

**Memoranda, 6/76-8/76**

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6/25

To: Robert Lipshutz, Stuart Eizenstat, Harriet Zimmerman

From: Sheldon Toibb, 8640 Olive Blvd., Apt. A, University City, Missouri 63132. phone #--314-997-0634

THE UPCOMING CAMPAIGN WITH JEWISH VOTERS

1. INTRODUCTION

Despite having the nomination assured, the Governor still has significant problems among Jewish voters. One indication of the problem can be shown by the breakdown of the Jewish vote in the June 8th primaries despite the intensive efforts the campaign put into these states. According to NBC News heard on WRC Radio in Washington on June 9th, the Governor received 24% of the Jewish vote in Ohio while Udall got 47% with the rest going to other candidates. According to reports of some precinct breakdowns I got from Cleveland Heights and Shaker Heights, we even finished fourth behind Church and Jackson slates.

The New York Post newspaper issue of June 10th reported we got 10% to 15% of the Jewish vote in both New Jersey and California. Since the end of the primaries and the clinching of the nomination, severe doubts about the Governor are still being raised by the major Jewish newspapers in the New York area. One Rabbi with whom I spoke in New York said that he had talked with some of the editors of the New York Jewish Press. According to his reliable account, if the election were held today, they would just "wring their hands and wouldn't know what to do."

2. The exact nature of the problem

a. The Jewish misperception of the candidate's stands

I have spent much time talking to people I have met in

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Washington, Pittsburgh, Columbus, O., New York and St. Louis lately and have discovered that the true nature of the candidate's stands on Israel and Soviet Jewry have not filtered down to the average Jewish voter. They feel the candidate hasn't been talking to or caring about them. The candidate's many meetings with "Jewish leaders" in this regard has not been successful. This is the case, I believe, because Jews want to hear for themselves what the candidate has to say. The so-called "Jewish leaders," who I anticipate are dubbed with such distinction because of their pocketbook contributions to Jewish causes, either really carry no weight with average Jewish voters and/or have failed to relay the results of their meetings with the candidate. I suspect both are true to a large extent. The only point which sometimes seems to be known is the Governor's reference to "Palestinian rights" because they have been widely publicized out of context in the Jewish media. Thus a communication problem appears to definitely exist.

b. The lack of a proven track record on Israel

The quality of freshness which has enamored the candidate to most Americans has worked to the candidate's definite disadvantage in the Jewish sector. Any Governor, however, who hasn't been in the Senate with a voting record on Israel would have the same problem. As one Rabbi told me, "I don't like Gerald Ford, but at least I know where he stands and how he'll act on Israel." People have asked me "What has he (the Governor) done for Israel all these years?" And I have asked back:

"How could he have helped Israel as only Governor of Georgia?" There is usually only a muted silence in reply or only the response "As of now I can't afford to take a chance on an unknown quantity." Cynical references are always made about the candidate's smile. They all are suspicious as to what lies behind it. Still, most of these people said they are willing to wait until November to be convinced otherwise. The burden, however, is no small one.

c. The geographical and religious gap

To be quite blunt, Northern Jews do not trust Southern non-Jews. The stories and visions about men in white sheets carrying burning crosses down South bring back too many memories of historical/<sup>European</sup>persecution of Jews and atrocities by the Ku Klux Klan. Moreover, they suspect a certain subtle if not blatant anti-Semitic quality in Southern non-Jews. This suspicion is largely based on ignorance. They don't know Southerners as people, and they know that Southerners really aren't familiar with them. But the suspicion is still there, and it breeds fear.

The candidate's Evangelical Baptist belief have also hurt him significantly, in fact, much more than expected. Jews associate Christian zealotry with anti-Semitism, which dates back to European origins be it France (Dreyfuss Affair), Austria (source of political anti-Semitism in 1800's), Spain (Spanish Inquisition), Poland (pogroms) or Czarist Russia (pogroms). As one lawyer told me, "America is not a Christian democracy, it is a secular democracy. And Jews have never fared well in a Christian democracy."

This fear also goes to the missionary aspects of the candidate's religion; that it is a duty under some strict Christian religions to convert Jews to Christianity, and that Jews are damned until they accept Christ. As a result, some people have expressed the fear of a rise in Christian missionary activity among Jews in this country if the candidate if the candidate is elected. Some Jews even fear the exportation of such missionary work upon Jewish youth in Israel. As one person among others told me: "Sure Carter loves Israel. It's in his religion. And he also wants to convert all the Jews there."

If there is a common theme to all of these points is that Jews are very concerned with Survival, with a capital S. They are suspicious of new political phenomenons as being dangers to Survival. As a result of this suspicion, they will react oft of Fear politically. The only way this suspicion can be overcome is through Trust, with a capital T. But such Trust cannot be established in a short period of time. In conclusion, therefore, the best that can be said is that Jimmy Carter can still get a large majority of the Jewish vote in November; but the votes will never be cast with the same passion as if the candidate were Humphrey or Jackson.

- 3. What the Candidate has going for him in the Jewish area
  - a. He is the Democratic candidate. A goodly portion of Jews will always vote for a Democrat for President. They can't bring themselves to vote for a Republican. At worst, many Jewish voters just won't vote. In addition, the Governor will be the

more liberal candidate. Many Jews will just vote for him for that reason when running against the conservatives Ford or Reagan as compared to the difficulties encountered against liberal candidates Udall or Brown.

b. The Ford-Kissinger Record

The Ford-Kissinger record of foreign policy issues of Jewish concern has been the most abysmal in at least two decades.

1. Ford's veto of the recent aid bill to Israel after claims by Israel that it had been promised aid for the transitional quarter between fiscal years 1976 and 1977. The candidate said he would not have vetoed the bill.

2. Ford's past statements, including those to the American Jewish Congress in Washington in May, daring Israel to give up substantially all of the territories occupied since the 1967 War as "risks for peace." The candidate has said he would not force Israel to do something that Israel itself would not do, e.g. give up the Golan Heights or the Christian and Jewish holy places in Old Jerusalem. As I stated in earlier memos, there is some concern in Jewish circles that the latter phrase does not mean political control over all of Old Jerusalem (e.g. Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus, control over the Arab population and holy places in Old Jerusalem, and the new Jewish residential suburbs of Sanhedria and Ramat Eshkol). But aside from this point, there is a distinct difference between Ford's positions and those of the candidate. In addition, it should be studied whether the past agreements have been too one-sided and have raised too many false hope for peace in that the

Arabs expect eventual total withdrawal by Israel and never intend to really recognize Israel's right to exist.

3. Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy and arm-twisting pressure  
The candidate has called for face-to-face negotiations between the parties without big power imposition of a settlement which is what American Jews want. Under the Kissinger method of diplomacy, nonmeaningful face-to-face Arab recognition of Israel's right to exist is possible.

4. The overall "evenhanded" approach of the Ford-Kissinger Middle Eastern Foreign Policy--

This approach places Israel's security needs on a level equal to friendly relations with Arab states for oil supply and American corporate investment purposes. The candidate has said that the survival of Israel is more important than the supply of oil.

5. The Ford Freeze on military aid to Israel in 1975-- It was the first such freeze on military aid to Israel in many a year. The candidate says he would give continuous military aid to Israel.

6. The Soviet Jewish emigration issue--

The Ford-Kissinger line is that the United States should not meddle into the internal problems of the Soviet Union. They are afraid of antagonizing the Soviets on this issue and view it as a thorn in their side. In addition, Ford is strongly influenced by big business who is concerned in getting increased markets in the Soviet Union. The candidate has said he doesn't favor the trade restriction by the Jackson Amendment, but that unlike Ford and Kissinger, the concern over Soviet Jewish civil rights and emigration is not just the internal affair of the

Soviet Union. The Governor has said he would include the emigration in trade talks, which Ford and Kissinger by their acts have evidently not done. It should be pointed out that if Ford and Kissinger had presented a unified front with Congress on the Jackson Amendment instead of trying to sabotage it, the Russians might have been more responsive.

7. The Jewish Employment Discrimination Issue--Part of the aid bill vetoed dealt with investigation American companies that discriminated against Jewish employees on orders from Arab governments and businessmen. The Justice Department last year initially filed a suit against the Bechtel Corporation for this reason. Xx Kissinger strongly ~~air~~ criticized this action as undue influence in foreign policy and the disposition of the suit is unknown. Yet Bechtel, president of the company, was recently at a White House dinner for King Hussein according to the guest list in the Washington Post.

8. The Kissinger issue

Kissinger is viewed in many Jewish circles as a megalomaniac who is ashamed of his Jewish heritage and upbringing. His policies on Israel and Soviet Jewry seem to reflect actually a bending over backwards to the Arabs and Russians to avoid being labeled as biased towards Jews. His marriage to a non-Jewish woman and his total self-estrangement from the American Jewish community has not endeared him to many Jews either. There are even stories in Washington that when he became Secretary of State, he issued an edict not allowing Jewish employees of the State Department to be off for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.

Every personal attack on Kissinger, and Ford's endorsements of his actions by wanting him to stay on if elected, will net many Jewish votes.

#### 4. The Approach Ahead

Enough of the Jewish vote is still wooable by November to make significant efforts worthwhile. The location of the major portions of this vote, namely, New York, New Jersey, California, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Florida, Maryland, Massachusetts and Michigan show that this vote can be pivotal in a close race in states with a large number of electoral votes.

The candidate and the campaign, in my opinion, no longer have to be defensive about the earlier problems stated in Part 2. The issue should be the Ford-Kissinger record, not the Governor's religion and background. The ammunition is there in Part 3 to use. By going on the attack, with specific differences in policies between Ford and Carter to be stated, the "known quantity" of Ford-Kissinger will become less and less aptable to Jews. Jews will then have to realize that the Governor is more than an unknown quantity without a record and that four more years of Ford-Kissinger is intolerable.

Because of the Governor's present deficiencies in his perception among Jews, I fear that anything less than a "bare knuckles" approach will not be sufficient to swing the Jewish vote his way. As stated earlier, the quality of freshness and the politics of platitudes and unity that has worked so well throughout the rest of America will not work in Flatbush, Miami Beach, Skokie, Shaker Heights, Teaneck, Newton, Pikesville, Silver Spring, West Los Angeles and Southfield. As one Rabbi told me: "the J.E.C. (Elizabeth) speech was a good start. But there will need to be more."

The Ford campaign has been getting away with murder with Larry Goldberg at the White House calling Jewish leaders around the country saying that Jews can't trust Carter, the Southern Baptist and Max Fisher literally trying to buy Rabbis by sending them on free trips to Israel in recent weeks to represent President Ford.

What the Jewish vote may boil down to is whether Jews distrust Jimmy Carter enough to vote instead for a person they hate, Henry Kissinger, and another they don't like, Gerald Ford-- Henry Kissinger's patron.

The above is the approach that should be taken by the official campaign and the candidate. But Jimmy Carter still has to have the tarnish of recent months removed from him. This should not have to be done by him, one prostration before Jews is enough. The smart Jews have taken the hint. The candidate has to be "koshered" in the eyes of many Jews. Two hundred big shot Jewish business through closed-door meetings can't do this. All they can deliver is two hundred votes and a lot of flattered egos. But two hundred Rabbis sending letters to their congregants, to the Jewish community, lay leaders and heavies, and to fellow Rabbis can do the job. Although some would disagree with my view, I believe that the average Jewish will vote for Jimmy Carter if his or her Rabbi will say "Yes, Jimmy Carter is good for the Jews." After all, if Rabbis believe that Jimmy Carter is not an anathema to Jews, who can doubt their word? At least it would raise many eyebrows and Jews would be more open-minded toward the candidate.

In supplementation to the Rabbis, a similar koshering approach should be done by endorsements of those lay Jewish leaders whose track record shows that they are traditional barometers and molders of Jewish public opinion.

Next, grass roots organizations of Jewish Carter workers have to be organized and flouted in each city. I think that the primary results have shown the limits of newspaper ads in Jewish newspapers. They cannot be relied on totally for lack of grass roots work. They can only be used as a grand finale cap to get out the vote, not to change minds and mold basic opinions.

#### 5. The Initial Implementation of the Above Approach

I have been in contact with Rabbi Milton Polin of New York, Treasurer of the Rabbinical Council of America (Orthodox) and Rabbi of the largest synagogue in Brooklyn. As he was my former Rabbi in St. Louis, we were able to speak frankly and freely. I asked him and later Rabbi Bernard Twersky, Public Relations Director of the RCA if it would be possible to get key Rabbinical endorsements in individual and not organizational capacities. We agreed that a meeting with the top Jewish figures in the Carter campaign (Bob Lipshutz and Stuart Eizenstat) could produce such results. We also agreed that from our point of view such a meeting would be worthwhile if the Rabbis in attendance would be willing to endorse the Candidate publicly if they were satisfied with the Carter positions as a result of such a meeting. I was firm in stating that previous meetings between Jewish leaders and the candidate have produced few tangible results and that now the

nomination is secure, the candidate should not need to go through the same type of exploratory meeting with getting only a minimum of results. The Rabbis agreed with me that if I could arrange such a meeting with top Jewish Carter aides, and if the Rabbis would be satisfied, it would be expected that endorsements in individual capacities would follow. As one of the Rabbis put it: "If it is a matter of black and white I would endorse. Ford is the black; but I don't know if Carter is the white." I find this to be a representative opinion.

Heavy premeeting communication by Rabbis Polin and Twersky and myself would be necessary. The presence of Rabbi Manny ~~Polin~~ <sup>Feldman</sup> of Atlanta in such a meeting could prove very persuasive. I would expect to have those Rabbis who have endorsed candidates in the past and who are key Jewish political barometers to be there. For example, Rabbi Seymour Siegel, who is the foremost Conservative Rabbi in America and the main figure of the Jewish Theological Seminary, should be in attendance. He strongly supported Nixon in 1972 and spoke the Rabbinical address at Nixon's second inaugural. Rabbi Hershel Schechter of the Bronx should be there. He was head of Humphrey's Jewish campaign in 1968 and later head of the White House Conference of Jewish Affairs under Nixon. He has been President of the American Zionist Federation and the American Council on Soviet Jewry. Max Fisher just sent him to Israel last month to represent President Ford in some ceremonial dedication. But according to well placed sources who know the man, he isn't buyable. Other such Rabbis would include Rabbi Harold Jacobs, President of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, Rabbi Joseph Karasick,

past President of that organization, Dr. Bernard Lander, with whom I talked about such a possible meeting in April and who is Vice-President of the UOJCA and President of Touro College in New York. Such names are recognizable in the Orthodox and Conservative American Jewish communities and their endorsements and solicitation of others would carry great weight. Rabbis Polin, Twersky and Dr. Lander could also supply leading Reform Rabbis. Before any such a meeting, the above three men and myself would plant the notion in the minds of those to be in attendance that it would be beneficial to them as Jewish leaders to endorse the candidate as the likely next President if they would be satisfied on his views.

Organizationally speaking, I have the following names to recommend to be recruited:

1. Rabbi David Luchins of New York--He is the Director of Admissions and Professor of Political Science at Touro College in New York. He is the Best in the business of getting the Jewish vote. He was head of the Humphrey Jewish campaign in 1972 and later served in the same capacity as a National Vice-Chairman of Democrats for Nixon. He wants to come on board and help. He oozes Jewish political contacts, respect, savvy and organization. He would like to meet with one of the top Jewish leaders in the campaign. I can think of no finer person to help run the New York Jewish operation. His phone number is 212-567-2291. His address is 45 Fairview Avenue, Apt. T1A, New York, N.Y. 10040..

2. Harvey Tannenbaum and Mike Keller of Los Angeles. They were the California Jewish leaders for Humphrey and then Nixon under Rabbi Luchins in 1972. They are two of the best Jewish storefront operators in the business and know Southern California Jewry cold. Dick Weinstein spent an hour with them in Beverly Hills in May and was so impressed that he wanted to send them East for Ohio and New Jersey. Unfortunately this never occurred. Tannenbaum is also a very close intimate of Roz Wyman, widow of the late Eugene Wyman, of Wyman, Bautzer, Rothman & Kuchel. He was the most prolific fundraiser for Democrats in California. Tannenbaum's phone number is 213-275-2096.

3. Danny Butler of Pittsburgh-- His phone number is 412-421-4370. He's another 1972 Humphrey veteran. He has an organization nationwide outside of New York of about 5,000 Jewish high school students who beat our brains out in the Jewish communities of Baltimore, Washington, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Detroit, New Jersey and Philadelphia for Udall and Brown. His organization has breakdowns of Jewish neighborhoods in the Northern industrial states from Illinois to New Jersey on charts and his kids canvassed Jewish homes door-to-door by routes and schedules. According to Butler, these kids can be so dedicated that we can have them believe that it is a "Mitzvah" to work for Jimmy Carter. I talked with him and convinced him to come with us.

4. Jeffrey Feldman of Brooklyn--4424 Kings Highway, Brooklyn, New York 11234--phone number 212-253-3404.

He is another Humphrey intimate under Luchins waiting to join.

His partial accomplishments include being New York State Committeeman of Young Democrats of America, Editor of Reform Judaism, Past Chairman of the North American Jewish Youth Council, and as such thereby a member of Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, and an Executive Member of AIPAC--American Israel Public Affairs Committee (Morris Amitay's group). His expertise and contacts, needless to say, are golden. He pointed out to me over the phone that on June 20th, the New Jersey Young Democrats refused to endorse the candidate.

5. Abraham Stein, 140-8 Danizetti Place, Bronx, N.Y. 10475  
phone number-- 212-671-2258

He is a member of the United Democratic Club of Coop City in the Bronx and organized coop City (15,000 families ) for Jackson for the New York primary.

Other older more established Jewish leaders to which efforts should be made to enlist include Stan Bregman, a Washinton lawyer and former aide to Humphrey. He is very close to Rabbi Luchins and could help with many Jewish political contacts; Jamie Ostrow, involved in organized labor and was New York State Chairman for Humphrey in 1968. She is deeply concerned about the Jewish vote this year. Finally, Sonny Dogole should be wooed. He was Humphrey's finance chairman in 1972 and Jackson's finance chairman this year.

It is noticable that the top five names I mentioned in this list were a part of the Humphrey then Nixon team under Rabbi Luchins in 1972. I was an integral part of this team and the only one to join Carter in December of last year thanks to Bill Daniel,

Missouri State Chairman for Carter and a close friend. I hope my advise will be taken that this is the BEST group in the business in getting the Jewish vote. These people are winners. The group demolished Jackson and McGovern in the Jewish vote in 1972 in Florida, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Michigan, Ohio and California. The group helped get 39% of the Jewish vote nationwide for Richard Nixon; which was no small accomplishment. These people have been actively courted unsuccessfully by Lyn Nofsinger for Reagan and Larry Goldberg, among others, from the White House for Ford. That is how respected they are. I have convinced each of them to come with us and they want to be an active part of the Jewish campaign.

