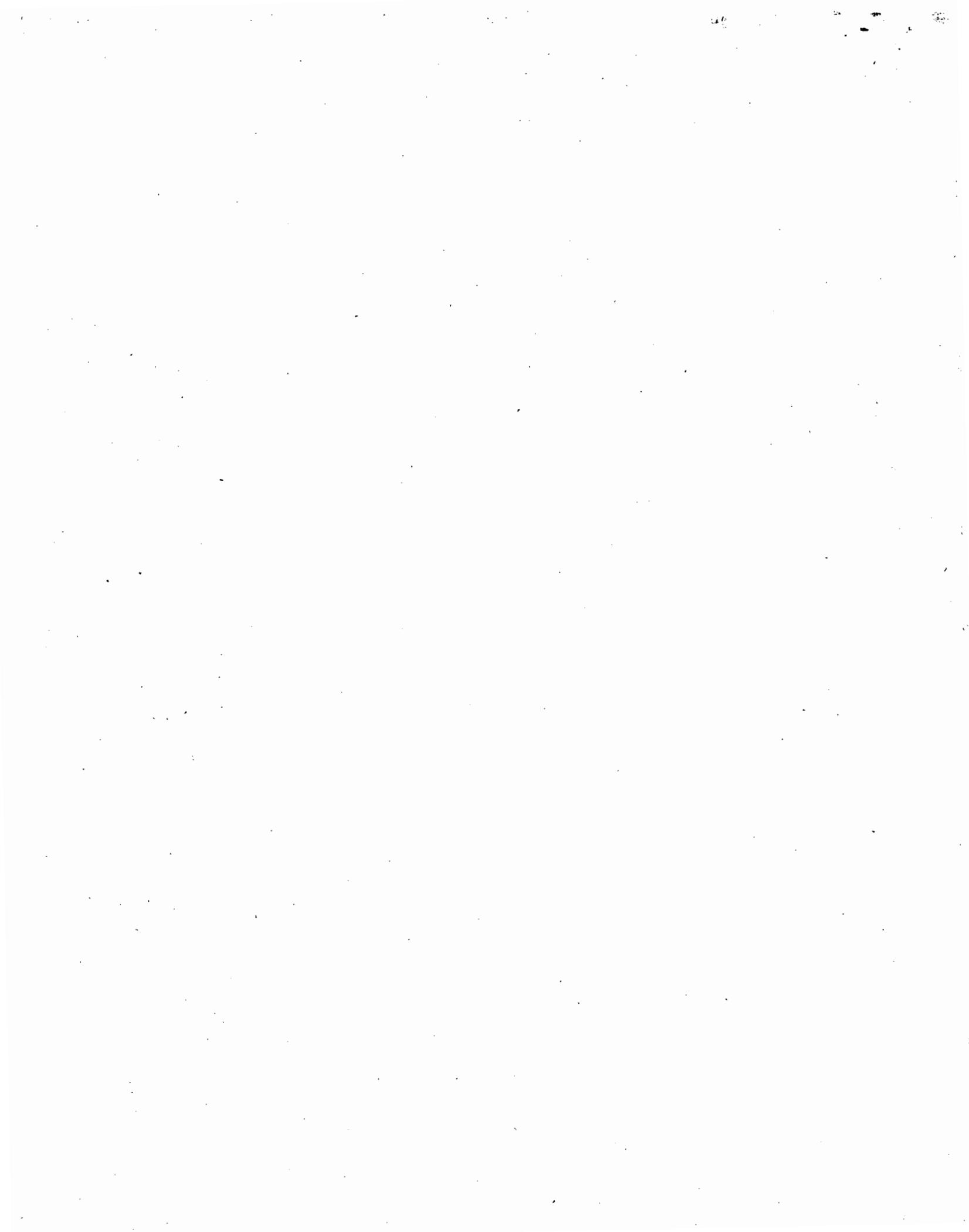
In this connection, it is terribly destructive to your chances to be identified primarily with Jews like Bella Abzug or Al Lowenstein. Much as I like both of them, the fact is that neither one could buy an election in an older Jewish neighborhood: Al himself will tell you that he lost the Hasidic vote to John Rooney by overwhelming margins. It is even more destructive to talk about quota systems for employment in the federal government, or in the judiciary. Jews in New



York, within their own lifetimes, have struggled for years to break free of the quota systems that sharply limited their access to elite medical schools, law schools, law firms, Wall Street. One of the things they most resent about Lindsay is the special treatment they think he gives blacks-- quota systems for the "unqualified" that keep their children out of universities and jobs. Now-- just as the last bars are starting to come down -- you cannot tell them that the quota system is again to be invoked, this time by the federal government, to deny them the fruits of their long labors, and on behalf of people whom many Jews feel have never attempted the self-help that was the only ladder for Jewish success.

What this all boils down to, I suppose, is sensitivity: Jews want to feel about a politician, above all, that he understands, that he cares, that he will help. They know there are not many Jews in South Dakota. They know that at times, your statements on Israel have seemed to them insensitive, not understanding, of their problems (is it true that you co-sponsored a bill of Proxmire's that would have removed the charitable deduction for the BJA?) And they are acutely aware that while you have promised a Supreme Court seat to a Mexican-American, and another to a black, you have said nothing about reinstating the long line, running from Cardozo to Brandeis to Frankfurter to Goldberg (to Fortas), of the Jewish seat on the Court, the line that was finally broken by Richard Nixon.

Then, of course, there is the tax plan. About that, more later: here it is sufficient to note that Jewish money tends, far more than WASP or even Irish money, to be new money, made in the last ten years. It is therefore less secure, both psychologically and actually: when business goes down, these people can lose everything. More important, the plan as thus far put forward would not really humble the great WASP fortunes, but would hit hardest at the professionals and business men whose money must be made over again every year. So the Jews see it hitting directly at them: not only at their pocketbooks (the BJA and the temple hit those hard enough), but at their entire position, at the heavily mortgaged houses in Westchester and Nassau, at their children's college educations that cost them thousands every year, at their very ability to escape the constant conflict and tension and fear of



the City neighborhoods from which they came.

And all of this is unnecessary. There is absolutely no reason why you should not be strongly, firmly, against crime, in a way that makes it clear that people will be safe. There is no reason why you should not support the principle that hard work deserves reward, no reason to let Tobin and the rest of the economic generals put their Eat of Figs plans on the Op-Ed page of the Times. There is no reason why you should not stick it to Nixon for replacing that great line of jurists with a Warren Burger, and suggesting that the Jewish tradition will be revived. The Jews know that Richard Nixon is not their friend. They suspect that he is an anti-Semite from way back. But they are beginning to think that he at least sees his political advantage with them, while you--they are not sure. In the last analysis, these are people whose parents, and often they themselves, busted their backs and ate a considerable amount of WASP shit to achieve a precarious comfort. If you, particularly as a WASP, whose political clout comes from an antiwar movement they did so much to organize and finance--if you take this comfort away, you not only frighten them, in their eyes you have betrayed them. And consider this. You reacted quite strongly, and justifiably so, to the California challenge--"changing the rules after the game has been played". When your positions, particularly the tax-and-welfare plans, are put to the Jews (and others, see infra), they regard these as "changing the rules after the game has been played." They suffered discrimination; they worked to overcome it; they have achieved success through the system. So when the intellectual economists propose to take the fruits of that game, or the government jobs and judgeships, from the winners, and hand them over to those who disdain even to enter the game--well, they think that about as legitimate as you thought the Credentials Committee. The next time you go into a temple, think of Patricia Roberts Harris.