I also place emphasis on their Nixon support along with Rabbi Seymour Siegel's and Rabbi Hershel Schachter's in 1972 for a very practical reason. Many Jews defected to Nixon in 1972 because of McGovern's stands on Israel and quotas. If the leaders of the Humphrey-Nixon Jews openly state support for Jimmy Carter, it will show other Jews and the Jewish media that there is nothing to fear about Jimmy Carter. This is also part of the "koshering" concept I explained earlier. Even a press conference of endorsements by Rabbi Luchins and his clan like John Connally did in reverse for Nixon in 1972 could be a possibility.

6. Rabbi Milton Polin, whom I earlier mentioned, said there were other issues which concerned him and other Jews in New York. These issues are: 1. Aid to New York City; 2. The scope of

affirmative action programs for minorities, more specifically racial quotas in employment. The candidate has made some statements supporting quotas which are an anathema to Jews since they are a very small percentage of the population. Historically, Jews ~~xx~~ have excelled under merit systems and have fought quotas throughout their history in this country; 3. Jewish neighborhood stability in lieu of the 1972 Forest Hills controversy in New York of putting low-income housing projects for minorities in a middle class Jewish neighborhood. He claims the "ethnic purity" remark and its retraction leave him unclear as to the candidate's position; and 4. Federal Aid to Parochial Schools, e.g. Orthodox day schools and Yeshivas, in terms of aid to secular educational functions, and to Jewish universities in view of the Supreme Court decision this week declaring an Illinois statute constitutional which allowed secular aid to sectarian universities.

He asked me to see if the Issues Section in Atlanta could send him the candidate's responses, speeches and position papers on these issues as well as lucid ones on Israel, Soviet Jewry and in particular the Jackson Amendment. Because of Rabbi Polin's national rabbinic stature, I hope Stuart will see that he could receive a detailed response. I feel that because of my 12 year personal relationship with Rabbi Polin,<sup>I</sup> would be the best person to elicit his possible support. His address is Rabbi Milton Polin, Kingsway Jewish Center, 2810 Nostrand Ave., Brooklyn, New York 11229.

## 7. Personal appearances by the Candidate

Jewish media events like the Elizabeth speech will again prove helpful in the general election. Yeshiva University in New York, my alma mater, would be an ideal place with a auditorium capacity of 2,000. Possibly paying a visit to the Lubavitcher Rabbi in Brooklyn, the head of a Hasidic sect and THE most respected Rabbi in all of Orthodox Judaism, would also show a great deal of caring on the candidate's part. All political leaders in New York go see him when running for office.

## 8. Conclusion

A lot of sweat and toil have to be put into the Jewish area between now and November. Substantial efforts should be made before Rosh Hashonoh in September. I hope the ideas and contacts I have provided will be helpful.

LEVA, HAWES, SYMINGTON, MARTIN & OPPENHEIMER

815 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

TELEPHONE: (202) 298-8020

CABLE: FOLEX

WU TELEX: 89-2720

June 1, 1976

MEMORANDUM

TO: Landon S. Butler

FROM: Lester S. Hyman

RE: Suggestions for the period between the end of the primaries and the convention to assure the nomination for Jimmy Carter.

It is my suggestion that you adopt an unconventional policy for achieving the goal of the nomination after the primaries have ended.

It is my assumption that Carter will have approximately 1200 votes going into the convention. It will be assumed by all of the press and professional politicians that Carter then will "deal" with the Vice Presidency in order to get the nomination. Everyone will be watching for him to approach either Daley/Stevenson, Jackson or Udall to offer the Vice Presidency in exchange for the votes necessary to put him over the top.

The resulting publicity could be very damaging in the general election campaign and contrary to the image Carter has projected thus far.

There is, however, both political and practical merit in totally avoiding this trap.

It always has been my working assumption, as Campaign Manager for candidates in the past, that one can enter into an arrangement with a candidate for his personal support but can never swing the delegates pledged to that candidate by that method. I believe in

going directly to the individual delegate (whose primary loyalty rests with one man only and cannot be transferred merely by that candidate giving his assent or direction).

If you agree that this strategy is appropriate, then make a virtue of it.

Carter should announce at the end of the primaries that he will enter into no deals -- that he will participate in no negotiations with other candidates -- that he welcomes the support of all and refuses to "horse trade" with the Vice Presidency of the United States.

Further, that he will recommend to the Convention his selection for Vice President based on one measurement only: Is that man or woman the person best qualified to be President of the United States should anything happen to the President.

It seems to me that this posture would stand in marked contrast to what the "Stop Carter" coalition will be doing. Undoubtedly Humphrey, Church, Udall, Jackson, Brown, and others will join together in an effort to stop Carter. Let them do so and risk having their "politics as usual" approach compared with Carter's method of going directly to the individual delegates and asking for their support in an open and above board manner.

Obviously one must be realistic, and if this strategy does not work, there is one other method, consistent with it, that can be employed to assure the nomination.

What I am referring to is Carter deciding before the balloting begins who he wants for Vice President and informing that person of his selection by a written note, which later can be made public.

The note would read very simply: "I want you to know that, after having given the matter careful deliberation, I have decided that, should I become the nominee of the Democratic Party for President, it is my intention to recommend to the Convention that it select you as Vice President as the person most qualified to be President in the event of the death or disability of the President. /s/ Jimmy Carter."

This would be a unilateral offer and would not involve any reciprocity on the part of the potential Vice-Presidential nominee. However, if the man has a brain in his head, he will understand that the only way he can become the Vice Presidential nominee is to make certain that Jimmy Carter is the Presidential nominee. I would tend to limit this selection to Messrs. Stevenson, Mondale or Udall. The above strategy in my opinion would be both honorable and practical.

Finally I presume that you are putting together a team to work on uncommitted delegates. In my opinion, it will be much more effective for the calls to be made by Carter and his close associates in Georgia than by fellow politicians in the particular States.

To give a pledge to Carter is one thing. To give it to another political leader in the same state is merely to enhance that person's political clout while doing nothing for the delegate vis-a-vis Carter.

I hope these suggestions are of assistance to you -- let me know if I can do more.

LSH

P.S. I will be at the Convention as a member of the President's Club -- can I help you there?

P.P.S. If, at any point, you need to make discreet inquiries of Fritz Mondale, I could be helpful since he is my nextdoor neighbor and a close personal friend.

MEMORANDUM

TO: BOB LIPSHUTZ, HAMILTON JORDAN, PAUL HEMMON  
FROM: STU EIZENSTAT  
RE: STAFF NEEDS FOR ISSUES  
DATE: JUNE 1, 1976

This will confirm our recent conversation regarding the staff needs for the issues area.

It is my understanding that I am authorized to employ two(2) additional persons in the Atlanta office in the issues area and two and one-half persons plus a secretary in the Washington office.

If this is correct, I have the people picked out and would like to formally put them on the payroll.

We are tremendously undermanned in our area and these persons are all necessary.



# Jimmy Carter

## Presidential Campaign

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

MEMO: June 1, 1976  
FROM: BOB LIPSHUTZ  
TO: STUART EIZENSTADT

Marshall Hirsch sent me a copy of the letter which his cousin, Marshall Lichtenstein, had written to you. I assume that you are responding to the letter, since you apparently are personal friends.

With reference to the voter registration matter, this can be a very important step to be taken very shortly after the Convention and a great deal of work is going into preparation for such an event, particularly by a Mr. Donald Petrie, former National Treasurer of the Democratic Party. As a matter of fact, I believe that he has actually drawn up some detailed plans of this type and submitted them previously, but there were no funds available to do anything in time for previous elections.

This time, as you are aware, there may well be funds available even as early as July, which could be utilized for such purpose.

At your convenience, let's get together and coordinate our actions in this direction, along with those of Petrie, Hamilton, et al.



# Jimmy Carter

## Presidential Campaign

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

MEMO: June 1, 1976

FROM: BOB LIPSHUTZ

TO: STUART EIZENSTADT

I received a phone call a few days ago from a man in New York, Mr. Harry Tofel.

I do not remember Harry Tofel myself, but he used to be a very close personal friend of a deceased uncle of mine. At one time Harry Tofel did live in Atlanta. The reason he called me was because he saw my name on the campaign literature, and his grandson, a Harvard ~~Sophomore~~ named Richard Tofel, apparently has written to you requesting an opportunity to work in the campaign.

I believe that the Tofel family is quite wealthy. Therefore, if you find that this young man can be of assistance to you, I assume that he would work as a volunteer during the summer months and perhaps even during the fall regardless of the fact that he is going back to college.

In any case, please let me know what you decide to do because I would like to phone the grandfather after you have made your decision.

I believe that Richard Tofel has done volunteer work in the campaign in Massachusetts but I am not sure of this.

TO: Staff

FROM: Maxie

DATE: June 3, 1976

RE: Information sent to Plains last weekend

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Jimmy did not have time to go through everything we sent him last weekend. He sent one folder back unopened with a note that said "no time to do this -- let staff do the best they can."

The attached items which you sent came back in that folder. If the things you sent need some action, go ahead. If they were strictly informational, you can give them back to me and we'll try again next time.

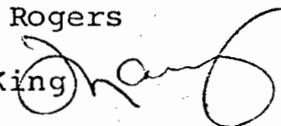
Thanks.

*Maxie*

Orrin Kramer

MEMORANDUM

TO: Pat Anderson  
Stu Eisenstat  
Vicki Rogers

FROM: Mary King 

SUBJECT: Speech/Position Paper on Disabilities and the Handicapped

DATE: June 4, 1976

I represented the Carter Campaign and gave a speech at Atlanta's request to the American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities, Inc., in late April. They requested a position paper or speech from Governor Carter by May 25.

The Center for Independent Living in Berkeley invited him to speak and I forwarded their material to Vicki's office.

We have contacted virtually every constituency of disabled citizens in putting together these two drafts. Max Cleland has been very much involved -- something the Governor will want to know -- as well as the people described in the enclosed memo.

I think this is ready for presentation and can be given before the convention. After the nomination Max and another disabled Atlantan, Lew Rigdon, would like to put together a press conference announcing support of the disabled community publicly.

DRAFT DISABILITY DRAFT No. 1

In these great United States we have 28 million American citizens with various levels of handicapping disabilities. Under our constitution all Americans enjoy equal rights and have equal responsibilities as citizens. Citizens with disabilities want no less -- ask for no more. The mere fact of a disability should not exclude anyone from participating in whatever aspects of life may interest him or her. Unfortunately this is not the case in our country. There is too much focus on the disabilities of our citizens and not enough on the tremendous wealth of untapped abilities that these same people possess.

We need to assure that citizens with disabilities are able to develop their human potential to the fullest. Our nation needs to utilize everyone's resources. Moreover, no one wants to be denied an opportunity to participate in the mainstream of life or to be denied access to programs and activities that interest them. Our federal laws, each time they speak to the problem of discrimination specifically, need to include handicapped people in the anti-discrimination language.

By and large our nation has been quite negligent in its lack of programming, poor quality programming and poorly carried out delivery systems for handicapped Americans. We have thousands of good professional people serving handicapped Americans. Unfortunately we also have seen a paternalistic attitude among legislators, program administrators and professionals on the federal, state and local levels. Handicapped Americans are tired of having

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laws passed, regulations developed and programs initiated without the direct and major involvement of handicapped citizens themselves in determining their own needs and designing their own programs. This nation can and needs to do better. It will do better under my administration with your direct input.

My interest in the human potential of handicapped Americans is not new. My record as Governor of Georgia speaks for itself. Those of you who are interested in statistics will discover that the State of Georgia was listed among the top five states in successful rehabilitations per 100,000 population during each year of my administration. I am aware, too, that rehabilitation programs that do not lead to a job are a sham. Clearly vocational rehabilitation without a job resulting from it is a cruel and devastating lie. During my administration I authorized the purchase of the Warm Springs Hospital made famous by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. This was a private hospital serving an average daily patient attendance of 50.87 per year prior to our state purchase. In the first year of its operation as a state facility during my administration we increased the utilization of this excellent facility to an average public daily attendance of 88.82 clients. This was more than a 75% increase in facility usage. You and I, however, are not interested in dry statistics. We are interested in the development and enrichment of human potential. This is what we succeeded in doing using available resources on a one state basis. This is what we can do and need to do on a national level.

To further illustrate what we can be done once a problem is understood and addressed, I signed into law a bill in 1972 re-

DRAFT #1

quiring that all new and substantially renovated buildings built with any portion of public funds be made completely accessible for the handicapped. More importantly we did not rest on our laurels with a legislative victory. Over 100 public buildings were actually made accessible in the period of two years as a result of this law. I am well aware that handicapped Americans are tired of words. This country needs to stop talking about your equal rights and start delivering them.

In the reorganization of the Department of Human Resources in Georgia we were able to include a contractual arrangement to enable deaf citizens to have the benefit of interpreting services whenever they came in contact with a public agency in the state. This contract successfully bridged a frustrating communication gap. Again, this contractual arrangement was a follow up on earlier legislation I signed to assure deaf citizens the right to an interpreter both in the courts and for communication with any state agency when application for or provision of services were being discussed. I am proud of what was accomplished for handicapped citizens legislatively during my administration in Georgia. I am more proud that we were able to follow up with the direct involvement of handicapped citizens in making new legislation work the way it ought to work.

On the federal level I have no preconceived notions of current program priorities and reorganization of services needed for American citizens with various disabilities. You will be expected to advise me, to offer your services in analyzing the problems and to determine the direction of new action. I am acutely aware that this nation has largely failed to tap the

DRAFT #1

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rich talent and skills of handicapped citizens at the policy-making and management levels in programs for the handicapped administered by the federal government. This will change. You will be welcome to examine the vocational rehabilitation program, the program for the education of handicapped children, the affirmative action program for private contractors, which I understand is not too affirmative, the architectural compliance board, the program for disabled veterans and the many other federal programs that have direct impact on the lives of handicapped citizens. You know better than I do where the flaws are, where reorganization is needed, and where injustices need to be righted. If America has anything it has great talent in its people. We too often do not use our talent well. In the case of handicapped citizens we have almost not used it at all where it could do the nation the most good. Let us work together and change this blight on the American scene.

In summary my program for the handicapped will be action oriented, concentrating on: assuring legislatively that handicapped people enjoy all the rights, privileges and responsibilities extended to all citizens; examining the current programs in several departments of the federal government to determine changes needed; and assuring utilization of handicapped American citizens with appropriate qualifications at the policy-making and program management levels to make our programs accountable and properly relevant.

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

SCHOOL OF LAW

435 West 116th Street

June 7, 1976

To: Stuart Eizenstat  
Steve Stark ✓  
Peter Bourne  
William vanden Heuvel

*RNG*  
From: Richard N. Gardner

I am leaving for Europe on June 10 and I thought you might like to know my whereabouts, should there be any need to get in touch with me.

I'll be traveling a good deal attending various conferences and taking care of some deferred legal business, but mail sent to the addresses indicated will reach me.

RNG/pm  
Enclosure: Summer Itinerary

SUMMER ITINERARY OF PROFESSOR RICHARD N. GARDNER

1976

June 10 - 20 - Hotel Elysee Mermoz  
30 Rue Jean Mermoz  
Paris, France  
Telephone: 225-75-30

June 21 - July 24 - c/o Luzzatto  
18 Via Dardanelli  
Lido, Venice, Italy  
Telephone: (041) 768-264 \*

August 3 - September 7 - c/o Aspen Institute for  
Humanistic Studies  
P. O. Box 219  
Aspen, Colorado 81611  
Telephone: 303 925-7010  
  
Staying at Pryor House  
Telephone: 303 925-1275

Returning to New York on September 8.

\* It is not certain whether this number will be available for use in the evening or on weekends. If there is no answer, call neighboring hotel whose numbers are (041) 760-052 and 760-291.

file

Bill -  
copies to the  
following  
R.L.

June 8, 1976

MEMO

TO: Rick Hutcheson

FROM: Rick Merrill *RM*

SUBJ: People Other People Might Want To Get In Touch With

1. Jerry Spingarn -- Jerry is Henry Reuss's AA, an older man, with political experience going back to the Truman Administration. Before joining Rep. Reuss, he worked for many years for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, but was let go during the Nixon years because he disagreed with the pace of negotiations. He is a published writer on many subjects; his wife Natalie also writes, mainly "think pieces" on domestic social problems for the Washington Post. Jerry wants to help, including taking a leave from Reuss for the duration. He does not need to be paid. He and his wife are pretty well known in intellectual/social Washington. Stu Eizenstadt might want to give him a call (202 225-3571).

STU

2. Russell Hemenway -- Russell is the longtime chief operative of the National Committee for an Effective Congress; well known on the Hill, in New York liberal politics, and in national liberal political fundraising circles. I think he has been nominally for Udall, but Russ goes with winners. He is sympathetic to us, and was very helpful to me this morning in taking the time to go through the entire New York delegation with me on the phone. His main concern at the moment is re-electing freshman and other marginal progressive Democrats to the House and Senate, which is the function of NCEC. He has met Governor Carter and Ham Jordan, but has not held extensive conversations with either. I mentioned Frank Moore's name to him (212 532-9090). Russ is a man of great charm, and a highly skilled political operative, if not operator.

FRANK

3. Doug Ireland -- Doug is a young "old pol," reform-oriented -- he embodies lots of contradictions (and there is enough of him to do so, since the last time I saw him he must have weighed 300 pounds). Close to Howard Samuels (who is for us); ran his governorship campaign in New York State. Savvy, but wrong as often as he is right. Generally stays behind the scenes. He is now managing Bella's U.S. Senate campaign. He admires (from a distance) Ham Jordan's political talent (professional admiration) and would like to get to know him. I think they have met briefly. And Bella just might get the nomination. (212 532-9090).

CANDON

STU

June 8, 1976

MEMORANDUM

TO: Landon Butler  
FROM: Harry Huges *HH*  
RE: Voter Registration Activities

In the course of the meeting with Senator Tydings and Peter Bourne, the question of voter registration between the Convention and the election came up. I recall from 1972 the additional registration that was done, but most of all I recall the additional registration that was not done. It seems to me that we should pay some attention now to setting up how to do voter registration throughout the country, particularly in cities in the north in the Black community. Let's discuss this at your convenience.

cc: Peter Bourne  
Steve Stark

MEMORANDUM

TO: BOB LIPSHUTZ, PAUL HEMMON  
FROM: STU EIZENSTAT  
RE: REIMBURSEMENT FOR CANTOR ISAAC GOODFRIEND  
DATE: JUNE 9, 1976

As you are aware, Cantor Goodfriend flew to Cleveland on June 1, 1976 and taped an hour long program on the Jewish hour for WXEN. This was done at our direction.