C. The Ethnic blue collar. No one really knows how much of the New York vote is "ethnic." The census counts foreign stock only to the second generation; so it says that New York is only three percent Irish, when Irish names are at least 20 percent, perhaps more, of any New York telephone directory. "Ethnic" in any case is mostly a matter of consciousness. The stockbroker in the New York Athletic club is unlikely to be as Irish as a fireman; but he may be more so than a college student, or an ironworker with long hair tied in a bun. And the ethnic consciousness of all three is likely to be less than that of an Italian restaurateur or civil servant, or of an old Ukrainian on the lower East Side.

But if there is as much variety to ethnics as there is to any other part of the population, it is still true that a substantial part of New York's electorate seems to practice its politics by reference to a set of beliefs and concerns more or less directly related to its ethnic origins, in particular to its Catholic religion. It will react in different proportions according to the issue or personalities at a stake: thus a vast majority of Catholics voted against Lindsay in 1969, and at least half seem to have voted for Buckley in 1970; while only a minority, albeit a vociferous one, joined in the Right-to-Life movement of 1972. As to the issues of this campaign, however, the possible reactions of New York Catholics are reasonably predictable.

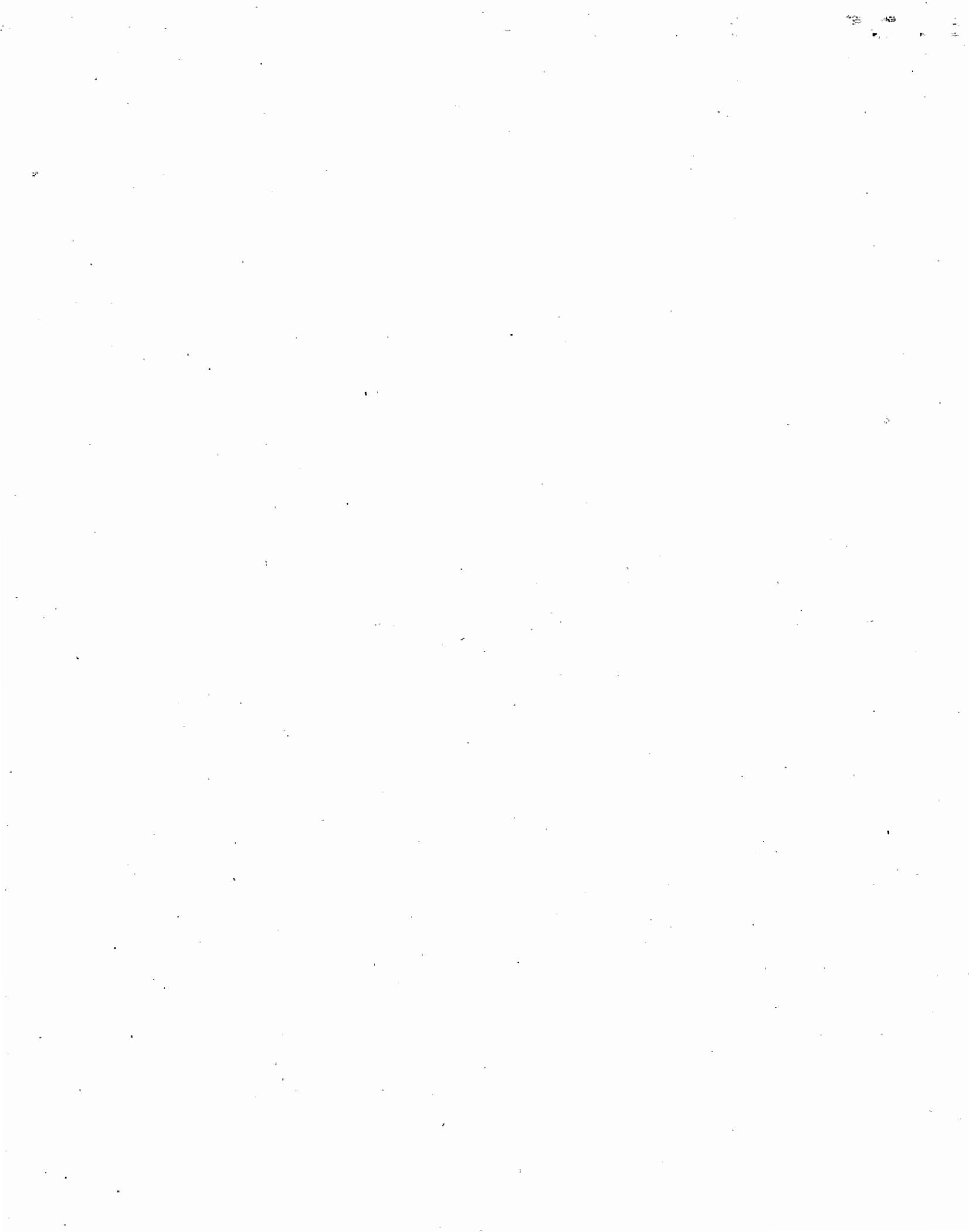
At the outset, it must be borne in mind that to win statewide, a Democrat must have a substantial majority of the Catholic vote. (Lindsay in 1969 is no exception: a split of the Catholic vote between two other candidates allowed him to "win" with 42 percent of the total City vote. On a statewide basis, with the upstate WASP republicans voting, anything like an even split of the downstate Catholic vote defeats a Democrat.)

1. Eurocrats. By and large, Catholics in New York (save only the Puerto Ricans, who must be treated separately) have the same feelings as Jews about "changing the rules of the game after we have played it." The only difference might be that Catholic ambitions, particularly among Italians and Poles, have been on the whole lower than Jewish ambitions; they have been willing to settle for less, and therefore have gotten less -- less prominence in the professions and arts, less domination in politics,

lower places in the civil service. They have worked hard, terribly hard, in upstate factories, as small shopkeepers and laborers downstate. Thus they view with a special resentment, probably even sharper than that of Jews, the black and Puerto Rican poverty and welfare programs.