Attached is his airplane ticket, in the amount of \$132.00. He needs to be reimbursed for this amount and for \$7 in taxi fare.

I hope that this reimbursement can come as quickly as possible.

6/15/76

Jody --

A few facts for Jimmy to speak from tomorrow. Source: Ga. State Dept. of Natural Resources.

Georgia has more than 450,000 acres of tidal marshes. The marshes form a band 4 to 6 miles wide along the Georgia coast and are one of the most productive coastal areas in the nation. The major plant on the marshes is cord grass, *Spartina*, a grass, not a salt marsh cord grass. A University of Georgia study estimated that an acre of the grass was a marsh was three times as productive as an average acre of corn in the U.S. in terms of dry weight of material produced per year. The cord grass produces two crops per year, which fall to earth and is carried out to the open sea where it provides food for fish and other marine life. It is estimated that one acre of tidal marsh land eventually yields 500 pounds of fish in the open ocean.

In 1975, the value of fish and shellfish harvested was nearly \$12 million. The value of seafood used for processing was nearly \$48 million.

More than 6 million people visit Georgia's coastal region each year, and spend nearly \$450 million. (In 1974 there were nearly 2,700,000 visitors to Jekyll Island alone.)

The 14 major coastal barrier islands include more than 90 miles of white sand beach.

Cumberland Island is one of the nation's largest national seashores with more than 15,000 acres of land and 16 miles of beach.

The tidal area is also the site of one of the best artesian aquifers (a layer of water-bearing rock) in the world. The water is used on the coast for industry as well as for home consumption.

Of course, Jimmy can speak on his own record in establishing the Coastal Zone Management Plan and in sponsoring other measures to protect the Georgia coastline.

*Oliver*

June 15, 1976

MEMO: Coastal Waters and Area

FROM: Jane Yarn

General History -

Georgia's coastal area is rich in history with fine examples of most periods preserved going back even to pre-historic man through archeological digs and shell *mounds*

Status Today -

Good cross section of development and preservation. Georgia coastal area has State & Federal Game & Fish Preserves, State Parks, National Seashore Park, Public & Private Beaches & Islands, Univeristy Marine Institute, Excellent Ports, and Good Industry.

Marshes -

The salt marshes and estuaries on our coast are unusually large and still very much in their natural state. They are the nursery for the sea, where all marine life either begins or depends on in the food chain. The marshey grasses provide the source of food for this tremendous production of life. This is done with no fertilizer, cultivation, or cost to man. Several crops are produced each year. This is the food source for all the life produced here. This area also provides a large amount of our oxygen supply. It serves as a buffer to the mainland, offering protection from storms, winds, etc. Georgia was particularly foresighted in passing legislation in 1969 to protect this valuable resource, and the state under Governor Carter established claim to all the marshlands. Today the Coastal Zone Management Plan, begun during the Carter Administration, is being completed. Through this planning, the resources, history, etc. are being recorded to guide future use and development of Georgia's coast.

Special Features -

Georgia's coast is further away from the Gulf Stream than other states. This offers higher protection. It has a calm sea and sandy beaches with a mild climate. It is very rich in plant and

animal life. The people reflect the semi-tropical climate and slow pace reminiscent of the "Old South". One hundred years from now, when most of the East Coast will be wall-to-wall urban, Georgia will stand out as having had the foresight to project ahead and provide for a balance <sup>by</sup> ~~for~~ preserving much of what was natural and unique.

TED VAN DYK ASSOCIATES, INC.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Public and Governmental Affairs

1156 Fifteenth Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20005  
(202) 296-6450

June 17, 1976

TO: Stuart Eizenstat

FROM: Ted Van Dyk 

Per your request, here's a suggested table of organization for handling of the issues sector. It's based on the assumption that you will run the campaign out of Atlanta, rather than out of Washington.

Atlanta

A. Director of Issues and Research: Stu Eizenstat

You should supervise and/or be involved in all activity regarding the candidate's message to the outside world. This includes preparation and clearance of all but routine campaign speeches; final signoff and staff clearance on release of all position, background and task force papers; issuance of regular (sometimes more than once a day) directives by telex to field personnel in 50 states; on handling of current issues; clearance of all radio-TV commercials, advertising, and written material for content prior to release; coordination of issues task forces; review of Vice Presidential texts prior to delivery and guidance to Vice Presidential issues staff; liaison with transition groups; sending of daily campaign news summary to candidate and traveling staff; chairing of daily issues meetings attended by key issues, organization, press and citizens-group personnel. In short, you must be sure that the entire campaign, without exception is 1) saying the same thing; 2) saying it properly; and 3) is not creating confusion by freelance activity.

B. Speechwriters: 4 or 5

These need not be brilliant writers, but rather fast workmen who can meet deadlines. Nor need they be issues specialists. But they should have enough solid, substantive grounding to know when and

where to ask questions of the specialists. George Allen football: Grind out five to six yards at a time; make no mistakes or fumbles by trying something fancy; keep the initiative in your hands. In other words, no erratic, uncontrollable Shrums or Goodwins; solid, dependable Gwartzmans or Bennets. Only one, or at most two, speechwriters on the plane. The headquarters speechwriting group should do most of the campaign speech drafting. Resources, files, communication are all far greater at headquarters than on the plane. Basic drafts should be telexed to the plane, then edited or rewritten to meet fast-breaking conditions en route. Texts should reach the plane a full day in advance of delivery, if possible. In most cases, they will be stock speeches with insertion of localized economic data, anecdotes, etc. Major policy texts should be prepared, substantively reviewed and cleared several days in advance of delivery and should receive the candidate's personal attention. Probably the speechwriters' very first assignment should be to prepare an all-purpose "Carter on the Issues" booklet for distribution to press, field organization, etc. It should set forth the candidate's biography, public record, and key statements so there will be no question, confusion, or misrepresentation regarding where he does and does not stand.

C. Researchers: 3 or 4

These people should delve immediately into all statements, activities, assertions by the Republican candidate, associates, and Administration, as well as all major Republican campaign figures. There are always several major, overlooked time bombs lurking somewhere. One person should be an attorney and trained investigator (such as Walter Sheridan, who worked for RFK) to do field work. An immediate assignment should be the preparation (in coordination with issues specialists, see below) of a half-dozen devastating analyses of Republican failures in key substantive areas. These papers, showing attention by the GOP candidate and/or Administration to fat, special interests and personal favorites, should be released at the very start of the campaign to set the opposition on the defensive. Tax policy, economic policy, granting of licenses, appointment of campaign contributors, failure to weed out Nixon appointees and associates -- these would all seem to be fertile, early fields.

D. Issues Specialists: 4

These should be intelligent, well-grounded resource people with a good, general knowledge of substantive areas. They should help build a record on Republican failures in those areas; should contribute to preparation and drafting of Carter campaign statements (two-to-five <sup>page</sup> papers issued regularly as unemployment figures are released; as crime statistics are available, etc.); should counsel and advise the speechwriters on their subject areas; and should work in general

liaison with the issues task forces. They also should talk to reporters, supporters, walk-in "idea" people; and make sure that citizen's group people are on the right path. On the latter point, the national citizens committee should have within it ethnic affairs; minority affairs; women's affairs; Jewish affairs; youth affairs; senior citizens affairs, etc. staffs (these also can be situated in the campaign proper, but I urge they be kept separate). They must be monitored and controlled or they will be saying and doing irresponsible things along the way. You personally should review every statement and piece of written material prepared by them. I suggest, as a division of labor, issues specialists in the following fields: Economics; Foreign Affairs; Agriculture and Rural Development; Urban and General Domestic Affairs. These will be your "desk officers."

### Washington

#### A. Task Forces: One coordinator, two assistants

You can have any number of task forces from 6 to 60. They can be organized in any kind of way. I'd suggest no more than a dozen, however, for the sake of internal discipline. I have lists here of the breakdowns we utilized in 1968 and 1972, as well as some of their products.

Each task force should have its own chairman and executive secretary (volunteers). Each should hold internal meetings, develop ideas, contribute information to your Atlanta issues specialists and speech writers, hold periodic press briefings, and, finally, beginning in mid-September, issue a task force report. The candidate can either endorse the report; acknowledge the report; or a combination of both. These task forces are particularly useful because they enable you to learn which people are able and dependable and which are not, in looking beyond the election to a new Administration. No written word or statement should be released without clearance and/or knowledge by you or the coordinator.

#### B. Legislative Director: One coordinator, one assistant

You will need to draw regularly on Hill people and staff for resource material; to encourage legislative initiatives and action in September-November which help the campaign; and to keep the theme-lines perking out of Capitol Hill and in the Congressional campaigns. In 1972, for instance, we held one breakfast briefing each week at the Capitol for principal Democratic AA's and staff directors to keep them posted on campaign planning and to encourage their support. If you don't do this, you'll soon find these people sniping, grumping, and undermining your campaign. A Presidential candidate needs Congressional liaison, just as a President does.

C. Transition group: Two coordinators, two assistants

This should be divided into two parts, but coordinated. One group must examine all the options and actions which a new President must address when taking office; work with the outgoing Administration in insuring an orderly transition; and prepare the new President between November-January to start out running. A second group should prepare a document for the new President's review listing key policy positions and several candidates for each. Special care will have to be taken that the "old boy" network doesn't assert itself and that the proposed appointees don't turn out to be the same old Kennedy/Johnson protective society crowd. For that reason, I think you need to act immediately, per our discussion, to head off the false start already taken.

My own preference, Stu, would be that the whole campaign be headquartered in Washington. There are definite advantages to Atlanta, but the media, resource people, communications are all in Washington. And there are the DNC offices waiting to be occupied by the campaign. I doubt, however, that you'll want to change your minds on that.

Two vital points:

1. You must be included in all major campaign-planning activity in all parts of the campaign -- including scheduling, media, and nuts-and-bolts -- or else mistakes will be made or opportunities lost. I'm sure you'll be having a daily staff meeting of a campaign steering committee. This is the best place for coordination.

2. On the airplane, there must be an experienced, able person who knows both national politics and substance to advise the candidate and to give one last review to everything before release or delivery. The candidate himself will be too busy and distracted to give adequate review and reflection. This person should have direct access to the candidate and be able to talk to him most candidly. This is vital. Only one serious substantive or political mistake is enough to sink the whole campaign. Ask Barry Goldwater, George McGovern, George Romney or Ed Muskie.

I'll see you here next week, after you've had time to review the above.

*cc W<sup>h</sup> van der Heerl*

A.L. McDonald

245 Park Avenue, 20th Floor  
New York, N.Y. 10017

June 24, 1976

Mr. Forrest Murden  
Murden & Company  
39 East 51st Street  
New York, New York 10022

Dear Forrest,

Since you are advising Jimmy Carter's campaign group on a number of issues including their public relations, you may be interested in a couple of reactions that I have picked up recently during my international travels.

As you know, I was in Europe last month and am a regular subscriber to several of the important French news and general magazines. Attached is a copy of the recent L'Express with Carter's picture on the cover. The article inside was excellent; in fact it could not have been more positive or constructive in putting him and his ideas forward. This has been the general theme in the French press and I have noted with relief the fine treatment he has received in the daily newspapers there as well as in the magazines.

In contrast to the favorable impression from Europe, when in Tokyo last week, there was an annoying incident which did not help either his position or the U.S. situation in Japan. I know it must be difficult to control public expressions by Carter's many advisors, but I think this is absolutely essential to do to prevent them from taking stands in his name prematurely particularly in the international arena.

Apparently a Professor Cohen from Harvard was on a visit to Korea. The sponsorship for the trip was not clear, but it could not have been with top U.S. approval

TO: Bill Albers (in Atlanta)

FROM: William Anderson (in Washington, DC)

Draft Presented to Governor-Carter by Frank Moore

FINAL  
DRAFT

June 24, 1976

Proposed Remarks for Governor Carter to deliver at the Calhoun  
Fund Raiser--

Washington  
Wednesday, June 30, 4:30 - 5:30 p.m.  
Shoreham Hotel

Prepared by William Anderson 202-333-3938 or 202-333-0972 with the  
assistance of MERA.

Mr. Calhoun, distinguished members of the maritime profession --  
other guests and friends.

I have had the opportunity of discussing with some of you -- twice  
recently with tonight's host, Jesse Calhoun -- the distressing plight  
of our U. S. Flag Merchant Fleet.

As a former sailor myself, I know the importance of the oceans and  
the need for a strong merchant marine.

I know the pride that one feels, watching from the bridge, or  
through a periscope as I often did, on encountering a modern merchant  
vessel, proudly flying the United States flag. But in recent years,  
the decline of our flag fleet has made the sight of American vessels  
all too rare.

As President, I pledge my help to see that the American flag is  
returned to the seas again. I believe that ships built in American  
yards, by American engineers and craftsmen, and manned by American  
seamen trained principally in industry operated schools and aboard  
ship can once again be the envy of the maritime world. I believe  
that the nation can again become a sea-minded power that can compete  
for, and win a substantial proportion of international commerce.

Draft

June 24, 1976

We all know our increasing dependence on world trade -- for sending out our farm products to a hungry world, for importing critically needed oil and other resources, and in order to be ready to supply our needs during times of emergency.

Since the beginning of our nation, we have recognized the importance of our merchant fleet. Our very first Congress saw the wisdom of enacting a bill for the regulation of coastal trade.

In the historic Merchant Marine Act of 1936 under President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a dynamic policy was established to foster a strong, balanced and competitive U. S. Flag Merchant Marine to carry all our intercoastal shipping and a fair share of foreign trade. The strong merchant marine that was developed because of the 1936 Act was an important element in our defense of the free world during World War II. By the end of that war, 6,000 U. S. ships had been built.

But this 6,000 had declined to 529 privately-owned vessels by 1974 and U. S. flag carriage of cargo plummeted.

In 1970 the Act was amended, calling for an enlightened new program to build for U. S. flag operation 300 ships over the following ten years. The 1970's are nearly two-thirds gone, but only 20 percent of those ships have been contracted for construction. The current Administration has shown no sympathy for this program. Indeed, this year the Administration has recommended no funds whatsoever for merchant ship construction.

We need not only a revitalized maritime industry, we need a new Administration to see that this rebuilding program takes place. ✓

Draft

June 24, 1976

I want to see a U. S. flag merchant marine that is the best in the world. ✓

I want to see a return to the premise of the 1936 Act that our U. S. Flag Merchant Ships should be of-a-type-immediately available to join our military in time of national emergencies or out-right war. ✓  
The Navy and Merchant Marine must be better coordinated to insure that they can work cooperatively to achieve goals of efficiency and protection of the nation's security.

And I want to see unnecessary competition eliminated between private industry and government in the shipping business.

~~Sometimes I think our national maritime policy is formulated more at the round-tables in foreign capitals than here at home.~~ ✓  
During the Nixon-Ford years, administration policies have paid little attention to national cargo laws and agreements that were intended to assure that a reasonable percentage of all types of U. S. commercial cargoes be carried by the U. S. Flag Merchant Marine. We have failed to protect our shippers from other nations who raid our commerce by charging money-losing rates for the short-term in order to create dependence in the long-term. What good are new ships if there's no cargo to carry?

~~Despite the fact that we are virtually surrounded by the sea, the~~  
The United States in recent decades <sup>must regain</sup> has lost the sea-minded spirit that it once had. Just as Americans have become aware of the importance of space exploration and the need for a strong national defense, they should become more aware of the importance of the seas and the ships

Draft

June 24, 1976

that sail them.

Let us not forget, too, that we must help to renew our nation's fisheries resources and revitalize our fishing industry. Equally we must do much more about pollution of our oceans and waterways, for if the oceans die, the planet cannot be far behind.

In connection with my pledge to seek efficiency in the Federal government, attention will be given to the improved and more efficient interaction among all oceanic interests, because here again recent administrations have accomplished little despite repeated calls for action.

As President, I assure you of my personal attention to these matters. Working together we can change the sad record of the past and the grievous policies or lack of policies of the present administration.

We can and we shall indeed again unfurl the U. S. flag at sea.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Orin Kramer  
FROM: Stu Eizenstat  
DATE: June 25, 1976

Please put the following people on the education task force; they have a special expertise in cooperative education which is a very important concept in higher education:

- (1) George Probst, Executive Director for the National Commission for Cooperative Education, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10017;
- (2) Joyce Kinnison, Director, Cooperative Education Program;

Please also put Dr. Marjorie Bell Chambers on the education task force. She is national President of the American Association of University Women and President of Colorado Women's College, Quebec and Montview Blvd., Denver, Colorado 80220, 303/394-6811.

S.E.E.

SEE:dan

June 28, 1976

MEMO

TO: Moira Egan, Frank Moore

FROM: Rick Merrill

I got a call from Walter Fauntroy, with whom I have a close political and good personal relationship. Walter asked me to do two things -- neither of which has anything to do with New York and neither of which has much to do with the District of Columbia or Congressional Relations, but I cannot think who else should get this memo. The two items are:

- \* A memo which Walter gave Jimmy on behalf of himself and Andy Young, regarding a proposal for minority voter registration in 12 large urban metropolitan areas.
- \* A conversation Walter had with Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr. ("Daddy King," in Walters phrase). As a result of this conversation, Walter feels it is important that Rev. King be asked to deliver a special invocation at the Convention (in addition to whatever role is being planned for him at the inauguration).

Regarding the District of Columbia, Walter is working on delivering those we do not now have, and thinks he will be able to do so shortly. He is working with John Isaacs (the Udall Chairman who helped elect Walter Chairman of the Delegation), and Meg Aylward, who is a Udall Delegate and is very close locally to Walter.

On the above two minority items, Walter said that Ben Brown has the voter registration memo. I gather that Walter is expecting some other kind of push from me, which perhaps either of you can provide.

Fin memo file

June 25, 1976

MEMORANDUM

*DEB*  
To: Stu Eizenstat  
From: Doug Huron  
Re: Supreme Court's Decision in Runyon v. McCrary

In Runyon black parents had attempted to enroll their children in two private schools in Virginia. The schools, which accepted only whites, refused to admit the black children, and their parents filed suit against the institutions. Also joined as a defendant was the Southern Independent School Association, an association of 395 private schools, many of which exclude black students.

The schools in question receive no aid from either Federal or state governments, and the issue in the case was whether such private racial discrimination is prohibited by any Federal law.

The Court held, 7-2, that 42 U.S.C. 1981, a Reconstruction statute which grants blacks "the same right . . . to make and enforce contracts . . . as is enjoyed by white citizens," covers contracts for private educational services and thereby bars racial discrimination by private schools -- at least those which are generally open to the public. (The Court noted, for example, that the defendant schools advertised in the yellow pages.) In short, the Court ruled that Section 1981 is constitutional and that it

. . . prohibits private, commercially operated, non-sectarian schools from denying admission to prospective students because they are Negroes.

The Court noted that the issue resolved is narrow and detailed certain questions neither addressed nor decided by its opinion:

- 1) the right of a private social organization to limit its membership on racial or other grounds;

- 2) the right of a school to limit its student body on the basis of sex;
- 3) the right of a private sectarian school to exclude black students on religious grounds.

The Court also observed that the case did not present any challenge to the right of parents to educate their children at private schools, or to the right of schools to teach any particular subject matter. The Court concluded, however, that "reasonable government regulation" of private schools is permissible.

For its basic rationale, the Court borrowed a line from Jones v. Mayer, the 1968 decision which held that a similar Reconstruction statute prohibited private racial discrimination in the sale and rental of housing: the law was intended to insure that "a dollar in the hands of a Negro will purchase the same thing as a dollar in the hands of a white man."

\* \* \*

Concurring, Justice Powell emphasized that the schools in question were generally open to the public, and that the decision related to contracts of a commercial nature -- not to personal contractual relationships such as that found between an employer and private tutor. Justice Stevens also filed a concurrence. Justice White, joined by Rehnquist, dissented.

# LETTER FILE

To: Stu Eizenstat and Dave Moran *Chip Cabot*  
From: Bill Johnston  
Re: Telegram to Convention of Black Entrepreneurs  
Date: June 29, 1976

Ben Miller, President of the Minority Contractors Association of Northern California called to request that the Carter Campaign make some statement or communication to the Seventh Annual Convention of the National Association of Minority Contractors. The group is meeting June 29th-July 3rd at the Washington Plaza Hotel Seattle, Washington, Tel. 206-624-7400. It represents 2,000 or so minority builders. They wanted to support Carter but would like some expression of Carter's concern. Specifically, they want things like a cabinet level post for the Office of Minority Business Enterprise and reassurance of the continued existence of that program. However, any expression of general support for the construction industry and for the concept of help for Black entrepreneurs would be sufficient.

A telephone call from Jimmy would be great but a telegram will do. It could read:

To: John Bingham, President of the National Association of Minority Contractors c/o Ben Miller, President of the Minority Contractors Association of Northern California

" Thank you for the opportunity to express my views to your group at its seventh annual convention. I am firmly committed to the revitalization of the nation's construction industry and to the development of new mechanisms to assure financing for housing production. I am also *firmly committed to* ~~a strong advocate~~ of the *assuring the development of* ~~goals of developing~~ minority business enterprise in this country. ~~I think~~ *that more can, be done* to support minority entrepreneurs and to provide

*must*

Page two, Telegram Memo, June 29, 1976

them with sustained technical and financial help. During my administration you may be sure that the needs of minority businessmen will receive high priority and sympathetic consideration."

BY THE 30<sup>TH</sup> FOR OPENING SPEECH  
WOULD BE BEST BUT ANYTIME  
BEFORE CONVENTION END OKAY. PLEASE  
TELL THEM ITS ON THE WAY.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Messrs. Brzezinski, Eizenstat, Kramer and Stark

FROM: Larry Hargrove ~~LT~~

DATE: 29 June 1976

Pursuant to conversations John Kotch and I have had with Zbig Brzezinski, we have attached a catalogue of papers existing and in preparation in the fields of foreign policy, defense, and disarmament, including several papers being prepared for the task force on nuclear disarmament.

We expect to supply you with updates as required.

Subject	Type	Status	Drafter	Comment
Africa: South African riots	Quick reaction statement	Ready for use as of 6-21-76	Morgenthau, Lake, Z.B., Kotch	
Africa: General policy	Position (2 pp.)	Draft 5-16-76	Lake	
Africa	Briefing (10 pp.)	Draft 5-16-76	Lake	
Africa: US stake in Africa	Position (3 pp.)	Draft 5-76	Butcher	
Africa: Southern Africa	Position (4 pp. with 2 pp. statement)	Draft 5-76	Morgenthau	
Africa: General policy	Speech	Assigned	Lake with African subgroup	Subgroup met 6-21-76
American values in foreign policy	Speech	Draft June 14-76	Meeker and subgroup	An additional rough draft, possibly for use as basis for an article, has been prepared by Overholt
Asia: China	Position (1 p.)	Draft 5-12-76	Oksenberg	
Asia: China-- Internal power struggle	Briefing (4 pp.)	Draft 5-12-76	Oksenberg	

Subject	Type	Status	Drafter	Comment
Asia: China	Position (4 pp.)	Draft 5-12-76	Cohen	See also Cohen's 6-23-76 testimony, House Subcommittee on Future Foreign Policy, on "Normalization"
Asia: China	Comment on above, 5-18-76		Doak Barnett	
Asia: Korea	Position (1 p. statement plus 2 pp. briefing)	Draft 6-76	Overholt	
Asia: Korea	Position (2 pp.)	Draft 5-76	Kotch	
Asia: Importance to US	Briefing (2 pp.)	Draft 6-76	Overholt	
Asia: Japan	Position	Draft 6-76	Morley	Now being revised on basis of subgroup meeting 6-24. Asia drafts above will be folded into following:
China: Normalization	Position (1 p. statement plus 3 pp. briefing)	Assigned 6-24-76	Cohen, Oksenberg	
Asia: China-- Military Sales	Quick reaction statement	Assigned 6-24-76	Cohen	
Asia: China-- Mao's death	Quick reaction statement	Assigned 6-24-76	Oksenberg	

Subject	Type	Status	Drafter	Comment
Asia: Taiwan-- US interests	Position (1 p. statement plus 3 pp. briefing)	Assigned 6-24-76	Cohen	
Asia: China-- US interests and current options	Briefing	Assigned 6-24-76	Oksenberg	
Asia: Korea	Position	Assigned 6-24-76	Morley	
Asia: Micronesia	Briefing	Assigned 6-24-76	Herbert Passen	
Asia: South Asia	Position	Assigned 6-24-76	Myron Wiener	
Asia: Southeast Asia	Position	Assigned 6-24-76	Charles Stevens	
Asia: US military interests	Position or briefing	Assigned 6-24-76	Overholt	
Asia: foreign aid	Position	Assigned 6-24-76	Overholt	
Asia: Japan-- Lockheed scandal	Position	Assigned 6-24-76	Charles Stevens	

Subject	Type	Status	Drafter	Comment
Defense	Position and briefing	Assigned; briefing materials on defense budget provided for Gelb int.	Owen, Blechman and others forming defense subgroup	
Defense: Navy	Position (1 p.) plus briefing (4 pp.)	Draft 5-76	Blechman	
Defense: Navy	Position (3 pp. statement plus 3 pp. briefing)	Draft 5-76	Nitze	
Defense: Budget issues	Briefing	5-6-76 memo to Governor Harriman	Warnke	
Defense: Cruise missiles	Position (1 p.), technical background (1 p.) policy backg. (2p.)	Draft 6-2-76	Kosta Tsipis through Roger Fisher	See also Richard Garwin memorandum of 5-25-76, and nuclear disarmament papers below
Europe: Italian elections	Briefing (7 pp.)	Draft 6-18-76	Robert Sylvester (Staff of Cong. Cardiss Collins)	Contributed as result of conversations with "contact group" of Hill staffers
Food Policy	Speech	Ready for use as of 6-2-76	Owen	
Foreign aid: Multilateral aid	Briefing	Section included in briefing materials for Gelb interview	Owen	
Foreign policy as a campaign issue	Position (3 pp.)	Draft 5-24-76	Sorensen	

Subject	Type	Status	Drafter	Comment
Government organization for conduct of foreign affairs	Proposal (2 pp.) plus statement (5 pp.)	Draft 5-7-76	Katz	
Latin America: US-Latin American relations	Position (7 pp.)	Draft 5-24-76	Manning	
(same)	Position (9 pp.)	Draft 5-5-76	Meeker	
Latin America: Panama Canal	Position (1 p.) plus briefing (3 pp.)	Position ready for use	Pastor, with ZB and RNG on position	See also Clifford Hynning proposal to JC for internationalization (4-27-76)
Latin America: Cuba	Position	Draft 5-76	Pastor	
Nuclear Disarmament: SALT	Position	Assigned	James Woolsey, Harold Brown	Revision of draft earlier submitted by Brown due before 7-1-76
Nuclear disarmament: Threshold test ban	Quick reaction statement (2 pp.) plus briefing (1 p.)	Draft 6-18-76	Herbert Scoville	Submitted to Nuclear Disarmament Task Force
Nuclear disarmament: Test ban	Position (3 pp.) plus briefing (1 p.)	Draft 6-18-76	Herbert Scoville	(same)
Nuclear disarmament: Tactical nuclear weapons	Position (1 p.) plus briefing (5 pp.)	Draft 6-18-76	Overholt	(same)

Subject	Type	Status	Drafter	Comment
Nuclear disarmament: Export and proliferation	Major speech	Delivered 5-13-76		
(same)	Position dovetail with speech on specific issues	Assigned	Adrian Fisher	
Middle East	Major speech	Delivered 6-76		
Middle East	Position & briefing	Draft 5-12-76	Yost	
Middle East: Lebanese crisis	Quick reaction statement	Ready for use as of 6-18-76	Yost, ZB, Hargrove Kotch	
Oceans Policy	Position	Assigned	Hargrove	
Transnational Corporations: US corporate payments abroad	Position	Draft 5-24-76	Sorensen	
Trilateral relations	Major speech	Delivered 6-23-76		



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

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EMIL MAZEY, SECRETARY-TREASURER

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STEPHEN I. SCHLOSSBERG  
GENERAL COUNSEL—WASHINGTON  
1125 15TH STREET, N. W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005  
PHONE: (202) 296-7484

JOHN A. FILLION  
GENERAL COUNSEL—DETROIT

June 29, 1976

Mr. Stuart Eizenstat  
Issues and Policy Director  
Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign  
P. O. Box 1976  
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Stu,

Thank you so much for the gracious notes from you and Jimmy. It was a great pleasure to work with you on the platform.

Leonard Woodcock is in Europe, but I know how deeply he feels about the matter I now raise with you.

The National Labor Relations Act, the basic law regulating labor-management relations, was passed in 1935; it has not been revised since then to take account of the increasingly sophisticated tactics used by some employers to frustrate the right of employees "to form, join or assist labor organizations" set out in §7 of the Act. The result is that employers are more and more successful in depriving employees of the right of self-organization supposedly granted by the NLRA. Thus, a first priority of organized labor is a revision of the NLRA which provides employees who wish to organize a fair opportunity to do so. A sentence or paragraph in the Governor's acceptance speech, if it fits, or at the latest on some important occasion soon thereafter, stating his support of this goal (perhaps to be expanded upon in a Labor Day speech or at a union convention) would be certain to release the latent political energy of the trade union movement. As you know, there is some difference in support and enthusiastic support.

I am not, of course, an active participant in drafting that speech, but, because of the importance I and others in labor attach to this matter, and since I am aware of some of the basic themes that the Governor has developed throughout his campaign, I venture the following possibilities. I am, of course, available to explain my thinking and to offer additional alternatives if none of these fit the speech's overall outline and tone, although I am confident you will understand and be able to adapt as necessary.

(1) As the product and representative of a New South -- proud of its past, certain of its maturity, eager to take its place as a full, equal and responsible partner with the other regions of this Nation -- I understand that the national labor policy favoring the right of self-organization is indeed a national policy, and that competition between sections of the country based on undermining labor conditions is unhealthy for the entire country, and not least for the regions which believe they gain short-run advantage by permitting the exploitation of their own workers. In my Administration all regions will be treated fairly. The grievances of the past which have led to such mutually destructive competition cannot be justification for refusals to accept the rights of workers to organize or free collective bargaining, which together are the guarantors of industrial democracy.

(2) My Administration will strive to bring into the system all those who wish to work to improve their condition. Despite the laws that Congress has passed, millions who wish to have the benefits of equal employment opportunity, of union organization, and of a safe and healthy workplace have been deprived of those rights by unsympathetic and often hostile administration of the law. Beginning in January 1977 these working people will no longer be strangers in their own land.

(3) My Administration will stand on the side of those who have yet to receive in full the fruits of the American Revolution: those who demand an effective voice in government, those who seek to improve their working conditions by exercising their right to participate in industrial democracy through free collective bargaining, those who pursue equal employment opportunities and those who try to preserve their own farms and independent businesses.

My very best personal regards to you.

Sincerely,

  
Stephen I. Schlossberg

SIS:car  
opeiu42

cc  
Leonard Woodcock

MEMORANDUM

TO: Hamilton Jordan  
FROM: Tom Joe  
DATE: June 30, 1976

We have heard that Governor Carter intends to appoint someone to a visible position in the campaign, spearheading a national task force of some sort focused on problems of the elderly. Both Bob Ball and I would strongly recommend Nelson Cruikshank for that position.

Nelson Cruikshank is the President of the National Council of Senior Citizens, which is a large membership organization of older people with something over 5 million members throughout the United States. The membership consists of trade union members to a considerable extent, but also many other people. It is in many ways a strongly oriented Democratic organization.

Nelson Cruikshank, prior to retiring and becoming President of the National Council of Senior Citizens was, for a period of about 20 years, in charge of the Social Security Department of the AFL-CIO. He is well respected by United Auto Workers who provide a considerable part of the support for the National Council of Senior Citizens, as well as by the AFL-CIO. He is extremely knowledgeable about all matters affecting elderly people, not just as a spokesman, but as a contributor of ideas. Over a period of many, many years, he has served on most of the advisory councils that have been established on the Social Security system. He is a good speaker and a fine organizer. His training was that of a Methodist minister and he is a graduate of Union Theological School and Ohio Wesleyan University.

Within a week's notice, Cruikshank could put together 3,000 - 5,000 aged citizens for a major social security speech to be given by Carter in any major city, including Boston, New York, Chicago. Such an audience would be ideal for a major social security speech during the campaign.

P.S. Remember my interest in the reorganization task force as well as transitional task force. Anything you can do will be appreciated. My office is located in the L'Enfant Plaza Hotel -- 470 L'Enfant Plaza, Suite 4100. Telephone: 488-4300

\* \* \* \* \*

The National Council of Organizations for Children and Youth (NCOCY) would like to have approximately 6 national representatives of children's organizations and organized labor (e.g., Child Welfare League of America, Children's Foundation) talk with you for about half an hour in Washington after the Convention.

# ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY CENTER

317 Pennsylvania Ave., S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003

(202) 547-6500

July 1, 1976

Steve --

Here is the Oil Daily story claiming Gov. Carter's support for oil shale and other synthetic fuel production. Our people and Rep. Ottinger's office say the story will influence votes when the synfuel commercialization bill (HR 12112) comes to the House floor after the Convention, unless Gov. Carter issues a statement repeating his opposition to the legislation.

Something else Gov. Carter should know: the Colorado Democratic Party, at its state convention, just passed a resolution opposing subsidies for commercial production of synfuels. This puts Gov. Lamm, who is an open and active partner of the Ford Administration in promoting the subsidized development of oil shale, squarely at odds with the Democratic party in Colorado. We have learned of plans by Lamm and two of his administrators to try to present Lamm to Gov. Carter as if Lamm were the leader of the western-states interests working for independent and rational regional energy policies. In fact Lamm is embroiled in serious political conflict, in his state and within the region, because of his work in behalf of oil industry and Ford Administration synthetic fuel policies.

Also: one of the Udall alternates at the Convention, a Navajo named Harris Arthur, is worth some special attention by our people there. Harris is widely respected in the Indian political community as a source of independent Indian competence on the economic, political, and environmental implications of energy policy. He is directly involved with the independent Indian efforts to overcome the Bureau of Indian Affairs' corrupt relationships with oil and mining companies stealing water and resources from Indian lands. Even a minute of attention from Gov. Carter to Harris would be a signal that Gov. Carter really has respect for the rights and values of the Indians.

Finally: Jim McCartney of the Knight chain, referred up here by one of your people, called yesterday. He has read Elizabeth Drew's old ATLANTIC piece on the Corps, has heard about Gov. Carter's anti-dam remarks, and has decided to do a major story, for use after the Convention, on what a Carter victory might mean to the porkbarrel lobby and what that might mean to the country. I think it is important, for political as well as substantive reasons, that Gov. Carter's feelings about the Corps be seen as reflecting more than environmental concerns. The impact of barge subsidies on our rail transportation system, the way large-scale water management projects affect the relative price and availability of water to independent vs corporate agriculture, the same projects' impacts on water availability to agricultural and domestic users vs energy industry users, the porkbarrel impact on federal and local budget priorities, and the porkbarrel system's overall negative impact on the credibility of government information, are among the other issues that should be articulated. Because of the sensitive relationship of Corps/Burec programs to Congressional politics, any major Carter statements on Corps-type programs should acknowledge the role of Congress in helping to reform water resource management policies.

And Bart Rowan, chief economics writer for the Washington Post, is doing a story on the economics of federal energy policy that will reflect very favorably on some of the things Gov. Carter has been saying.

so long,

Joe Browder

jbb  
enc.

was seen as only "meeting special expectations in financial markets if the price of coal on the international and domestic markets must to go up." Page pointed out, "There will be no development and revenues to share." Industry experts want to know

including preparation and quality control, account for nearly 50% of the West Coast price.

**SOME COAL** industry experts wonder if, by any chance, the higher royalties "will drive potential developers to British Columbia or some other parts of the world." Others wondered if the speed of development "will be sufficient, in light of higher overhead costs, to meet Alberta's own expectations for the growth of coal production.

Alberta Mines produced some 11 million tons of coal last year. Some six million tons of high quality coking coal have been sold to Japan. This is traditional export market for western Canadian metallurgical coal. The remainder of the output, thermal coal was used mostly in local power generation.

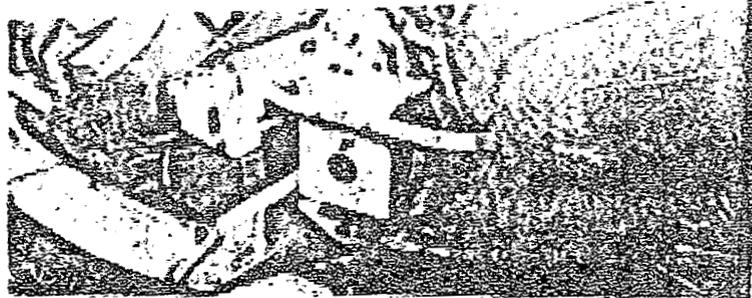
The future course and scope of Alberta coal development is expected to be of immense importance to Ontario Hydro. This power utility is looking westward to replace its present overwhelming dependence on U.S. coal supplies.