Nor does it do any good, with these groups, to say that you will give them the same welfare you give the blacks. In the first place, their answer to New York's incredible cost of living (the Department of Labor says that \$12,000 is a "moderate" standard of living here) has been to work two and three jobs per couple. Roughly half of all white families in the metropolitan area have family incomes over \$12,000 (59.4 percent over \$10,000), and 70 percent of all these \$12,000-up families reach that level only because the wife works. They intend to go on working and making more, to get just a little bit ahead of the rat race: they do not intend, now or in the future, to pay increasing taxes in order that families who do not work at all should get four or five thousand a year from the government. In the second place, we are talking about people whose single pride is that they do work, that they are not dependent on our favors. They resent any suggestion from upper-class liberals that they should need or want money from the government, (outside of "earned" subsidies like social security) and if the receipt of that money puts them in the same class as the welfare blacks -- well, forget it. Some may think them benighted. I must admit that I find such wilful independence rather appealing.

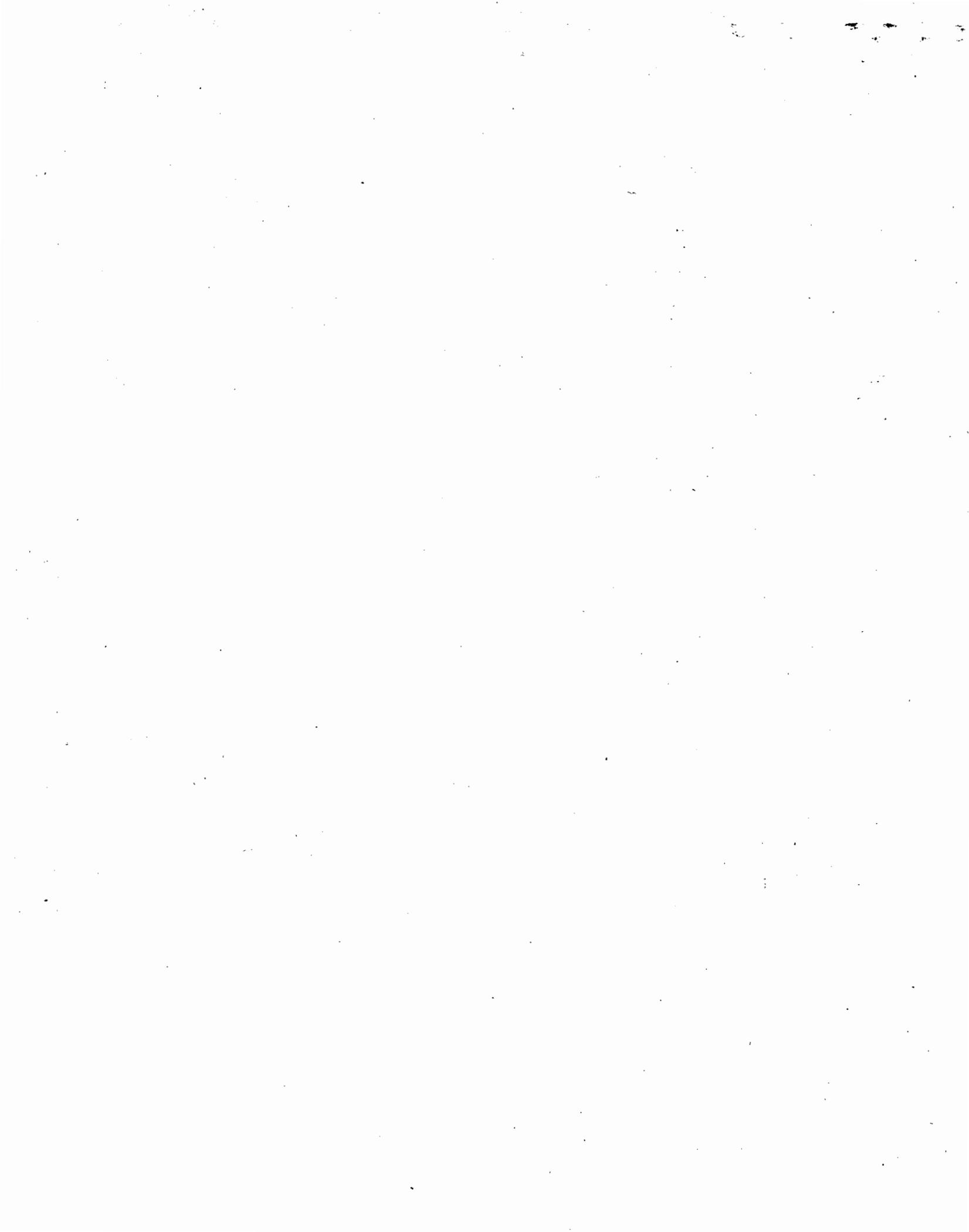
2. The Social Issues. Nationally, Seaman and Wattenberg may be totally false prophets. In New York I am not sure. Over these last few years, New York has been like a battleground, with effects on morale almost as destructive as in Vietnam. Crime here is not a "social issue": it is life and death. Last week, there were 57 homicides in New York City; there were 810 in the first six months of 1972. People are killed by junkies, or because they are junkies; 85-year old grandmothers are killed for pennies, and an 18-month old baby is thrown out of a window. It often does no good to hand over your money on the street; the muggers will knife you anyway. Like it or not, this crime is perceived as predominantly black and Puerto Rican crime; and like it or not, it is. The police, DAs and courts are thoroughly corrupt (that is one reason why there is so much dope on the streets),



and no one -- from the most secluded parts of Riverdale or Douglaston to the meanest streets in Brownsville or East Harlem or the South Bronx or Bedford-Stuyvesant -- feels safe. And beyond crime is a variant: social disorder, here interpreted as that disturbing activity which falls short of being indictable crime, or which the police treat as such. This is students disrupting schools, besting up other students and teachers; it is surgeons (including a black head of surgery) quitting Lincoln hospital because, they say, their surgery is constantly invaded by their patients' assailants, trying to finish the job. It is the many community meetings invaded by the frustrated poor and by "community" politicians who make their reputation by baiting officials (who are often not very good at coping). It is the constant parade of angry faces across the evening news screens, shouting bitterness and hate.

Indeed, crime and safety here have gone almost beyond a political issue, since no amount of position papers from liberal politicians seem to convince people that the liberals are really opposed to crime, or that they really intend to do something about it. The issue is by now attitudinal: to be for helping blacks is to be for crime; and vice versa. Therefore anyone who wants the anticrime vote in New York must, at some point in his campaign, find a way to say no to some blacks about something, anything. Considering the mad range of demands from various black "spokesmen"--demands that have little or nothing to do with the just, overdue, and eminently reasonable demands of the vast majority of black people -- it should not be hard to find some way to refuse some demand put forward by some black. It is the liberals' inability to do this, on any issue, that has done so much to convince people that the liberals are hopelessly phony.