**UNICAR STERCO** plans to ship substantial volumes of high quality thermal coal to Ontario via the lakehead. Other mines have been contemplated with essentially the same purpose in mind -- to possibly double Alberta's current annual coal production every 10 years.

According to some industry estimates, Alberta holds some 60% of Canada's total proven and probable coal reserves.

**Energy-Saving Tip**

Save energy by buying products that are designed to last. More durable products help save the energy that would be required to manufacture new goods and materials. And, in the long run, they probably will save you money as well.



**ROOF BOLT INSERTER:** This machine automatically bonds, straightens, and inserts roof bolts into coal mine shafts. It incorporates a new flexible drill for drilling roof bolt holes in low seam coal mines. The unit was developed and tested by Sandia Energy, Environment and Technology Office, under a contract from the U.S. Bureau of Mines.

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**OIL DAILY**

6/25/76

**Carter's Energy Policy  
Seems To Like Synfuels**

By **FREEMAN BISHOP**

**DEMOCRATIC** front runner Jimmy Carter has come out for using the nation's coal reserves as the backbone of an energy policy. And he has come out against overproduction of dwindling domestic oil reserves so they can be preserved for future needs. For the short term, thrifty use of available energy seems to be his approach. None of these positions are especially unique. Almost everyone else who has run for President so far this year has made similar endorsements.

Where Carter seems to begin pulling away from other would-be nominees is his apparent enthusiasm about synthetic natural gas and synthetic liquid fuels from oil shale and coal.

Federal allocation of oil during emergencies such as the 1973-74 Arab oil embargo is a likely part of Carter's energy policy should he be elected President in November. But this already is the law of the

land under standby authority given the President last year when Congress allowed phase-out of price and allocation controls.

In all, the heir apparent to the Democratic Party's nomination next month appears to be following along avenues already laid down in present government policies — although with the usual claims that Democrats could do it better.

**MINERS STUDY LAWS  
GOVERNING INDUSTRY**

**BEING PROMOTED** lately by the United Mine Workers union is a college credit course at West Virginia Institute of Technology. For \$25, a miner can study contract and labor law, including even actions pending before courts and how to make the most of UMWA grievance procedures.

The course starts with early-day yellow-dog contracts, application of anti-trust laws, procedures available under the National Labor Relations Act, and reviews of court rulings and congressional actions. Changes in the "black-lung law" also are studied, along with ways to expand coverage.

Building of strong local unions is singled out as the essential stepping stone for a strong union. Miners also are taught how to use contract provisions covering discharge procedures, discipline of miners, wage adjustments, how royalties are paid and to what funds. Also covered are strike procedures and comparisons of improvements in labor contracts over the years. Possible future benefits to be sought are discussed.

**Energy-Saving Tip**

Cover left-over foods in your refrigerator to keep the moisture in the food — and to save energy. Moisture in the refrigerator, especially the frost-free kind, makes the motor work harder, which uses more energy.

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**CLOVERLEAF TRIANGLE  
REFINERIES**

MEMORANDUM

TO: Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski  
FROM: Orin Kramer *OK*  
DATE: July 1, 1976

The enclosed is for your review and action, as appropriate.

OK:dan

Enclosure

MEMORANDUM

TO: Vicki Rogers & Ellis Woodward  
FROM: Stu Eizenstat  
DATE: July 2, 1976

As I mentioned to Ellis sometime ago, Governor Carter asked that an hour be set aside the next time he is in Atlanta to meet with Mr. D. W. Brooks of Goldkist and I on agricultural matters. Mr. Brooks phone number is 393-5154 (office) and 355-4193 (home).

I would appreciate your arranging this at your earliest convenience.

S.E.E.

SEE:dan

The Brookings Institution



1775 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE N.W. / WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 / CABLES: BROOKINGS / TELEPHONE: (202) 797-6000

Foreign Policy Studies Program

July 2, 1976

Mr. Stuart Eisenstat

Dear Stu:

1. This is the memo that you asked me to send you— the one that I had sent a week or so ago to Steve Stark, who passed it to Governor Carter.

2. I told Bob Novak that the \$5-\$7 billion figure was to be found in Chapter 5, on alternative defense budgets, of our book Setting National Priorities - The 1976 Budget, particularly the table on page 148. The discussion in that book, which was published last year and of which I believe your office has a copy, is similar to that in the paper we sent you yesterday, except that the paper is more up to date.

  
Henry Owen

TO: ~~Steve Start~~ STW EIZENSTAT  
FROM: HENRY OWEN

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: The Democratic Platform and Defense Spending

1. The platform says: "Barring any major change in the international situation, with the proper management, with the proper kind of investment of defense dollars, and with the proper choice of military programs, we believe we can reduce present defense spending by about \$5 billion to \$7 billion." ("Present defense spending presumably refers to the current fiscal year, 1975-76. It has also to be assumed that the reference is to obligational authority, rather than to actual expenditures, which are relatively uncontrollable from year to year.")
2. There is no way in which the level of defense spending in future fiscal years can be safely reduced below the level obtaining in the current fiscal year. Inflation plus the rising real costs of weapons and manpower ensure that the defense budget for the fiscal year 1976-77 will be higher than that for 1975-76, and that the defense budget for 1977-78 will be higher still. The only question is how much higher.
3. Sense can only be made of \$5-7 billion cut figure if it is construed as meaning that the defense budget for 1977-78 (the first budget that the new administration will have a chance to shape) could be reduced by \$5-7 billion below the level implicit in the administration's proposed defense budget for 1976-77. It appears that the defense budget now emerging from the Congress will be about \$112 billion in new obligational authority for 1976-77 (as compared with about the roughly \$100 billion defense budget that the Congress approved for 1975-76); this probably implies a 1977-78 defense budget of somewhere around \$123 billion, assuming continuation of the present administration's policies and programs. It is possible that this figure could be cut about \$5 billion—by reducing forces in or earmarked for Asia, by more efficient use of personnel, and by reviewing critically some of the more expensive weapons systems (notably the B-1).
4. If critics question the \$5-7 billion figure, it should be clarified in the sense suggested, above.

Henry Owen

July 4, 1976

TO: ROBERT LIPSHUTZ  
FROM: NOEL STERRETT  
RE: ISSUES MATERIAL FOR THE CONVENTION

Although we have now released over a dozen major position papers or addresses and over fifty individual position papers, some of the most persistent charges against Governor Carter during the primaries related to his positions on issues.

Since many of the countrys' most influential Democrats will attend, the Democratic National Convention offers an ideal opportunity to help diffuse such charges by distributing these papers.

I have spoken to Stu Eizenstat and Betty Rainwater, who agree it is necessary to provide these materials, and Chris Tate, who advised me that Jody Powell authorized the use of a commercial printer for this purpose.

Estimates of the quantity needed range from 5,000 copies per paper upward. Keeping in mind that this could be considered a pre-convention expenditure, and that large quantities reduce unit cost, I suggest 15,000 major and 5,000 individual papers.

Total cost for this quantity, typesetting major papers to reduce cost, would be around \$8,500.

To avoid unnecessary duplication, I am coordinating with Isabel Hyde, who is handling issue requests from the press at the convention.

As I must finalize the order with the printer by Wednesday in order to receive the material by the convention, please let me know before that time if you have any objections or suggestions.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Jack Watson  
FROM: Stu Eizenstat  
DATE: July 7, 1976

Enclosed is a memo with resumes from Ted Van Dyke which is self-explanatory.

S.E.E.

SEE:dan

Enclosure



MEMORANDUM

TO: Hamilton Jordan, Charles Kirbo, Tim Kraft  
FROM: Stu Eizenstat  
DATE: July 8, 1976

One of our weak areas is in the ethnic area.

It seems to me that we need to have a group in Atlanta specifically coordinating work in the ethnic community.

I understand that Reagan has already begun organizing this community and his most recent television address was very clearly aimed at the Catholic vote - and very artfully at that.

S.E.E.

SEE:dan

TO: Merle Lefkoff, Speakers Bureau

FR: Steve Travis, Issues

DT: July 8, 1976

Stu Eizenstat asked that I contact you and ask that you add Mayor Harvey Sloane, the mayor of Louisville, Kentucky to your Speakers' Bureau list.

Mayor Sloane is an M.D., and would like to speak on health related matters to various health-oriented groups. He is an excellent speaker.

His address is:

Harvey Sloane  
Mayor of Louisville  
601 W. Jefferson Street  
Louisville, KY.

His telephone number is (502) 587-3061

Please contact him. Thank you very much.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be the initials 'JS' or similar, written in a cursive style.

July 9, 1976

MEMORANDUM

To: Stuart Eizenstat

From: John Kotch

Subject: Schlossberg comments on Draft World Food Speech

1. Latest Malthusian scare is more justified. Population and food growth lines are further apart. Hundreds of millions -- probably more than the entire population of earth when Malthus lived -- are hungry, malnourished and hundreds of thousands have died.

2. Factors of 1972-75: Temporary? or not unprecedented? Basic factors -- climate, soil, water, etc. -- are not temporary. It is true that we could have managed things better.

3. Not at all sure Soviets didn't ease our exit from Vietnam in exchange for food deal. At least, Butz has said so.

4. Agricultural development: \$1 billion is not much. Our committee of experts had a higher figure.

5. Population growth: Should have a figure. Is pretty low right now.

6. Trade: Doesn't deal with issue in tough way. We have to really be prepared to give up some things in this area. For example, palm oil versus soybean oil.

7. Food aid: Doesn't deal with misuse of food aid vis-a-vis politics.

8. Reserves: Not reassuring enough to farmers (see my draft).

9. Speech lacks vision.

JK:ln

July 11, 1976

From: John Kotch

To: Stuart Eizenstat and Jody Powell

DRAFT STATEMENT ON ANGOLAN EXECUTIONS

\*(Based on Hargrove statement)  
NOT CLEARED WITH  
DR BRZEZINSKI.

I deplore the shocking and unwarranted execution of four mercenaries, including one American Daniel Gearhart, carried out by the newly-established government in Angola.

These men made a ~~fool~~ish and tragic mistake by injecting themselves and their comrades without cause into a civil war in another country. Their behavior constituted a misguided political act.

However, the obvious lack of humanitarian concern shown by the present Angolan government in refusing to consider commutation of the harsh sentences imposed on these men despite world-wide appeals for mercy was similarly misguided. Rather than bind up the wounds of a civil war just concluded, these executions serves only to further inflame tensions in southern Africa and delay the prospects for meaningful political dialogue.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Stuart Eizenstat

FROM: Larry Hargrove 

DATE: 2 July 1976

Attached is a finished copy of the draft on Angola  
I handed you on June 30.

2 July 1976

QUICK REACTION STATEMENT ON ANGOLA :

SENTENCING OF MERCENARIES, RECOGNITION, UN MEMBERSHIP

1. What is your reaction to the sentencing to death of the American mercenary captured in Angola?

I was deeply distressed to learn of the decision by an Angolan court condemning four of the mercenaries captured in the recent civil war -- including an American -- to death, and I devoutly hope that the Angolan authorities will see that no good purpose could be served by carrying out these sentences. The best that can be said for these unfortunate men is that they made a foolish and tragic mistake, which I understand may well have involved violations of Federal law. But to my knowledge they were not charged with crimes under international law, and in fact should receive protections afforded by international law in the Geneva Conventions on the Protection of War Victims. It would be an act of mercy and statesmanship for Angola, having made its point, to commute these sentences. Actually executing the sentences would redound to its great discredit.

2. What about the allegations that the Ford administration acquiesced in the illegal recruitment of the mercenaries for the Angola conflict?

If there were violations of US law by private individuals, or if violations were condoned by or acquiesced in by Administration officials, these actions should be fully investigated and dealt with according to the law. I applaud the expressed intentions of members of Congress to pursue the matter.

Stu,

This supersedes  
the earlier version I  
gave to Al. It ~~was~~  
is still useful for  
background purposes  
since the time for release  
has probably passed.

John

July 11, 1976

From: John Kotch

To: Stuart Eizenstat and Jody Powell

DRAFT/BACKGROUND STATEMENT ON ANGOLAN EXECUTIONS

(This statement has been coordinated with Larry Hargrove.  
IT HAS NOT BEEN CLEARED BY DR. BRZEZINSKI)

I deplore the shocking and unwarranted execution of four mercenaries, including one American, Daniel Gearhart, carried out by the newly-established government in Angola.

It is apparent that these men made a foolish and tragic mistake by injecting themselves and their comrades into a civil war in another country. Their behavior constituted a misguided political act.

However, the obvious lack of humanitarian concern shown by the present government in Angola in refusing to consider commutation of the death sentences imposed on these men despite worldwide appeals for clemency was similarly misguided and without justification in international law. Rather than bind up the wounds of a civil war just concluded, these executions serve only to prolong the tensions generated by the civil war in Angola.

To: Stu Eisenstat  
From: NBC News  
c/o Linda Blazer  
399-3070  
Monte Carlo Rm. Americana Hotel 4<sup>th</sup> Floor

In The Miracle of Jimmy Carter <sup>by Harold Norton and Bob Slosser</sup> Carter is quoted as saying  
that within a yr. of his term in the White House "there will be no  
more food stamps". (p.6)

Please clarify this statement...as to time and location (circumstances)  
of the remark....accuracy...and explanation as to what Carter means  
by the remark.

Would appreciate response ASAP...preferably in writing.

Reply can be returned to NBC News in care of the above person at  
Americana Hotel.

Thank you,

*Linda Blazer*  
NBC News

7/11/76

July 14, 1976

to Stuart Eisenstadt, Harriet Zimmerman, David Berg

From: Sheldon Toibb

## The Soviet Jewish Emigration Issue

I. The present issue paper of the campaign is woefully weak on this subject. It consists only of a four paragraph excerpt from a speech the Candidate made to the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Reform) last year. The first two paragraphs is only a recitation of facts of one set of incidents. The last two paragraphs state "I protest these and similar acts of oppression. I support full religious and cultural opportunities for Soviet Jews, including essential Jewish institutions and the free flow of ideas, information and people. Violations of basic human rights are no longer the internal affair of any one nation. We must be strongly committed to the securing of basic human rights for all people, including the three million Jews in the Soviet Union. We must make it clear to the Russians, in every endeavor, that their treatment of Jews is unacceptable to us. In our Bicentennial year, our responsibility for world leadership in this effort becomes even stronger."

## II. The Jewish Press Accusation

In its editorial endorsement of Senator Jackson in its March 26th issue, the Jewish Press stated: "former Governor Jimmy Carter. . . opposed the use of Jewish emigration as a bargaining point with the Soviet Union."

III. The proposed Rebuttal to this Accusation

The above accusation is false. [ In an interview with the Baltimore Jewish Times in its May 14th issue, ~~the candidate~~ <sup>GOVERNOR CARTER</sup> is quoted as saying: I would keep the right of Soviet Jews to  
to emigrate to other countries as one of the preeminent consid-  
erations in all my negotiations iwth the Soviet Union. In my  
private discussions, in trade negotiations and in other relation-  
ships, we would discuss mutual advantages between their country  
and our own. One of the advantages I would hope to secure for  
our own country would be the release or the freedom of Jews  
from Communist Soviet Union."

IV. The Carter Position on the Jackson Amendment

The candidate continued the above quote: "I don't think the Stevenson (he meant Jackson) Amendment or the trade bill were the proper approach. It was counterproductive"

V. The Reconciliation of the Above Positions and the Distinction of the Candidate's Position with the Ford-Kissinger View

The trade negotiation quote is the advocacy of a de facto political policy. The Jackson Amendment is a de jure law which freezes the above policy into legal mandates on a President. The candidate supports the former but opposes the latter. In distinction, when the Jackson Amendment was being debated, Kissinger said he opposed the meddling into the Internal Affairs of any other nation. This is a renunciation of the use of Soviet Jewish emigration as a consideration in de facto international relations and trade talks as well as de jure legal policy. This distinction is epitomized by the earlier ~~statement~~ statement



to the Soviets on this issue. As a result, and in accord with the view of Soviet Jewish Activists (Jewish Press----- April 16th issue) the Soviets have been even more recalcitrant in permitting Jewish emigration. It is the political de facto approach of a President's foreign policy which is crucial to more emigration, not the de jure legal approach.

To support the Jackson Amendment and present a united front to the Soviets would still not be successful at this point in time. The Russians have been lured into taking a hard line because of the previous and present lack of a united front by Congress and the Ford-Kissinger Administration. They would give the world-wide appearance of knuckling under to a new American President if they suddenly allowed ~~more~~ more emigration. But if the Jackson Amendment is repealed, President Carter would be giving a token olive branch to the Soviet Union by showing he has political support by Congress. Yet he would concurrently let the Russians know that unlike Ford and Kissinger, he expects <sup>a</sup> as/political quid pro quo for this act, future trade, political and military negotiations, and the overall maintenance of the continuance of detente, increased Soviet Jewish emigration. The Russians thereby would know they could not get the technology and wheat they need without ~~allowing~~ allowing more emigration. In addition, they could then allow such emigration without losing this public posture of strength by giving in to an American de jure law, the Jackson Amendment, which they view as largely being instigated by American Jews.

N. V. delegates  
Not a copy  
for Jerry

understate  
ment

---

TELEGRAM

*sent*  
*12:50 PM*  
*7/15/76*

TO: Bishop James S. Rausch

My statement that Archbishop Bernardin was speaking in an unofficial capacity was based upon mistaken information which had been given to me. It was not my intention to detract in any way from the due weight which should be accorded to his statements. I sincerely apologize for any misapprehensions I may have left as a result of not knowing, as I now do, that he was speaking in his official capacity as President of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. I also understand that his views are shared by many other Americans. Please feel free to contact me directly during the campaign on matters of your concern. I promise you a respectful hearing.

Stuart E. Eizenstat

National Issues and Policy Director

Carter Presidential Campaign.

INTERNATIONAL SYSTEMS & CONTROLS CORPORATION

POST OFFICE BOX 2389  
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77001  
(713) 526-5461

DANIEL L. GOLDY  
PRESIDENT

July 21, 1976

*File*

*She - how do we do  
more of this!*

*Lawrence*

Congressman Andrew Young  
332 Cannon Building  
House Office Building  
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Andy:

I thought you handled yourself very well indeed in the face of some difficult questions on Meet the Press. I was sorry that I was unable to remain in Washington to join you at the tennis court Sunday. Rusty, however, insisted that I join her here in Houston to get started on packing up the apartment.

Yesterday I received in the mail the results of a survey made by a Dallas management consulting firm. It covered 114 chief executive officers of companies in the states of Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana and New Mexico to determine their opinions of candidates for President. Attached is a copy.

I haven't any idea how the poll was conducted, nor do I know how accurate it is. If it is accurate, however, it suggests that Carter runs well among the heads of smaller businesses who tend to react very much like the rest of the population, and he runs less well among the chief executives of large companies who react primarily as "businessmen."