(Just some well-meaning soul interpret all this as anti-black poison, let me hasten to add that anyone who has a few black friends in New York, or spends more than a few minutes listening to black New Yorkers, knows that they are the deepest victims of crime in the city, and the most desperate that something be done about it. Whatever crime has meant to whites, for blacks it is a savage nightmare that never ends, with every day the day that your 12-year-old may get hooked on heroin, or thrown off a rooftop. Nearly everyone in Harlem who has something



material to protect, is carrying a gun or knife to protect it with. Once they thought black cops were the answer; the black cops learned to steal and push heroin just like the white ones. (At least 21 out of the 27 members of the PEP squad, a special black and Puerto Rican anti-drug unit, were found to be protecting or participating in the heroin trade.) The despair, the community disorganization, the destruction of young lives -- it is impossible to be too apocalyptic. The best thing that could happen to the black community, almost anyone but a liberal-hustler will tell you, would be to reinstitute the death penalty for drug dealers, and make it mandatory. That will also, incidentally, win more votes in Harlem than any welfare plan.)

Beyond crime and disorder are other social issues, some of particular relevance to Catholics. There is no point to detailing all the arguments on abortion, amnesty, "permissiveness" etc. What must be grasped, though that seems especially difficult for New York reformers to do, is that these people also have a moral sense. They are not against abortion because the Pope sent them a telegram; rather, just as we believe ourselves responsible for the slaughter that takes place in our name and with our money in Vietnam, they feel themselves responsible for killing babies in New York. Just as we feel it wrong not to offer some amnesty to draft evaders, they feel it morally wrong at the least not to demand something in return for their escape from Vietnam or jail.

The point is not to argue that you should change your positions on these issues. It is to help you understand that for a decade in New York, the entire thrust of the reform movement has been to suggest that these people are pigs, without moral sensibility or intelligence, people who may perhaps be allowed to vote for our candidates, but are not permitted to have candidates of their own. Procaccino was derided (1969 liberal joke: "Italians may not be an inferior race, but they give the best imitation of one I've ever seen"); Buckley was greeted as the Antichrist. In 1969, the Jews and Liberals (who always talk about the sovereignty of the people) ran out on Procaccino, who after all won the primary; the lesson, as 1970 showed, was not lost on people who had always voted regular Democratic.

For seven years, the liberal-professional-Jewish-intellectuals have spit in the eye of every conservative Catholic Democrat in New York. In all that time, there has not been one, not one, manifestation of concern for these people, not one suggestion that any government program should be run for the benefit of anyone but blacks and Puerto Ricans. There has not been a single item on the liberal agenda that related to Catholics in any serious way. Aid to their schools is not only unconstitutional, it is the work of a conspiracy operating out of the chancery, and there are banquets at which liberal Jews celebrate their judicial victories. Abortion is more than a woman's right, and never a question even ambiguous; it too is a moral crusade, as are the Panthers and the Young Lords, indistinguishable in their moral necessity (for that is the way New York liberals operate) from the war in Vietnam.

So ten pieces of advice, as strong as they can be.

First, find something (other than a welfare plan they don't want) that shows you understand and care about the Catholic vote and the Catholic voter. Aid to parochial schools would do. It would also help immensely just to recognize that their positions also are moral, that the differences are sincere. I realize that moral absolutism is not your style. The point is that as of now, you are carrying your supporters' history and freight.

Second, keep your New York campaign out of the hands of the NDC. I was a founder of that national organization. It has done some remarkable work, particularly in the 1969 Moratorium, and in your campaign nationally. But for winning statewide elections in New York, it is like muscular dystrophy. Nor should your New York campaign be run (at least out front) by a Jew or an intellectual (every reader please not that I am considered both), but by an Irishman: in my view, Matty is almost indispensable.

Third, if we must have quotas, how about quotas for the majority of Democratic voters--for Irish and Italians, for trade unionists, for small shopkeepers, for professionals, for teachers? And if we are going to give out Supreme Court appointments by race and religion, how about an Italian? There has never been one (nor do I know of an Italian in the Cabinet other than Tony Celebrezze); there are even a few who are demonstrably qualified.



Fourth, get on the job safety issue. Fred Dutton says you have not found this productive. I find this remarkable. The University of Michigan survey, the most comprehensive ever undertaken of workers and their jobs, shows this issue as the number one concern of production workers in the United States (see tables attached as Appendix A). It is true that it cannot be talked about in general: people are not yet informed enough to know how what you are talking about applies to them. But it can be talked about specifically, with reference to particular plants in every city in the state. The point is not that this issue by itself will turn anything or anybody around. But it is evidence at least that you are a larger and broader man than the parlor liberals who have been the basis of your campaign in New York thus far, that you at least understand something of the day-to-day problems of the workmen who are the bulk of the upstate Catholic vote, and a substantial part of the downstate. (Parenthetically, do not go to factories where management has you inside to shake hands. Go to the places where management will never let you in -- Bethlehem or Republic Steel in Buffalo, Phelps-Dodge in Long Island City. Stand outside and tell the workers you know about the crap inside.)

Fifth, revive the Second Chance. Any man now over the age of thirty-three was wholly bypassed by the revolution in the educational system of the last fifteen years. Nearly one-half of all high-school graduates now go on to some form of higher education; but when a man graduated in 1958 or earlier, out of the top fifth of all high school graduates, less than one third could afford to go to college. All that really counted was money. So when you talk to him about discrimination in education, he thinks not of the black or Puerto Rican, but of himself. Even today, he thinks of his own children, whose schools are often no better than the schools of the black ghetto whose condition we have all learned to deplore. In New York City, when the City University adopted an open-admissions policy, to admit free of charge not only the uniquely gifted but also the average student who could not afford to go to college elsewhere, seventy percent of the new "disadvantaged" entrants turned out to be white, predominantly the children of working-class Italian and Irish families.



But there are few programs like that elsewhere; there were fewer fifteen years ago; and there are no programs to reach the man who graduated from high school in 1958, to help him advance to the professions, to the good suburbs, to the real rewards of the society. So he faces the future, this young man, with thirty years of working life ahead of him: thirty years in which the educational requirements for economic and social advancement will rapidly grow beyond his wildest dreams; thirty years to go to the plant, and watch television; thirty years of "day that follows day, with death the only goal."

A second chance at that education could be an opportunity comparable to the GI Bill, for him and for the country. This is vital, moreover, not only for the millions of trapped individuals in New York; it is indispensable to the region's economic survival, for there are just not enough of the highly-trained and -educated graduates that are needed for its continuation as an economic capital.

Sixth, campaign personally for the Catholic vote, in the toughest places you can find: the Legion Halls and Holy Name Societies and Right-to-Life groups, in Queens and upstate. Of course, you cannot meet them all; the word will get around.

Seventh, I repeat my prayer that you can get rid of that welfare plan. (On the Tonight show Thursday, a bad comedian was reading letters from his fans. Biggest laugh: "P.S. If you see Senator McGovern, tell him I need my thousand dollars now.") One graceful way out would simply be to acknowledge that such a plan would cost too much to allow the full-employment program that is the first priority for the country. That seems at any rate to be the truth.