It is my view that the chief executives of the larger companies are the ones who would be most susceptible to persuasion toward the Carter cause if the proper

INTERNATIONAL SYSTEMS & CONTROLS CORPORATION

Congressman Andrew Young  
July 21, 1976  
Page 2

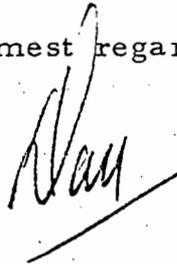
effort were made; and in any case, by the end of the campaign--just prior to the election--that the smaller businessmen will tend to reflect the views or prejudices of the larger businessmen if they are strongly or vehemently held.

The other significant fact about the survey is that Carter runs as strongly as he does notwithstanding the fact that little has been done to date in the campaign to establish channels of communication to the business community.

I am attaching some suggestions for dealing with the business community which you may want to pass along to the appropriate individuals at campaign headquarters.

It was good to talk with you by telephone Saturday. I will be back in Washington August 2-5, and I hope to see you then.

With warmest regards,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Alan", with a horizontal line underneath it.

Enclosures

✓cc: Carol Muldawer

SUGGESTIONS FOR DEALING WITH THE  
BUSINESS COMMUNITY

Daniel L. Goldy

- (1) Businessmen have a strong predisposition towards the Republican Party and the Republican candidate for President. This is notwithstanding the fact they have fared very badly during the last 8 years of Nixon and Ford--with at best 2 years of prosperity or recovery with 6 years of recession--and after 3 recessions during the Eisenhower administration. Notwithstanding this predisposition, it is my view that a substantial proportion of business leaders can be neutralized or converted to adherence to the Carter-Mondale ticket if the proper approach is made to them.
  
- (2) Given the nature of the Reagan attack on Ford, it is likely that Ford will have as his running mate, if not Reagan himself then someone who will appease the Reagan wing of the party, such as Connally. A Ford/Reagan or Ford/Connally ticket would almost surely indulge in the kind of campaign hyperbole that will seek to polarize the business community into a position of extreme hostility to the Democratic ticket. While such a tactic is not likely to succeed in winning the election for the Ford ticket, it could result in a Carter administration facing blind hostility from large segments of the business community when it seeks to formulate and implement programs after inauguration.  
  
One need only recall the kind of business hostility that Franklin D. Roosevelt encountered in his second term.
  
- (3) I believe that steps should be taken to avoid this type of polarization of the business community. Essentially, what is needed is the establishment of lines of communication so that it is clear to the leadership elements

of the business community that a Carter administration will be as "open" to them as to the other elements of the community, that their voice will be heard, their needs will be considered, and that they will have their day in court as issues arise in a Carter administration.

- (4) To establish such lines of communication, it is necessary to do more than set up a Businessmen for Carter-Mondale Committee or to have a meeting of business leaders who are presently disposed to support the Carter-Mondale ticket. In addition to mobilizing the support of businessmen who are already willing to support the ticket, and are willing to intervene with other businessmen to obtain their support, contact and communications should be established formally and publicly with the elected leaders of the organized business community. This should be for the express purpose of establishing and maintaining lines of communication on issues. For example, the Chairman of the Board and the Executive Committee members of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce now represent by election the largest body of organized businessmen in the United States, and by the time the election is held this fall, they will probably also be spokesmen for the NAM. (I am assuming that the proposed merger of the Chamber and the NAM will be approved by the respective Boards of Directors in September.) It is important that representatives of the organized business community, including the Chamber of Commerce, the NAM, the Conference Board, the U. S. Council of the International Chamber, the GED, the Business Roundtable, as well as members of the Business Advisory Council, be invited to a meeting where they will have an opportunity to express their views, with a commitment that whether or not there is agreement with their views, they will always have an opportunity to be heard in a Carter administration.

- (5) There should be a carefully prepared agenda for any meeting with the business community whether it be the kind of meeting called for July 22 or whether it be a group representative of the business organizations as outlined above.

The following are some of the subjects which I think should be covered by Governor Carter in talking to either or both groups:

- (a) His commitment to the fundamental free enterprise system.
- (b) His belief in and recognition of the value of profits as a motivator in such a system--tempered with a statement of the need for social responsibility so that the seeking after profits doesn't become anti-social and counterproductive.
- (c) His commitment to obtaining relief from the curse of over regulation and the stifling of competition by some of the agencies established to regulate specific industries.
- (d) A clear recognition of the fact that the multinational corporations have a major role to play in achieving the foreign economic policy objectives of the United States; and of their inability to lend full support to the objectives unless and until those objectives are clearly formulated and enunciated. He should state his intention of providing a clear statement of U. S. foreign economic policy objectives, when elected. Governor Carter should make clear that he will not tolerate gross interference in the internal affairs of other countries (as in the case of ITT in Chile), blatant bribery of overseas officials (as in the Lockheed case), nor will he try to put the multinationals out of business (as was proposed in the Burke-Hartke Bill).

- (e) Governor Carter should expound on his objectives for Government reorganization so as to streamline it and make it more efficient. This is especially pertinent to the needs and problems of the multinational corporations inasmuch as some 62 governmental agencies now play a role in foreign economic and commercial policy.
- (f) Governor Carter ought to stress his view that there is no need to trade off high unemployment for low inflation--that high unemployment and high inflation go together when the basic instruments for "planning and controlling" the economy are money and credit. He should state his views about permitting the private sector to expand, by providing an adequate rate of growth in the money supply and increased flows of investment capital at low interest rates.
- (g) Governor Carter should indicate that his objectives with respect to tax reform include a reduction in the overall tax burden, a simplification of the tax system, and a greater degree of impartiality and fairness in the administration of the Internal Revenue Service.

\* \* \*

In essence, the businessmen as much, or more, than anyone else, wants to see a rule of law rather than a rule of men. This is something which they do not believe exists at the present time. I believe they would welcome a commitment to this kind of change.

*Jack W. Mynett*  
*& Associates*

4308 Alta Vista, Dallas, Texas 75229 (214) 352-2130

July 16, 1976

Jack W. Mynett & Associates, a Dallas-based management consulting firm, recently made a survey of 114 chief executives in the states of Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana, and New Mexico to determine their opinions of candidates for the presidency of the United States.

	<u>Overall Preferences</u>	<u>Company Size</u>	
		<u>\$10-\$100MM</u>	<u>Over \$100MM</u>
Ford vs. Carter	51%	48%	58%
	49%	52%	42%
Reagan vs. Carter	56%	49%	62%
	44%	51%	38%
Connally vs. Carter	61%	54%	64%
	39%	46%	36%

These chief executives believe explicitly that there is a great need in Washington for new faces and ideas. All types of industries were included in the survey and ranged in size from \$10 million in sales to a billion plus.

July 22, 1976

*File copy*

TO: Vicky Rogers  
FROM: Stuart Eizenstat  
RE: Meeting with D.W. Brooks

I have previously sent several memos to scheduling asking that, at Governor Carter's request, a meeting be set up between Governor Carter and Mr. Brooks on agricultural matters. He is president of Gold-Kist.

Mr. Brooks has talked with Governor Carter again, and Governor Carter has again indicated that he would like to see Mr. Brooks sometime during the next ten days in Plains.

I believe that Governor Carter would like me to be present during the meeting. I will be available any day except August 2 and 6.

Thank you.

**MEMO FROM:**  
**BILL DRAYTON**

July 25, 1976

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Dear Orin,

I have sent the originals of these enclosures to your campaign office along with a bulky enclosure I feared would not fit into your home mailbox.

Cheers!,

*Bill*

60 Francis Avenue  
Cambridge, Ma. 02138  
July 23, 1976

file - Energy  
Plutonium

Mr. Orin Kramer  
Carter for President  
1795 Peachtree Road  
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Orin,

It was good to see you, albeit fleetingly, at the issues dinner yesterday evening. I wish I could have stayed on afterwards, but I had to go directly to visit an octogenarian relative, with whom I am very close, who suffered a serious fall on July 2 and something of a setback over the last several days.

Enclosed are two brief memos proposing issues that, if they are to be exploited successfully, must be exploited quickly. If you and your colleagues find such memos useful, I will be happy to follow up with others.

The Ford people are obviously already fully in gear developing issues. In addition to the two instances reported in the attached memos, I was told this week that OMB has set up an interagency task force charged with developing a reorganization plan in the energy area. It is asking such questions as: Should FEA be abolished? This task force, which meets weekly, is, according to one of its members, supposed to come up with a specific reorganization plan to be announced in the fall. This plan is apparently designed to preempt the reorganization issue and allow Ford to contrast his specific proposal(s?) with an insubstantial, "fuzzy" Democratic position. (All three reports of Ford issue activity were volunteered without solicitation by friends and professional acquaintances working in the Federal government within the last week. Perhaps the Convention jogged everyone's minds.)

I gather that the working group you originally asked me to set up is no longer something the campaign feels it needs. I suspect, albeit a suspicion based on only the most shadowy of understandings of your organization, that this was probably a smart decision. As mentioned in the next paragraph, I am suspicious of disjointed task forces. In any case, I have notified the people with whom I had tentatively discussed leading working subgroups, that I believe the effort has been cancelled.

I hope the transition effort, like the campaign issues area, will soon be given a small, full-time central staff. Developing adequately thought-through options for a new administration to consider four months from now requires more than the part-time, usually imperfectly focused efforts of miscellaneous task forces. A good staff could: set priorities, integrate the myriad ideas and partial perspectives offered the candidate into a coherent set of options; ensure that these options have been, at least preliminarily, evaluated; ensure coordination across subject areas;

develop implementation plans for leading options; provide direction (and thereby the critical promise and actuality of relevance) for contributing citizen task forces; and be relied upon to keep their work confidential. I fear exclusive reliance on outside task forces not only probably will not produce the sort of results you will need but that such an arrangement will dispirit the participants and perhaps lead to run-away groups, neither politically desirable outcomes.

If, as you suggested this spring, the campaign and/or transition may want me to make a significant contribution that will require more than a little time here and there, I will need to know reasonably soon. I cannot become Executive Director, as is now planned, of a new Harvard Center on Regulatory Reform, whose first project will be Federally-funded, if I am doing much the same thing for the opposition. (Of the two, I would prefer to work for you, assuming the work made sense and was real, both because of my strong partisan preference and because I suspect I may never live to see another Democratic candidate so interested in and committed to bringing about change in the very areas in which I have been working.) I also am juggling a course I have been planning to teach in this area in the fall, a possible project for the Legal Assistance Corporation designing a voucher system for legal services, a property law reform project for the New York Community Trust, and a publishing schedule, pending hearing from you all. However, remembering 1968 all too vividly, I mention my need to plan with full appreciation of the difficulties you face and the realization that you and your colleagues are probably only now just beginning to recover from the pressures of the Convention.

In the event that you have trouble getting me by phone again, you can always leave messages at (617)495-1745 here or c/o my secretary at McKinsey in New York at (800)223-5354.

Yours sincerely,



William Drayton, Jr.

Encls.

To: Orin Kramer  
From: Bill Drayton  
Re: Issues: The Plutonium Economy  
Date: July 23, 1976

The country is now on the verge of deciding whether or not to develop the plutonium economy at home and whether or not to help or seek to limit its development abroad. The risks of going ahead are profound--in terms of proliferation and world peace, in terms of public health and environmental safety, and in terms of civil liberties. The economic advantages of going ahead are debatable; they are almost certainly not an adequate justification for going down this path. Nevertheless, the Ford Administration, having failed to develop clear policy, has taken a series of decisions, notably that of allowing construction of the Barnwell, S.C. reprocessing plant, that lead us in this dangerous direction.

Jimmy Carter should, I believe, develop and press this issue hard. It is the right thing to do. And doing so would probably be highly politically advantageous for several reasons:

- \* This is a gut issue that, even if highly complex, people have to care about. (It was, I vaguely recall, one of Stevenson's most effective issues; and I believe Carter's earlier statement in the area had telling effect.)
- \* People know that responsibility for controlling the atom requires the President to have exceptional competence, intelligence, and steady control. Does Ford measure up to these standards? No--he fails both by personal image and by the bumbling failure of his Administration to develop a coherent, safe policy in this area. Ronald Reagan would be even more vulnerable in a public debate fought on these grounds. On the other hand, the issue plays to and underlines several of Governor Carter's strengths--(1) the public's appreciation of his competence and disciplined self-control and (2) his in-depth understanding of the issue, which understanding would probably be apparent in press interviews and which people would tend to generalize. It would also allow the campaign to point to his having been chosen for a role in the elite nuclear Navy and his handling of the Savannah incident as Governor.
- \* It is an issue that could help reverse the voters' current sense that a vote for Carter entails more of a risk than a vote for Ford. Limited competence and weak leadership is demonstrably dangerous in at least this area.
- \* By stressing the proliferation/world peace aspect of the issue, Carter can show foreign policy strength.
- \* By pointing out that Mr. Ford's policy increases our vulnerability to terrorism, the campaign can touch a sensitive nerve that cuts across ideology and region.

- \* By following through with an explanation of the very serious direct and indirect dangers the plutonium economy poses to civil liberties, Governor Carter can reduce the post-Watergate fear of any strong and/or unfamiliar person becoming President, a fear that I sense is now hurting his candidacy.
- \* By underlining the environmental dangers of the policy, the campaign can tie this issue into the firm, principled pro-environment policy Carter set forth in the primaries and that I hope he will keep up front during the campaign. (Although this stance is now perceived as perhaps unwise politically, I think it is (a) right, (b) in fact, widely supported, and (c) likely to give voters a sense that Carter does take firm, clear stands even when that is perceived to be a bit risky. Ford has more or less persistently opted to support other interests and values when real or perceived conflicts with the environment have occurred.)
- \* It might allow Carter responsibly to appeal to the members of the Vietnam Peace Movement who may not otherwise be willing to work or, worse, who might support McCarthy's spoiler candidacy.

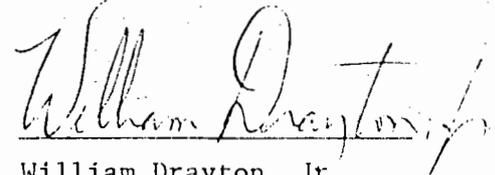
This is, however, a complex issue, and the President has superior access to information and expertise in the area--probably both in fact and in terms of public perception. Exceptionally careful staff work in developing this issue will, consequently, be essential.

Developing a positive policy as well as a critique will be important. ACDA has recently circulated a paper that argues that spent fuel rods can be burned in Canadian-style heavy water reactors without separating out plutonium as the Administration's current reprocessing strategy requires, thereby (1) handling both the nuclear waste disposal problem and (2) doing so without the multiple risks associated with separating out and using plutonium widely. (This proposal is discussed in the July 9 and 16 issues of Science and in the July 18 New York Times article, "Arms Agency Views New Ways to Recycle Spent Uranium.") If this proposal makes sense, it will make it even easier to attack reprocessing.

The White House seems now to have recognized its weakness in this area. I have been told that on July 10, Scocroft and Cannon recommended that President Ford deliver a major nuclear policy speech focussing on reprocessing, waste management, and nuclear export policies in mid-September, and that they have established a task force that is now at work preparing such a speech. We should get there first, making their effort seem to be a defensive response. Either of two issues now on the table for decision--the export of fuel to India and further NRC decisions on domestic reprocessing licensure--give Governor Carter good grounds for speaking out quickly.

Senator Ribicoff has taken a strong interest in this issue. As part of a program of building bridges to the Congress, it might make sense to involve him or at least give him a credit reference in a Carter speech on the subject.

(I enclose herewith the draft of a paper I prepared for the Council on Foreign Relations Working Group on Human Rights outlining the dangers foreseeable technological developments pose for civil liberties. Some, such as plutonium recycling, increase the demand for surveillance and control; others, notably new computer/communications applications such as electronic funds transfer, make such control much easier and cheaper. Increased demand and lower cost, as any Economics 1 student knows, leads to increased supply. Perhaps portions of this analysis will be helpful to whomever is assigned to work on this issue.)



William Drayton, Jr.  
Harvard University and  
McKinsey and Co.

file

JULY 26, 1976

To: Tim Kraft  
From: Lannie Elderkin  
Re: California

As per instructions, Rodney Kennedy-Minott, am enclosing California clippings from my file.

The clippings are basically self explanatory. They merely reflect Carter group infighting, Atlanta v. California, score "Love All." They reflect great speculation as to the fall campaign structure.

What I believe to be significant comes from other than Carterites or the press. The following nine (9) points should be reviewed seriously.

1) The absence of the campaign in California has triggered great speculation and rumor from office holders to the general public as to:

- a. Who's going to run the show out there.
- b. Party unification in California.
- c. Voter registration.
- d. Budgeting.
- e. Significant campaign events.

2) Californians see a general unification problem within the California Carter group. Our support is perceived to be very soft.

3) California Carter actors :

- a. Rodney Kennedy-Minot (-) Power
- b. Joe Holsinger (+) Power

4) Those California Democrats, who know where of they speak, make the following recommendation as to Carter State Chairman:

- a. Must be perceived as one of the Democratic leaders in California.
- b. Accepted across party lines.
- c. Holds a state wide office

- three (3) men meet even one of the criteria. They are

Brown  
Tunney  
Cranston

-Cranston is no doubt the man. He meets all of the above criteria in addition he is perceived as having access to the candidate.

Elderkin to Kraft  
Add 2

5) In reference to Point 4, Tom Bradley should be appointed Co-Chairman. Reasoning is obvious and he is surely agreeable to Cranston.

6) Our State Coordinator will naturally do the real work. Who ever is selected should be an out-of-state, fairly compatible with Cranston (or who ever is State Chairman) and a bit squirrely, but who on this staff isn't?

7) Labor:

Nothing relating to labor (in California) should be done without a courtesy call to Jack Henning. Henning is Secretary Treasurer of the California Federation of Labor, former Undersecretary of Labor under JFK, and former Ambassador to New Zealand. If we get on the wrong side of Henning he can undermine any and all labor support.

Jack Henning  
995 Market St. 3rd-Floor  
San Francisco  
415-986-3585

Naturally he jumps for Al Barkin.

Bill Dodds has become very acceptable to the AFL-CIO leadership in California. They like him and feel his credentials are good.

8) It has been recommended that, when you Tim, and or Hamilton visit California, the following people should be seen

- a. Nadley Roth  
Tunney Campaign Manager. Brilliant overview of California  
400 Wilshire Blvd  
Santa Monica, Ca.  
213-451-9981
- b. Leo McCarthy  
California Speaker  
Key Staff contact-Ralph Ochoa  
located-State Capital, Sacramento
- c. Nelsen Rising  
Close to Tunney  
Highly respected-skilled attorney  
330 W. 6th Street, 8th floor  
213-628-4321
- d. Jack Henning  
see point 7

more

Eldekin to Kraft  
Add 3

- 9) Our California effort can be greatly helped by seeking advice from Ward Wardman. A 30ish Californian, Wardman has been a top Tunney man for some time. He knows California politics and is willing to give us a hand.