Eighth, go not whoring after Jewish votes on the Israel issue, despite your difficulties. The issue is now so well publicized that the Catholics will be watching disdainfully for every time you don a yarmulke. Deal with the Jews primarily through the domestic social issues noted earlier, which are also of general appeal and relevance to Catholics; and on Israel, wait for the breaks. Sadat's sending the Russians home probably did more to help you with the Jewish vote, by allaying some of the more immediate fears of Israel's annihilation, than anything you yourself could have done. Who knows -- the Arabs may solve your problem yet.

Ninth, recognize what party unity really means in New York. It does not mean unity between regular and reform organizations. Neither one can turn out the vote, as 1970 proved conclusively: Goldberg was the unity candidate. The regulars are a necessary but not sufficient element, simply out of symbolism; that is, the evil of kicking Esposito in the teeth is not that he is a regular, but that he is Italian. Unity in this state must be a unity of constituencies that now are separated from the entire Democratic party.

Tenth, open up the damn campaign. I cannot set down the list of the people who are not being asked in, people who could help, people who must help if any campaign is to be successful; it would go on forever. (I will tell you, however, that my name is clearly on that list). I sent in a man who could really be helpful with Catholics; he was told that you have no problem with Catholic voters and sent away with a flea in his ear. Even those who try are pissed on: Sam Meyers of the UAW busted his tail for you all over the state; he was passed over for a delegate slot, while Howard Samuels, a non-union employer, was on the list and decided, I gather, who else would be on it. In Miami, Sam was reduced to sitting in the Doral Coffee Shop muttering about Joe Grandmaison, whom he is convinced is another anti-union employer.

All of this may strike your bright young managers as hopelessly old-fashioned, ethnic and class politics. It happens to be the politics that wins New York. Winning primaries are irrelevant to November, and your primary campaign here, in November terms, was frightening. (Jack Newfield: "I've figured out what NDC stands for: November Don't Count") Just as I feared in the memorandum you did not see until too late, the campaign here utterly failed to attract or energize the great bulk of the Irish-Italian Catholic vote, either in Queens, in the New York suburbs, or upstate. You got a heavy majority -- of a 12.5 percent turnout. You carried Syracuse, for example -- but an entire Congressional district cast barely 6,000 votes. Because there was no significant opposition, and because all too many Democrats have so little connection with the party that they no longer bother to vote in its primaries, your totals looked impressive. Without bragging, because the general election made clear the true magnitude of my achievement, I won a contested statewide primary in 1970, by better than two-to-one, with a total vote of

over 600,000, on an expenditure of less than \$60,000. I lost the general election by a cool million votes. The people who voted against me in November had simply not bothered in June. Thus far, the evidence is that the same phenomenon is at work in 1972.

Other Reactive Forces. Without undue pessimism, realism dictates that you should know something of what will be campaigning against you for the next four months.

A. Rockefeller. The Governor has fully committed himself, for the first time in history, to a full-scale campaign for the Republican ticket. He has budgeted, for this state, \$12 million; he is perfectly capable of spending it all from his personal pocket. Perhaps more important, he commands what is in my judgment the most effective general election machinery in the United States.

Rockefeller knows how to spend his money. His media campaign will be obvious and impressive; but it will be only the tip of the iceberg. More money will go into computerized mail, special literature, and the like. More still will go into local organization efforts: canvassing, phone banks, get-out-the-vote pulls. And least obvious while most effective, he will use his money and all the patronage of the state to buy off every local leader who can influence as many as a thousand votes. He and his people not only know that you must send a different contact to the Lubavitcher Rabbi from the contact you send to the Subover Rabbi, they know precisely whom to send to each; they knew when the Lubavitcher needed a new building for his school -- and Rocky financed it. The odds are that they will have the right Italian in Queens, the right Irishman in Bay Ridge, and right Jew in New Rochelle. Javits and Buckley are to serve as co-chairmen, each hitting his special constituency. Wherever you go, Rocky and his minions will have been there first.

B. Lindsay. With friends like this . . . Honest John was deeply affronted by your failure to mention him, alone of all the candidates, in the acceptance speech. I

doubt at any rate whether he harbors strong wishes for your success, and he is striving to ally himself for 1974 with the leaders who most strongly resent you, like Esposito. Meanwhile, he is undoubtedly anathema to the voters you must reach. So if there is to be opposition, which I suspect anyway, let it be open. To the degree that you can separate yourself from him, you probably help yourself. I am compelled to add that both personally and politically I am deeply opposed to him myself; so check this judgment with care.

C. The Unions. Rockefeller has virtually complete control over the machinery of the state AFL-CIO, and of its most powerful component unions, the building trades and the Teamsters. He also has strong influence with the civil-service unions, particularly the Catholic ones. He has already procured for Nixon the endorsement of the PBA, and the son of John De Lury, the Sanitation men's president, is working for Nixon. Because of Shanker's relationship with the building trades, the Teachers' Union will probably be at best neutral. Unfortunately, the surviving Democratic unions -- the ILGWU, the UAW, the Steelworkers, the State, County & Municipal Workers, the Hospital Workers -- just are not as potent politically as Rocky's boys. Of course, Rocky's boys do not control their members' votes, any more than elsewhere; neither do those leaders who are supporting you. But Rocky's leaders have produced high wages for their people, and they are moreover symbols of the Irish and Italian working-class that now seems to have so little place in the campaign.

D. The Press. The whole nation reads the Times -- except in upstate New York, which has one of the most virulent and sometimes viciously conservative presses to be found anywhere. It is also very influential: in Syracuse, for example, the newspaper was a major factor in O'Connor's carrying the county over Rocky in 1966, and then turned around to help Rocky take it in 1970. It is vital to meet early in the campaign with as many of the upstate editors as you possibly can.

All right. If you do all these things -- if you go after the Jewish and Catholic voters, can you win? Can you beat Rocky and his \$10 million, and the unions, and all the rest?

I believe you can, that you have a chance. If  
you remember:

-- That New York is an enormous state, and great  
crowds and numbers of workers for you can be deceiving,  
since you do not see the crowds and workers against you;

-- That the liberal establishment here, whatever  
they say, would rather lose than have to abandon the  
prejudices that it calls principles; or rather, that  
they will pretend, despite all the evidence, that they  
(remember Goldwater?) are the silent majority, that this  
time the millions of blacks and nameless oppressed will  
come rolling up to vote at the bidding of the precious  
few;

-- That New York, perhaps uniquely in the country,  
is the state that will not be dominated by the New Politics,  
but by the new ethnic politics as those are interpreted  
by Kevin Phillips;

-- That "change" means different things to differ-  
ent people, and a majority for "change", in this state  
at least, is probably mostly for that "change" that stops  
what they perceive as a malign process of change itself.

-- That the real way for you to win New York  
is not to be sophisticated, not to be "advanced", but to  
be the old South Dakota George McGovern. Basically,  
although they are very different indeed, your average New  
York voter is still much more like a South Dakota farmer  
(or like one would be after having lived under John  
Lindsay) than he is like your present supporters.

One other thing. New Yorkers are rather quick  
to form impressions. This period of delay is very bad.  
Move here, and move fast. Otherwise all this advice is  
for nothing.

18-1-1

Columbia University in the City of New York | New York, N. Y. 10027

SCHOOL OF LAW

435 West 116th Street

*He had this  
J*

February 17, 1976

Mr. Steve Stark  
Carter for President Headquarters  
P. O. Box 1976  
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Dear Steve:

When we met at the Century Club two weeks ago, you didn't remember receiving the enclosed, so I am sending herewith another copy. Zbig Brzezinski agrees that it is a useful approach and you might pass it along to the man working on the general foreign policy speech.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,



Richard N. Gardner  
Henry L. Moses Professor of Law  
and International Organization

RNG/pm  
Enclosure

RETIRED - PRES. HANDWRITING

## Detente

The real issue is not whether we should seek detente, but what kind of detente it should be.

In a world in which the United States and the Soviet Union can each destroy the other with atomic missiles in 30 minutes, the search for peace and relaxation of tensions is both a practical necessity and a moral imperative.

What I am questioning, therefore, is not this Administration's aim of detente, but its way of pursuing that aim.

Henry Kissinger has said that "detente should never become a subterfuge for unilateral advantage." The tragedy is that it has -- thanks to mistaken policies of Presidents Nixon and Ford and Secretary Kissinger himself.

They have given the Russians what the Russians desperately wanted -- American food, technology and capital. The American people ~~might~~ ask: What have we received in return?

A historic opportunity was given to Nixon, Ford and Kissinger to trade Russian access to the benefits of our superior productivity in agriculture and industry in return for specific Russian concessions of importance to us -- meaningful limits by both sides on nuclear and conventional arms, the coupling of Soviet force reductions in Eastern Europe with Western force reductions, and Soviet restraint in trouble spots like Viet Nam, the Middle East and Angola.

We see now that detente gave the Russians what they wanted and did not give us what our people wanted.

Detente should have a multilateral as well as a bilateral dimension. We should use it to secure Soviet support for global programs essential to human survival -- international peacekeeping, help to the poorest developing nations, world food reserves, the curbing of excessive population growth, the protection of ocean fisheries and the marine environment, solutions to the energy crisis, and strengthening of the United Nations to make it work more responsibly and effectively.

Kissinger has never used his meetings with the Brezhnev and other Russian leaders to press them hard on these issues. Why? Because he thinks of detente in exclusively bilateral terms, because his balance of power approach places little emphasis on problems of global order. This works to the Russians' advantage -- they get what they want from us in bilateral cooperation (U.S. food, technology, capital), while they are freed from responsibility in the Middle East and Africa and in global programs of peacekeeping and development.

Look at the record of recent years: we gave the Russians food and industrial goods while they sent Radio Moscow broadcasts to the Arabs urging them not to lift their oil embargo, gave North Viet Nam the arms it needed to take over the South, connived to pass the anti-Zionist resolution in the UN, armed Arab extremists to the teeth with modern weapons, and put thousands of Cubans in Angola armed with Russian weapons. On most of these Russian actions, our protests have been too little and too late, and sometimes non-existent!

Most tragic of all has been our timidity on basic questions of human rights. We failed to use our full diplomatic leverage to press the Russians on Jewish emigration. Our President even refused to receive Solzenitsyn, a courageous spokesman for human freedom, for fear of angering the Soviet leaders. But these leaders continually honor our critics in the Kremlin without fear of angering us.

I promise the American people never to pursue detente at the price of principles that are an essential part of our national heritage.

I promise to pursue a real detente, a new US-Russian relationship founded on mutual benefit and common interest in world peace and welfare. In such a detente we will receive as much as we give. We will measure progress not just in bilateral exchange but in joint efforts to build a decent world.

*File  
in-house  
ethics*

KING & SPALDING

2500 TRUST COMPANY TOWER

ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

404/658-1350

*See  
info  
J*

March 9, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO: Ms. Madeline F. MacBean

I return the letter and enclosure from Dr. William N. Thompson of Western Michigan University to Governor Carter.

Dr. Thompson is on the right track but abolishing the office of Attorney General is a little drastic. He would create a Commission to handle criminal matters, the local United States Attorneys and the law enforcement agencies now in the office. I prefer to hold one person responsible.

Dr. Thompson would transfer the other functions of the office of the Attorney General to several executive agencies. This would cause more trouble. We need to restrict agency power and such a transfer would tend to expand power.

Governor Carter's plan meets the problems posed by Dr. Thompson but would transform the office of Attorney General together with all of its functions to a non-partisan depoliticized national law department.

Dr. Thompson, by virtue of his interest and expertise, should be of future assistance to Governor Carter.

**GRB**

Griffin B. Bell

GBB:fc  
Encl.

RETIRED - PRES. HANCOCK

# Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

February 28, 1976

Dear Judge Bell,

Governor Carter would appreciate having your brief comments on Dr. Thompson's recommendations regarding the office of Attorney General of the United States.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,



Madeline F. MacBean

MFM/mw

enclosures

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

A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.



**WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY**

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN  
49001

M -  
Ask Griffin Deery  
for brief comments  
JC

January 26, 1976

Governor Jimmy Carter  
Democratic National Committee  
1625 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Governor Carter:

I was very pleased to note that you recognize problems in the current structure of the office of attorney general and in the Department of Justice. I share your concerns. Enclosed is a copy of an article of mine which recommends major changes which I would believe would make the performance of the functions of the attorney general non-political (in a partisan sense).

The study of the office of attorney general has been a continuing interest of mine. I have enclosed a resume which lists other publications of mine on the subject. I will be happy to provide you with any inputs/insights I have which may bear upon your concerns regarding this issue. Best of luck,

Sincerely yours,



Dr. William N. Thompson

WMU Professor Says It Should Be Abolished

The Case Against U.S. Attorney General's Office

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The author of this article is Dr. William Thompson, assistant professor of political science at Western Michigan University. He is a former research associate with the staff of the National Association of Attorneys General and has written "State Attorneys General and the Environment," just released by WMU's New Issues Press.)

By WILLIAM THOMPSON

Our nation has been rocked by a series of events which suggest corruption in high circles of government. Many of the events have involved the office of United States attorney general.

First it was revealed that former Atty. Gen. John Mitchell had failed to pursue criminal prosecutions of certain persons who had contributed heavily to a national political campaign which he directed. Mitchell and former Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans are on trial now in New York on charges growing out of their roles in President Nixon's political campaign of 1972.

Second, Atty. Gen. Richard Kleindienst, Mitchell's successor, resigned because his personal friends were implicated in the Watergate case, and he feared a conflict-of-interest in any prosecution.

Then L. Patrick Gray, the acting FBI director (a position under the attorney general) failed to win Senate confirmation as permanent director and resigned because he had destroyed evidence about the Watergate scandal.