Knowing Ward as I do, he is Top Flight and we would be foolish not to extend the contact I have made with him. He is located at:

\*Citizens for Tunney  
San Francisco  
415-673-9712

\*The Tunney Campaign is moving as we are and Ward will give me their new number.

\*\*

Ward is familiar with your name, Tim, and also with Chris Brown and others.

cc: Landon Butler  
Hamilton Jordan  
✓ Barbara Blum  
Chris Brown  
Rodney Kennedy-Minnott

\*\* These nine points merely reflect my research and the opinions of California contact. It is my sincere hop that this will help our candidate in a state with 10 per cent of our nation's population residing within its boundries.

# SAGALYN ASSOCIATES

1225 NINETEENTH STREET, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

July 28, 1976

(202) 223-6445

*file -  
crim justice*

Mr. Orin Kramer  
119 Palisades Road  
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Dear Orin:

I've been giving some more thought to the ABA speech and would like to lay out a basic approach and objective for your consideration.

Essentially I see this as an opportunity for Governor Carter to state his basic principles, positions and goals on the key aspects of the crime and criminal justice issues for purposes of the campaign and election. It will also provide him with the opportunity to focus on, identify and discuss these priority issues while he still has the time before the campaign absorbs him. Thereafter he will be in a good position to deal with and respond to anything that might come up in this basic area with no or very minimal briefing necessary. It will also provide the staff and campaign requirements with a valuable reservoir of information as to where he stands on major crime and criminal justice issues. While he may wish to take the occasion to say a few other things deemed advisable relative to the role and use of law and the legal profession, I think the following basic themes and points would serve the above stated goals.

1. The Rule of Law: There must be equal justice for all Americans. The little guy who lacks power or money should have adequate legal representation to close the gap that now exists between defense services available the poor and to the rich. The deterrent and punishment policies should apply equally to serious crimes committed by the rich and influential as we apply them to serious crimes by the poor and powerless.

2. Government Must Respect the Law. As President, Carter will see to it that governmental agencies and officials do not abuse their power or engage in illegal activities.

3. Government Must Be Open. The sunshine law will govern the operations of the Federal government and the public will be assured of its right to know and be informed on what its government is doing.

Mr. Orin Kramer

Page Two

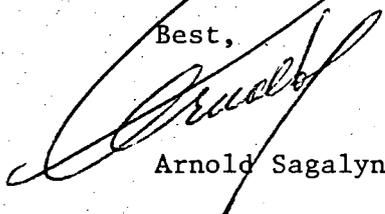
4. Justice Must Be Certain and Speedy. This will be particularly true with respect to crimes that threaten the safety and security of Americans on the street and in their homes. Priority must be given to crimes of violence committed by strangers, especially those involving the use of a gun or dangerous weapon; white collar crimes that cause serious harm to the poor, the elderly and the otherwise disadvantaged; and to criminal repeaters.

(The above was discussed with Harry Schwartz and also reflects his views.)

I believe that the papers already ~~have~~ in hand or that we will have within the next week will provide you with the essential information needed to meet the needs of the above outline.

I'm going out of town tomorrow but will be available by telephone (617-693-9279). I'll be back in my office in Washington on Monday, August 2nd.

Best,



Arnold Sagalyn

P.S. Dean Ken Pye suggested Governor Carter may want to praise the ABA for its work in developing the Standards for Criminal Justice and say that its implementation would be an important step forward in improving the administration of criminal justice. Also he thought he might wish to pat them on the back for their proposal for a National Institute for Justice and commend the association and its members for engaging in such efforts designed to improve the lot of the general public. (He cautioned against Gov. Carter saying or doing anything that might be interpreted as supporting William Spann in his election over Jeffers in light of the influential nature of many of Jeffers' supporters.)

AS:mw

cc: Sam Bleicher

TO: Stu Eizenstat  
Orin Kramer  
Al Stern

*file*

FROM: Dave Rubenstein  
RE: Negative Research  
DATE: July 28, 1976

I think there are certain directions that the negative research effort should be immediately taking (and should have completed by the end of August). However, these directions may not conform with what you actually want from negative research. So let me outline my thoughts and ask that we try to meet as soon as possible to agree upon directions.

The directions I now have in mind are as follows:

1. Developing a Library. A file library concerning Ford, Reagan and possible Vice Presidential nominees should be developed; the heart of the library will be newspaper and magazine clippings from the last few years, but it would also include materials we would request from interest groups or individuals expert in various subject areas. The files would, of course, be broken down by subject area, such as "Reagan -- Views on Watergate" or "Ford -- Uses of Incumbency," so that everyone in the issues department could obtain in one file all of the available information about a topic.

I have already collected a sizeable part of the DNC's clipping files; when that is sorted out in a few days, there will at least be a rudimentary negative library available for anyone's use. (I think another 1-2 day trip to the DNC will be necessary to cull the rest of its files.)

2. Contacting Interest Groups, Experts. Some of the most useful information in the files should be brief negative memos produced by groups like the UAW, NEA or by Congressional experts. What I would like, in every area, is a 2-3 page Fact-and-Figure memo explaining where and how the Ford Administration has failed. (Unless events shift soon, I would not yet ask outsiders to criticize the Reagan record and ideas in their areas.) The problem is deciding which particular experts would be the best ones to contact, and also which (and to what extent) people in our Washington issues office and our Congressional liaison office should be kept abreast of who is being contacted. Once the contacts are made, the memos should be received within two weeks.

(continued)

3. Developing a Comparison. Shortly after the Republican ticket has been selected, I would want to develop a side-by-side comparison, in every issues area, of its record and statements with our record and statements. Such a comparison might be helpful to our candidates, but I think its greater usefulness would be as a ready reference source for the issues and press staffs. I will need suggestions about the most useful format and length.

4. Spotlighting Areas for Attack. I would like to prepare by the end of next week a reasonably detailed outline of the areas in the Ford and Reagan records which would be most vulnerable to attack from Carter-Mondale (as well as those areas which I do not think could be fruitfully attacked). If some agreement can be reached about which areas our attacks should concentrate on, I would spend much more of my time gathering and organizing materials in just those areas.

5. Carter-Mondale Library. I would also want to gather a file library of criticisms made to date about Carter and Mondale, as well as the responses made thus far. From that, I would prepare a summary of the attacks and responses and an assessment of what areas need better responses.

6. Response Memo. Once the best responses can be agreed upon, I would prepare a memo outlining the responses to be given to the various criticisms. These responses would be the ones to be given by the issues or press staff or by our advocates, and it would be distributed to them. The memo would be updated throughout the campaign.

DATE: AUGUST 24

TO: Milt

FROM: Stu

Call Orin, 897-5127 or 872-4480 or me about Jimmy's statement opposing the Concorde. Does it include opposition to the experimental flights to Dulles and New York? We have been saying that it doesn't, and that JC will make a final decision when more evidence is in. Bill Johnston should know if that is incorrect.

Jimmy should not address the question of experimental flights. If he does, he is creating domestic as well as international problems, as American aircraft employees are afraid that restrictions on Concorde travel will generate reprisals by the French, and perhaps the British.

Aviation Week and Commerce Digest are going to press with the story soon.

Policy option papers will be drafted and, based on Jimmy's reactions, legislative proposals will be drafted and will be circulated to people outside the campaign.

The problems here are evident. First, successful policymaking requires far more resources, time and outside consultations than are possible during the campaign. To the extent that the campaign avoids a close working relationship with outside groups, the papers will be worth little more than regular task force reports. To the extent that those outside consultations do take place, it is impossible to keep ideas and papers from being leaked, especially by those unsympathetic to specific proposals. At that point there will be a clear and sharp distinction between Jimmy's public statements, which are designed to keep certain options open, and the far more explicit work being done by a transition staff operating on Jimmy's behalf.

Their actions are having the following adverse impacts:

1. Many of their staffing and other decisions are being made without prior consultation with the campaign organization.

2. People in our task forces and many other outsiders who we are calling upon for help are considering the campaign a secondary function to the making of policy and a new administration.

3. It is inevitably impossible to keep this level of activities out of the press. The public will become aware of what they will inevitably consider arrogance on the part of the campaign. This could deal the campaign a fatal blow.

4. Jimmy will not have time during the height of the campaign to interview people for cabinet positions, let alone receive and give policy guidance on detailed option papers.

The campaign issues people are consistently avoiding certain kinds of decisions which the transition staff, in concert with outsiders, will be exploring. As the transition staff begins to move further ahead of the issues staff, the inconsistencies in position will become clear and widespread.

Indeed, the most damaging impact is the degree to which the transition group will circumscribe Jimmy's personnel and policy choices, rather than assist in making determinations.

The Founding Fathers had something in mind when they had a new administration begin several months after election.

This should all be a way of simply indicating that I believe the campaign must be exercising greater control over transition activities; those activities must slow down and should in no event begin winnowing down and interviewing people for major positions; that any option papers developed by the transition group should not be submitted until after the election, and prior to the election should never be forwarded to any persons outside the campaign or outside the transition group for their review; and that any further staffing decisions by the transition group be done only with the express prior approval of Hamilton Jordan.

I would recommend that you closely review the attached memorandum, which outlines with greater specificity the potential problems and suggested remedies.

SEE:rk

034

I have selectively outlined proposed transition activities as I understand them and have commented upon those aspects of the proposed schedule which, in my view, create substantive problems or would expose the campaign to potential serious embarrassment.

I. Talent Inventory Program (TIP)

A. Proposed Schedule

By September 1, the most important 200 appointments will be identified. By September 30, persons under consideration for the top 50 posts will be identified. An interviewing and screening process will take place during the month of October, involving the Governor, to produce no more than several names for each of the top 50 positions by Election Day. Screening for the remaining 150 highest jobs would also proceed, with a somewhat larger list of candidates for each of these positions to be available by Election Day. Composition of the screening panels is unclear, although transition staff would apparently make initial judgments as to which positions individuals should be considered for.

The Governor would have from Election Day until November 8 to make final decisions for Cabinet posts, which would be announced on November 15.

B. Comments

1. The proposed schedule fails to reflect the political importance of having a wide range of inputs in a good personnel selection system.

If a full check-out and consultation process with dozens of interest groups and Congressmen does not occur, we will be placing too much responsibility on staff recommendations, thereby increasing the chances for errors or overlooked people. The appointment process will generate charges of amateurism and arouse criticism from those not fully consulted. You cannot appoint a Secretary of Transportation without consulting dozens of interest groups and key Hill people, assuming you want to build a base for cooperative relationships.

The alternative -- a full check-out process -- entails even greater risks than going it alone. Interest groups, whose primary present focus is in helping the campaign in any way possible, will redirect their energies to infighting to secure appropriate appointments. Names of potential candidates will be leaked by the candidates themselves, those involved in screening, or by other interested parties -- especially in instances where groups seek to eliminate potential candidates through premature public exposure. To the extent that the campaign refuses to comment on reports that prospective appointees have in fact reached a certain stage of the selection process, it will undermine the theme of openness which we have stressed.

It is legitimate to avoid certain policy judgments during the campaign because those judgments require further review. That is different from making policy judgments -- which personnel decisions often implicitly require -- and then contending publicly that no such judgments have been made.

2. The schedule is predicated upon the Governor devoting substantial time, presumably in October, to future appointments. It is doubtful that the Governor can or should have the time to do this properly prior to the Election.

3. Many policy decisions which should not be made prior to Election Day should influence the selection of major appointees.

4. I am unaware of any way in which the system presently provides for campaign input; were such a mechanism developed, it is doubtful that key campaign staff would have time to perform this function systematically prior to November.

5. It is anticipated that by Election Day the Governor will be in a position to name his principle White House staff. Although the problems with personal staff are less severe than with agency and cabinet appointees, there is again insufficient opportunity for the entire campaign to think through this process. There should, however, be no objection to having the transition staff outline a desirable structure of White House operations.

### C. Conclusion

It is unnecessary and dangerous to winnow down the field of appointees prior to the Election except in relatively obvious ~~ones~~<sup>cases</sup>. The real screening process should not begin until the Governor and his top staff have time to become heavily involved. Specifically, final decisions on the 50 top appointees should be postponed until at least late November; plans for a sophisticated pre-Election screening process should be dropped; and major appointees, the

President-elect and his staff should participate in a full review of persons for the remaining 150 key slots.

## II. Policy Planning

### A. Proposed Schedule

Option papers will be prepared by transition staff by September 30. Such papers will outline legislative and structural proposals for the Governor's review. In line with the Governor's comments, in October transition staff will be drafting legislative specifications so that legislative drafts are ready by Election Day. Within several days after the Election, the transition staff will relocate to Washington, D.C. The staff has also been directed to develop goal statements for 1977-1980.

### B. Comments

1. Generally, the potential substantive and political problems are even more severe here than on the appointments question. Effective policymaking requires extensive consultations with numerous groups and Hill personnel, both for substantive and coalition-building purposes. Without such consultations, option papers and decisions are no more valuable than task force reports; with consultations, leaks are inevitable, especially with policy ideas unacceptable to particular groups, thereby forcing us to face the dilemma McGovern had with his task forces: to either accept or repudiate the material. To the extent that we try to keep the documents secret, we will be exposed to the worst sort of publicity; that the campaign is secretive when

it purports to be open, and that campaign statements keeping our options open are in fact lies since the campaign indeed knows with some detail what courses it is considering. And once there has been one major leak, the advanced state of transition thinking will be public, and it will be logical to assume that such advanced evaluations have been made in other policy areas, which would be correct and would undermine what the Governor is saying publicly.

2. Substantively, complete and sufficient options papers cannot be prepared by September 30, and legislative drafts by November 2 are unrealistic, given the limitations on outside consultation.

The Governor and his top staff need to be involved in the process of developing options papers. Contrary to the presumptions of the proposed schedules, it is not simply a matter of completing a broad options paper, having the Governor read it and designate his choices, then drafting legislation. In major areas such as welfare, health insurance, reorganization or tax reform, there is a whole series of decision points. At each point lengthy briefings and discussions are necessary, along with involvement of the affected interests if the proposals are to have a good chance of passage and successful implementation. The players have to include top cabinet officers, top staff, key Congressional contacts, and to a considerable degree, the President. Impacts on other social programs and specific states

and localities must be analyzed. The process takes time and much detailed staff work. This is not possible during the campaign, the resources of the federal bureaucracy which will be available after November 2 are not available now, and many of the needed players are unknown.

3. The formulation of options papers necessarily involves structuring the work so as to eliminate some options and to highlight others. Presentations of the tradeoffs always load the dice. Even if the transition staff were the top people in the country, had greater resources and more time, their work would require supplementation with other views and material. Simply put, too much authority is being delegated to a group that is untried and lacks the resources to do its job properly.

#### C. Conclusions

The review process which option papers and legislative drafts should have cannot take place during a campaign. To the extent that papers or ideas leak, we are faced with the secrecy-repudiation-approval dilemma. The defense available to the leaks of task force reports -- that these are recommendations by outsiders -- is less easily asserted with respect to staff documents, especially after the September 30th cutoff when they have been reviewed and commented upon by the Governor.

The original option papers should be due November 15.

These papers should not exist until the campaign is over and

should have wide input.

Transition staff should focus on the few legislative proposals that will be made early in 1977, on reviewing legislation expiring in 1977, and on the formulation of technical and analytical questions which should be reviewed by federal agency staffs commencing November 3.

### III. Relationship Between Transition Operation and Campaign

There are two questions: the manner in which the transition group relates to the campaign generally, and the way in which it relates to the issues staff.

As to the campaign generally, to the extent that transition creates a talent bank, there ought to be input from outside the transition staff, including from the campaign and Party officials. If the winnowing process is to take place prior to the election, campaign staff should be involved; if, as I believe is preferable, the selection process is delayed, key campaign staff should participate in decisions as to when and how evaluations are to be made. The structure, duties and personnel of the post-Election transition staff should also be reviewed by other campaign people.

With respect to the campaign issues staff, there are several problems. As its task is currently defined, the transition staff is the heart of the policy operation. As outsiders come to understand this, there will be a public political problem, as the campaign staff and campaign statements may be regarded by sophisticated reporters as mere window dressing unrelated to real policy decisions. There will also be a work production problem,

as outsiders increasingly aim their best efforts toward the transition group.

Perhaps more serious is the coordination problem, which will intensify as the transition staff begins to move far ahead of a campaign issues staff which is simply trying to turn out campaign documents. The basic problem, of course, is that the campaign issue people are consistently avoiding certain kinds of decisions which the transition staff, in concert with outsiders, will be exploring. This is potentially catastrophic. For example, Jerry Jasinowski was concerned to learn that a transition staffer had called somebody to consider a substitute Humphrey-Hawkins bill. This would obviously create difficulties of the sort that we have assiduously avoided with our black and labor supporters.

No matter what coordinating mechanisms are instituted to avoid duplication, underutilization of campaign-identified resources, etc., the basic political problem cannot be solved except by scaling down the tasks currently contemplated by transition.

The physical separation of the two units also contributes to the problem. Finally, it would seem that we must have a regular process whereby the issues department can review at each stage and with each paper the direction in which transition is moving to avoid inconsistencies in approach.

To: Oliver Miller

From: Jane Yarn- Conservationists for Carter  
(and Bob Danko, ext. 5087)

8/11

Suggestions for agricultural meeting with Jimmy.

This may be helpful in putting together a food and agriculture group to meet with Jimmy in Plains. Obviously it makes a big difference if the meeting is to be public and "publicized" or if it is to be a semi-quiet "nitty-gritty" exchange of information.

Assuming the former, it is important to touch all bases geographically and commodity-wise, with the mix weighted strongly in favor of the "usual" agricultural sector. However, the "big picture" people must be represented to separate Jimmy from what has been typical in the past. By big picture, I mean those concerned with agriculture-energy, agriculture-consumer, agriculture-world hunger, etc. relationships.

Recommended is a group including representatives from the following:

- + American Farm Bureau- avoid Washington based AFB people because of their "heavily pro Ford-Butz" orientation.
- + National Farmers Union- }
- + National Farmers Organization- } --either or both. Recommended is Chuck Frazier of NFO.
- + Land grant college- probably one of the large midwest ones.
- + Midwest corn or wheat (which includes hogs)-
- + Dairy-
- + Beef-
- + California Agriculture-
- + South/southwest (cotton, soybeans, etc.)-

The above comprise the "usual list".