Subsequently, Atty. Gen. Elliot Richardson, Kleindienst's successor, resigned because the President demanded that he fire Archibald Cox, the special Watergate prosecutor Richardson had chosen. Richardson's successor now is William Saxbe, who was a Republican senator from Ohio prior to Mr. Nixon's appointment of him as attorney general.

Independence?

Some observers of this most bizarre chain of events have begun to ask some pertinent questions concerning the office of attorney general. For instance, just what is the function of this office in our political system? Whom does the attorney general represent? To whom should he be responsible? Should he be independent of partisan political pressures?

Those who raise such questions no doubt imply that something is not acceptable with the present arrangements. This writer would agree. In this article it will be argued that the questions asked are really not difficult ones. Quite simply, they do not have to be answered. The office of attorney general of the United States, instead, should be abolished.

The present day Department of Justice, headed by the attorney



FORMER U.S. ATTY. GEN. JOHN MITCHELL On Trial In Vesco Contribution Case

general, supervises the work of 92 federal district attorneys in the prosecution of persons accused of breaking federal laws. In such a role the attorney general can encourage certain kinds of prosecutions, and he can also exert influence to hinder prosecutions.

Through its component FBI and the Internal Security Division, the Department of Justice is empowered to render a wide range of investigative activities which reach into the personal lives of many American citizens, law abiding and otherwise. Moreover, the attorney general oversees the federal prison system, and the process of federal pardons and parole.

Many of the attorney general's duties, however, are not in the realm of criminal law. He heads an antitrust division which seeks to keep American business enterprises free and competitive, a civil rights division which seeks to enforce antilynching legislation and court policy, and a Tax Division which provides legal services to the Internal Revenue Service when it becomes involved in litigation. The Tax Division also prosecutes violators of the tax law. The department of Justice also contains a Civil Division, a Land Division, Immigration Service, and Solicitor General's office.

It can be seen that the attorney general performs two kinds of duties. He serves as the chief law enforcement officer of our nation, guarding it against internal

enemies, essentially those who commit criminal acts. Secondly, he is the chief executive of an agency which performs civil duties, many of which call for political policy decisions.

Is there not a better way of running a Department of Justice than by having an attorney general appointed by a President and removable by a President at will? In his criminal law enforcement roles, should not the office be completely independent of all men? Yet how could we reconcile this independence with the policy-making roles of the office? Must not the attorney general also be in touch with political forces?

States Differ

Although there is no precedence at the federal level for any alternative to the current selection method, various alternatives have been tried in the states. In 42 states, the attorney general is popularly elected on a partisan ballot. Of these states, only Oregon delegates that the election will be at a time different than the time of the governor's election.

Six states — Alaska, Hawaii, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, New Jersey, and Wyoming — provide for gubernatorial appointment. In five of these states, the Attorney General serves at the governor's pleasure. In New

Hampshire, he serves a five year term. This was the practice in New Jersey prior to 1947. The Maine legislature elects the attorney general, while in Tennessee he is selected to an eight year term by the state supreme court.

This writer has examined careers of 416 state attorneys general who served between 1950 and 1970. Comparisons between those who came to office by popular election and those that were appointed (either in the eight states, or in other states to fill vacancies) revealed some items worthy of note.

The 288 popularly elected were in some sense more "political" than the 158 appointees. In other senses they were more judicial in their behavior. Almost twice as many of the elected group held major party offices while they were attorney general. Thirty-seven per cent of the elected group sought higher political offices (governorships, seats in Congress) compared with only 19 per cent of the appointees. Twice as many elected attorneys general moved into positions as government administrators, while one and one half times as many appointees moved into judicial posts.

Questionnaires received from available appointees showed that they had a greater inclination to serve government agencies, while the elected group was more likely to see their role as a servant of the "people". This was confirmed in an analysis of opinions state attorneys general issued on race relations, criminal law, and church-state questions.

In all three areas, the elected group of state attorneys general wrote opinions more consistent with United States Supreme Court decisions. The appointees were more likely to resist new federal decisions.

These facts suggest that a greater independence comes with popular election. They indicate that an attorney general who is not appointed by an executive will be less likely to see his tasks as that of representing the executive, but rather will see service of the general public as a more desirable role.

Such a role could more easily permit investigations of wrongdoing by other government officials.

The data of my study did not indicate how politics could be taken out of the office; indeed it suggested that partisan politics was more likely to be part of an elected attorney general's operation. Moreover, no solution was suggested by the data for the problem of wrongdoing by the attorney general himself.

Scoundrels

Regrettably, the office of attorney general in both state and national has attracted its share of scoundrels. Having the attorney general investigate corruption has at times been like putting the fox in charge of the chicken coop.

Merely changing the office, from an appointive to an elected one, will not solve the problems posed. The way the federal office is currently constituted, it will not be able to perform adequately whether elected or appointed.

An executive needs an attorney if he is to be an effective policy leader for a government. It is a function of that attorney to serve the executive. But society also needs justice. The only way to achieve a proper balance between two forces inherent in the office would be to abolish the office altogether, and to assign its functions to other officials of the government.

First of all, the criminal law functions of the office must be separated from political pressures which are quite appropriate for civil law functions. A separate commission of criminal justice should be established.

The commission should have jurisdiction over the FBI, Internal Security Division, federal corrections institutions, paroles, and the administration of pardons. All federal prosecutions should be under control of the commission. Federal district attorneys should be responsible to the commission in all their criminal law activity. The commission would be empowered to intervene in or actually initiate prosecutions at the district level.

Powers Listed

The commission would be able to investigate all governmental activity to discern whether any acts of bribery, corruption, or violations of public trust have occurred. The commission would have full powers to investigate and subpoena all government officials. This commission must be totally divorced from partisan politics.

It could consist of from one to three commissioners who would be appointed for either a 15-year term, or perhaps until they reach age 65 or 70. They would be permanently barred from holding any other government position or engaging in any partisan political behavior. The appointment would properly be

made by the President with the confirmation of two-thirds of both houses of Congress.

Acting commissioners could be appointed by the Supreme Court. Removal of a commissioner could be by impeachment or by an order of the Supreme Court after a full hearing. Applications for such an order could be brought by any citizen, and processed in a manner similar to disbarment proceedings.

The title of attorney general would be worn by no individual. No continuity with past powers, practices, or personalities in the office of attorney general of any jurisdiction would be maintained. A new commission would not trace its origins to the likes of a Mitchell.

The civil law duties now performed by the Department of Justice would be assigned to the five agencies of the federal government.

For instance, the Naturalization and Immigration Division could be assigned to the State Department, the Land Division to Interior, and the Anti-trust Division to the Federal Trade Commission. The Tax Division could be attached to the Internal Revenue Service with all criminal activities prosecuted by attorneys for the Commissioner of Criminal Justice.

Legal Services

Replacing the solicitor general could be an Office of Government Legal Services. This office could be attached to the executive office of the President. Its function would be to coordinate legal services between agencies and to set standards for civil litigation involving the federal government.

The President would have political control over this office as he would in an indirect fashion over all civil legal services of the federal government. He would have no jurisdiction over criminal prosecutions.

While these suggestions probably do not answer all the critics of the present-day office of attorney general, they would certainly go a long way toward making an acceptable mixture of justice and politics into a rational, democratic legal authority.

One set of lawyers could begin to follow only the doctrine that there is above all men; while other government attorneys could begin their efforts toward the very real policy goals of government actors.

Defense (106M)  
Not my position  
J

April 23, 1976

TO: Steve Stark and John Kotch  
FROM: Zbigniew Brzezinski *ZB*  
SUBJECT: Memorandum on U.S. Bases Abroad

The enclosed memorandum by Roland A. Paul, formerly of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff, should be put into your briefing folder.

I dissent from it with regards to Diego Garcia.

Memorandum To Mr. Brzezinski

April 22, 1976

From Roland A. Paul

Future of U.S. Bases Overseas

General. The main reason for our overseas base structure has been, and no doubt will continue to be, the concept of projecting the image of American power rather widely abroad, not only for elementary military purposes but also for international political reasons. This system of bases has been a significant part of the overall U.S. foreign policy, which has been primarily directed toward arresting and gradually wresting down into a more stable pattern those very dangerous forces which have come upon the world scene in the post World War II period. Among these I am referring to the presence of Soviet nuclear power, Soviet conventional power, the Chinese specter, Third World tendencies, and nuclear proliferation. Throughout this period, sometimes without adequate finesse, but, until recently, with ultimate success, the United States has been able to defuse or moderate those potential dangers to our own security. American foreign policy, including the deterrent factor represented by our overseas bases, has, except in one instance, Vietnam, contained those forces without disastrous consequences for a sufficiently long period so that the beneficial effects of time and negotiation could operate to place our relationship with those forces on a more stable and secure foundation.

We are now faced with a new and dangerous international factor, the widespread awareness of American weakness evidenced by the Vietnam/Watergate debacle. There is no alternative that I see to replace the above-mentioned principle for protecting our security. Therefore, it must once again operate to arrest a dangerous tendency. This means that there should be no wholesale reduction in our military presence abroad with the attendant temptations for adversaries and the other self-fulfilling expectations that would entail.

Properly understood, our bases are there for our benefit, not as a favor to others. Therefore, it is misleading to say they are only there because of our commitments to others.

Intersecting with the foregoing principles is another concept, what I have called the deterrence/defense dilemma. This applies particularly to our combat forces in places such

as Europe and Korea. In peacetime they serve as a deterrent, but if the deterrence fails, we can be trapped into fighting a costly war, and have been so ensnared in at least one case, Vietnam. The desideratum then would be for our overseas force structure to be designed so as to be present where its deterrent quality is highly effective or where the American interest, as in Europe, is so great that we would want to fight in our own behalf even if the deterrent did not work, and not to be present in places such as Indochina, where it has had little deterrent effect against the relevant risk. In the post-Vietnam era the second side of the dilemma, the requirement to fight, which in the past had been primarily to maintain the credibility of our promises to others, however, has been significantly modified. Since we have now shown the world we are not invincible, no further demonstration of force will change this. On the other hand, too long a series of such examples of American weakness, without being broken by some victories, would be disastrous.

For a large part of our overseas presence, especially outside of Europe, such as electronic intelligence facilities and support bases which would not be directly involved in combat, it seems to me that retaining them will present little risk of being trapped into fighting a costly war. The odds are reasonably good that we can leave if forced out without another Vietnam experience and until then, if ever, we should stay because one never knows when the pertinent base may be needed. We found this out for instance during the Yom Kippur War in the case of that "useless" base we had in the Azores.

Prior to the debacle last year in Indochina, I could see a number of places where economies might be achieved by reductions, but now I feel all major reductions, with one or two exceptions noted below, should be deferred until there is some substantial post-Indochina experience. A brief survey on an area by area basis follows.

NATO. Even Senator Mansfield recognizes that it is inappropriate at this time to reduce our forces in Europe. As the experts know, no budgetary savings would ensue. The only valid argument for a redeployment of substantial forces back to this country would be in terms of balance of payments savings. A feasible alternative may be to negotiate with the Germans a "sterilization" of the dollars which we pay them to support our forces in their country.

One real savings of a budgetary nature is possible, however. It is to reduce the number of our tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, and elsewhere. This is a matter Bill Kaufmann knows well. He estimated for me in 1970 that the savings might be as much as one billion dollars a year.

Mediterranean Bases. Keeping most of our bases in Spain, Italy, Greece and Turkey follows from the foregoing advice that we should stay until asked to leave. We may need those facilities for various conceivable purposes and little risk of unwanted involvement is actually present.

Korea. Our 20,000 troops in South Korea seriously test the deterrence/defense dilemma. It seems inconceivable that the American people would approve of a unilateral American intervention in substantial numbers to support South Korea. Security today in that area rests on the reluctance of the Red Chinese to face another adversary on a second front and perhaps on the fact that the South Korean ground forces are larger than those of North Korea. Since our main interest in Korea is the security of Japan, whatever we do on the peninsula should be done in tandem with the Japanese.

Between the difficult choices presented, I would opt for the deterrent provided by leaving our forces in place instead of a withdrawal, with all of the negative impressions that would make.

Japan. When I arrived in Japan in 1970, it was obvious that there were too many American servicemen there, but this total has been significantly reduced in the succeeding years. Continuing some American military presence in Japan is a good idea to try to keep Japan non-nuclear, and to keep Japan, whether nuclear or not, tilted toward us.

Taiwan. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the underlying factors that determine American-Red Chinese relations to speak with any authority on Taiwan. Taiwan's offshore position may mean that a modest American defense presence would be an effective deterrent. However, Doak Barnett, whom I greatly respect, advocates an American withdrawal. Certainly continuing to improve our relations with Red China is generally wise, but precisely what this means for Taiwan I cannot say.

Thailand. Morty Halperin suggested to me in 1970 that our main interest in Thailand was in "not losing it the wrong way." The invitation of the Thais for us to leave in the wake of the loss of South Vietnam would conveniently serve this interest. However, we do gain something substantive out of Ramasun Station, as you know; it also serves as some deterrent to the North Vietnamese; and if they did come across the border, we could leave this non-combat post with little additional disgrace. Therefore, we might as well stay if the Thais end up letting us (although at last report, they were telling us to go).

Philippines. With the loss of Indochina, the present need for Subic Bay and Clark Air Force Base has diminished, but they come within that category of contingent support facilities which in the future we may need. If the political climate in the Philippines became such that we were asked to leave, we could do so at that time. Perhaps their total size could be pared somewhat.

Indian Ocean. The facility at Diego Garcia seems a good contingency facility in case of serious challenge to our obvious security interests in the Persian Gulf area. The Russians will be in the area even if we are not.

RAP