The next three must be included to show Jimmy's concern about the "big picture" agricultural concerns:

- + Northeast (Big City)- Recommended is Ron Pollack, lawyer, Director of Food Research Action Council (which is "Naderish" on food), and very responsible.
- + Alternative, energy efficient, organic farming- Recommended is Glen Van Bramer, agro-environmentalist, consultant to Congressman Fred Richmond, and very responsible.
- + World Hunger- Recommended is Sister Carol Coston<sup>e</sup> - (woman, Catholic) Director ? of "Network", and involved in Bread For The World, both organizations dealing with world hunger and food problems.

Including the latter three with the "usual" eight will mean alot to the big picture people but leaves the group heavily weighted towards the traditional agricultural perspective. The big picture people have been totally excluded by Ford/Butz but shouldn't be by Jimmy.

---

For a "private" briefing, an excellent theorist is Dr. Georg Borgstrom, Univ. of Minn. and Chairman of the World Ecological Conference in September in Iceland.

To be avoided are those who (rightly or wrongly) antagonize the usual farm people, i.e. Barry Commoner?

Highly recommended for their expertise:

Lester R. Brown Agricultural Economist  
8716 Preston Place

Chevy Chase, Md.  
(301) 656 7239 Home  
(202) 234 8701 Bus.

Joseph C. Headley  
Dept. of Agricultural Economics  
Univ. of Missouri  
Columbia, Mo. 65201  
(314) 882-7349 Bus.  
(314) 445-7169 Home

David Pimentel  
Dept. of Entomology and Limnology  
Cornell University  
Ithica, N.Y. 14850

Carl B. Huffaker  
Div. of Biological Control  
Univ. of California  
1050 San Pablo Ave.  
Albany, Calif. 94706  
(415) 642-7191 Bus.  
(415) 283-3833 Home

Transmitted 8/21/76

MEMORANDUM

TO: Governor Carter  
FROM: Jane Yarn, Bob Danko  
THRU: Stu Eizenstat  
RE: National Forest Management; clearcutting  
DATE: August 21, 1976

In August, 1975 a Court of Appeals decision concerning clearcutting in the Monongahela National Forest in West Virginia held that the U.S. Forest Service can cut only dead and mature trees, and trees of large growth. The decision was based on the U.S. Forest Service Organic Act of 1897. This led to the halt of all timber sales in the mid-Atlantic states and would eventually apply to virtually all National Forests if the 1897 Act is not amended.

The Senate will soon consider a bill which requires the Secretary of Agriculture to develop management plans for the forests with specific guidelines for protection and use of the renewable resources of the National Forest System. This legislation represents a compromise between the original Humphrey bill supported by the industry and the Randolph bill supported by most conservation groups. The Randolph bill included specific guidelines for the forest managers to remove some of the outside pressures upon them, however, groups such as the National Wildlife Federation considered the Randolph bill too specific to take into account the diversity among various types of national forests. The present bill also includes guidelines

on clearcutting including size of cuts, streamside cutting, slope and soil factors and water quality.

As a general matter, you should understand that environmentalists are not anti-clearcutting. Rather they are interested in making sure that clearcutting is responsibly and carefully done with a view toward making a variety of uses of our national forests possible.

#### Recommended Positions

- Stick to the general policy of not commenting on the specifics of legislation pending in Congress. This will permit you to avoid discussing the individual amendments.
- Continue to support some clearcutting but only in small units and where conditions such as slope and soil types permit. Also recognize that douglas firs (important in the northwest) are shade intolerant and require clearcuts for proper regeneration.
- Support the concept that timber management plans should be developed for the national forests with guaranteed public participation for multiple-use management.

Issue to watch in the Northwest: The bill now before the Senate includes the concept of sustained yield management for the forests. This means that the allowable timber harvest generally cannot exceed that which can be sustained in the future. The timber industry claims that large amounts of mature and over-mature timber will be lost under sustained yield management. Our recommended comment only if pressed: The sustained yield concept nationwide is essential to assure long-term timber yield.

DAILY POLITICAL SUMMARY

TO: Jimmy Carter, Walter Mondale

FROM: Rick Hutcheson *RH*

DATE: 20 August 1976

CC: Jordan, Moe, Butler, Powell, Kirbo, Lipshutz

1. Leonard Woodcock was in Atlanta, and was given a tour of the office by Landon Butler.
2. Landon reports that JC will be meeting with Bobby Smith's agricultural group when in Des Moines for the farm speech.
3. Tim Kraft and Terry O'Connell (California state coordinator) will be at the Los Angeles fundraiser. Terry will be on JC's plane, to brief JC on the California political situation. Pat Caddell and Hamilton will be in California for the National Steering Committee meeting.
4. Activity in the press office today revolved mostly around responses to the Korea incident, and further ramifications from the Texas state chairman's race. The Texas press has gotten wind that the Atlanta office is preparing a letter under Hamilton's signature firmly stating JC's policy of non-involvement in local party elections; there were several calls relating to this.
5. The Friday scheduling meeting (in which all of the offices and desks in the campaign present in rank order their ideas on scheduling requests received during the week) was held. Most departments (labor, urban affairs, etc.) presented their priorities for the week in order, as requested. The decision-making/scheduling meeting will be held on Tuesday to respond to this week's requests. Tentative schedules for the candidates and families for the next 3 weeks were presented, to enable the desks to have some input.
6. New York. Gerry Doherty has been meeting with upstate Democratic leaders. While foreseeing good prospects for riding on the ticket's coattails in November, they have all expressed concern about the Catholic vote. The Knights of Columbus passed an uncomplimentary resolution about JC. Carey and Beame are being helpful and are pleased with the recent calls from JC.
7. Pennsylvania. Senate candidate Bill Green is very upset about JC's National Wildlife Federation speech of March, 1975, in which JC praised Green's opponent Heinz. Heinz people may use this in their media. Also, Gov. Shapp has indicated that he will not participate in any group that Pete Flaherty is associated with.

20 August 1976

Page Two

8. In Louisiana, Gov. Edwards and Sen. Johnston are being brought into the campaign comfortably by Gary Smith. Gov. David Pryor is involved in the Arkansas campaign, and gub. candidate Jim Hunt is fully behind the ticket in NC.
9. The Carter/Mondale Milwaukee, Wisconsin headquarters opened today. State coordinators are now at work in SC, ND, PA, D.C., NC, TN, Alabama, LA, Florida, Idaho, Montana, Utah, and Oregon, in addition to states mentioned in previous reports.

20 August 1976

MEMORANDUM

TO: Jimmy Carter

FROM: Hamilton Jordan/rh

Andy Shea is joining our staff to take on the important job of scheduling the 15-20 top party leaders whom you have called and asked to give us a few days of their time in the Campaign.

As you know, Andy was the DNC Convention Manager for Kansas City in 1974, and for New York this year. He is highly capable individual, able to deal personally with Jerry Brown, Ted Kennedy, etc.

He will be working with Jody to give these leaders guidance on appropriate campaign themes, and will orchestrate quick responses by Democrats to charges by the Ford/Dole campaign which you or Senator Mondale do not wish to deal with personally.

Andy will be following up on the commitments of time which have been given to you, and will be able to make firm demands for time on the busy schedules of these prominent Democrats.

Also, Andy will see that celebrities who volunteer their time are followed up on appropriately, and keep an eye on celebrity/DNC fundraising efforts.

He will oversee the Speakers Bureau as well, which has been only a partial success to date.

TO: Governor Carter  
THRU: Stu Eizenstat  
FROM: Bob Ginsburg  
RE: Economic Growth and Commodity Shortages  
DATE: August 23, 1976

I understand that in your interview with the L.A. Times editorial board today, one of the editors raised a question to the effect that: if the economy grows at the 4-6% annual rate you plan, won't raw material and commodity shortages quickly develop?

I discussed this matter with Larry Klein, and Larry reports that serious shortages of raw materials or commodities are not likely over the next several years. As the economy continues its present expansion, some industrial commodity prices will firm up but there is little evidence of any imminent price surges. As for grains, harvests have been good and prices are, in fact, now soft. The prices of nonferrous metals and fibers react slowly to an increase in demand and, accordingly, these commodities and materials would not be expected to lead any inflationary surges.

In short, there are not likely to be serious commodity or raw material shortages on the horizon and prices should rise only modestly (in the 10% range). The severe shortages of 1973 and the doubling and tripling of certain prices, led by oil and grains, was really an unusual historical phenomenon.

A steadily growing economy will be more likely to run into labor bottlenecks and capacity constraints than raw material or commodity shortages. It is our intention to alleviate these problems through (1) attention to the supply side of the economy (manpower training, increased productivity, etc.), (2) the encouragement of capital formation (particularly equity financing) through the combination of a steadily growing economy and prudent monetary and fiscal policies (balanced budget by 1980, maintaining the federal government's share of GNP at about its current level), and (3) the anticipation of, rather than reaction to, scarcities, bottlenecks, and capacity constraints through advance study and planning by the Council of Economic Advisers or the Office of Management and Budget.

xmit 8-21-76

TO: Governor Carter  
FROM: Stu Eizenstat  
DATE: August 16, 1976

I wanted you to know about the organization of the issues area, and about the people staffing it. The function of the issues department is to support you in developing positions and proposals which are the recommendations of our campaign. It does this by a side process of consultation with outside experts and the solicitation of materials and ideas from the public. On the basis of solicitation of materials and ideas from the public. On the basis of these materials and the expertise of the staff, it explores options and makes recommendations to you as to policies which might be advanced and programs which might implement them. It is also the source of research in the campaign on the record of the opposition.

In its organized solicitation and development of materials, the Issues Office relies in part on established task forces in the traditional areas of foreign and domestic federal policy. On the basis of that, plus internal work of the Issues staff, it develops option papers, briefing papers, background papers for internal use as well as position papers and speech drafts for external dissemination during the campaign. It also answers detailed issues questions from the press concerning issues' positions.

It is estimated that for the remaining part of the campaign we shall be called on to produce at least 40 position papers and about 25 speeches. We shall also establish a "statement" operation in the issues department, sending messages, soliciting support, and indicating concern to the various organizations which will hold conventions, meetings and other affairs during the campaign period; and we shall answer questionnaires from press, magazines and journals concerning Carter positions on the issues as well as handling a substantial volume of issue-related mail. To accomplish these tasks, we have divided our operation into two parts with the outside expertise of the task forces being organized and managed by a branch of the issues operation based in Washington, D.C. The position papers, etc. are to be produced by the staff with the campaign organization here in Atlanta. The individuals involved are -

Stu Eizenstat - Issues and Policy Director

Al Stern - Deputy Issues Director.

Al Stern, 48, born New York City. M.A., N.Y.U. Founder of Monteith College, a college of interdisciplinary studies at Wayne State Univer-

sity in Detroit, MI. Presently has a dual appointment as professor in Division of Natural Science and Division of Humanities. Has been visiting professor at the University of Chicago, Committee on Social Thought. Has served in a variety of roles in democratic national campaigns since 1948.

Orin Kramer - Assistant Issues Director.

Orin Kramer, 31, born Newark, NJ. B.A., Yale College, J.D., Columbia Law School. U.S. Marine Corps Reserve, 1967-69. Associate, Simpson, Thacher, and Bartlett in New York, 1970-71. Executive Director, New York State Commission of Living Cost, 1973-74. Exec. Assist. to NJ State Treasurer, 1974-76. Lecturer, Rutgers Law School, 1974-75. Articles on public finance, federalism published in New York Times.

#### GENERALISTS

Sam Bleicher- criminal justice, gun control, S-1, government accountability, corporate responsibility, consumer problems, civil rights, civil liberties. Sam Bleicher, 34, born Omaha, Nebraska. B.A., Northwestern University, J.D., Harvard Law School. Professor of Law, University of Toledo College of Law, 1966 - present. Teaches environmental law, constitutional law, international law. Author of several articles on environmental and international law. Deputy Director for Regulation and Enforcement, Ohio E.P.A., 1972-75.

Bob Ginsberg- economics.

Robert Ginsberg, 33, born Washington, D.C. B.A., Western Maryland College, M.A., Princeton. J.D., Harvard Law School. New York law firm of Cravath, Swaine and Moore since 1969, specializing in corporate finance and business transactions.

Bob Havelly- OSHA, health care, abortion, alcohol and drug abuse, U.S. Immigration, gay rights.

Robert Havelly, 24, born Alton, Illinois. B.A., Columbia University. Staff of Georgia Legislature: Research Analyst, 1974-75.

Dick Holbrooke- foreign policy, defense.

Richard Holbrooke, 35, born New York City. B.A., Brown University. Foreign Service, 1962-74. Author of one volume of Pentagon Papers, 1967; Special Assistant to the Undersecretary of State, 1968-69, presently on leave as managing editor of Foreign Policy magazine and Contributing Editor of Newsweek International.

Jerry Jasinowski- Economics.

Jerry Jasinowski, 37, born LaPorte, Indiana. B.A., Indiana University, M.A., Columbia University. Captain, U.S. Air Force, Assistant Professor of Economics, Air Force Academy, 1967-70. Professor of Economics, American University, 1976. Senior Research Economist, Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress, 1970-76.

Paul Jensen- Government reorganization, housing, urban policy, labor.

Paul Jensen, 29, born Denver, CO. B.A., Macalester College, M.A., Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, Ph.D. candidate, Univ. of Minn. Staff consultant, Minn. State Planning Agency, Study Director, Issues, Democratic National Committee, Deputy Director, 1976 National Democratic Platform Committee.

Bill Johnston- Transportation, (merchant marine), social, (welfare reform, human welfare, poverty), social programs, services, social security, veterans, elderly, disabled handicapped.

Bill Johnston, born Washington, D.C., 31. B.A., Yale University, U.S. Army, 1969-70. Research Associate, George Washington Univ. Center for Social Studies, 1972-76. Author or co-author of volumes and articles on unemployment and status of minorities including: Still A Dream, the Changing Status of Blacks Since 1960 and Indian Giving: Federal Programs for American Indians.

Oliver Miller- Agriculture, food policy, education, arts, FDA.

Oliver Miller, 22, born in Berkeley, CA. Senior, Yale University, American Field Service exchange student to England, Italy, 1971-72. Tutor, Urban Improvement Corp, New Haven, 1972-74. Director, Foreign Press Desk, 1976 Democratic National Convention.

Kitty Schirmer- Energy, environment, natural resources, amnesty, women.

Katherine Schirmer, 27, B.A., Wellesley College. Legislative Assistant to Senator Phil Hart (D-Mich.) 1975-present. 1971-75, E.P.A. as special assistant to the administrator for Water and Hazardous Materials.

Noel Sterrett- Science and Technology.

Noel Sterrett, 28, born in Atlanta, GA. B.A., Michigan State. 1973 - began small importing business, 1974 - helped found and became stage mgr. of new dinner theatre in NY, co-author of national issues booklet for Carter Campaign.

In addition to the Generalists, the following people have been given special issue-related assignments:

Isabel Hyde - Issues/Field Coordinator. She will be responsible for briefing Carter and Mondale on local material (key issues, political figures; interest groups) that will both acquaint and identify the candidate with the area.

Dave Rubenstein - Republican record. He will be conducting research on the Republican record. This will include material that may be used against Ford by the field or surrogate speakers. He will also be responsible for compiling a Carter-Ford record comparison and for formulating responses to attacks by the Republicans.

Steve Travis - Researcher.

Isabel Hyde: 27, born in New York City. Studied at the Sorbonne University, Paris, 1966-67. B.A., Barnard College. M.A., Teachers College, Columbia University. 1972-73, assistant to Senior Editor, Bantam Books.

Dave Rubenstein: 27, born in Baltimore, MD. B.A., Duke University, J.D., Univ. of Chicago Law School, Law Review Editor. Associated with New York City Law firm of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton and Garrison from 1973-75. Chief Counsel to the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments from mid-1975 to July, 1976.

Steve Travis: 34, B.A., University of Georgia. Reporter, Atlanta Constitution and the Washington Post; Program and Congressional Relations Specialist, Office of Economic Opportunity; Director of Press and Publications, U.S. Conference of Mayors.

All of the above are located in Colony Square in Atlanta.

#### Washington

Joe Duffey - Associate Director of Issues

Harry Schwartz - Task Force Director

Louise Weiner, administrative assistant to Joe Duffey.

35, art critic, advisory member of State Crime Commission, B.A., Bryn Mawr,

Dan Dozier, administrative assistant to Joe Duffey.

32, Platform coordinator for Labor Coalition, Mayor Coleman Young's staff,

Lawyer for UAW, B.A. and J.D. Wayne State University

Susan Van der Horn, administrative assistant to Harry Schwartz.

33, attorney, HEW in civil rights work, 1974-76.

Carl Shepard, administrative assistant to Harry Schwartz.

26, B.A. Clairmont College, CA. Former Forest Service employee.

Laurie Lucey Ethnic group relations. (Laurie - daughter of Gov. Pat Lucey)  
Virginia Sloyan

Task Forces

There are presently 18 task forces coordinated out of the Washington office. Their membership is broad-based with an eye to both ideological and geographic diversity. The function of these task forces is to present a range of policy options rather than formal proposals. These groups, as a rule, do not meet together but work on assignments under the direction of Harry Schwartz. Task force topics:

Foreign Policy	Environment
Economics	Transportation
Nuclear Disarmament	Welfare & Poverty
Food/Agriculture	Criminal Justice
Land use, Housing	Government Organization
Urban Policy	Science and Technology
Energy	Tax Reform
Education	Consumer Protection
Health Care	Arts and Humanities

Issues Liason

The Washington office also serves as liason between congressional committees, interest groups, and professional associations.

Speechwriters

The chief speechwriter, Pat Anderson, will be assisted in Atlanta by Jim Fallows and Si Lazarus operating out of the Issues office.

Issues on Plane

We will have two issues people on the plane for short statements and contact with Atlanta.

MEMORANDUM

To: Governor Carter  
Thru: *Stu Eizenstat*  
From: Si Lazarus

Aug. 28, 1976

Re: Remarks before the Voter Education Project

*Governor, attached  
I agree they should be deleted. The references  
in the draft speech can be safely kept.*

Attached is a draft of suggested remarks for your appearance as keynote speaker at the third annual benefit dinner of the Voter Education Project, August 30, 1976, at 7:30 P.M.

At Stu Eizenstat's suggestion, I am also attaching material on discrimination against white ethnic groups, the substance of which was deleted from the draft remarks. This material was deleted for the following reasons:

(1) This audience (and traditional civil rights forces in general) could react negatively to any suggestion that a Carter administration might divert any portion of the resources of EEOC, OFCC, or other civil rights agencies away from discrimination against blacks, Spanish Americans, and women, to other fields such as discrimination against white ethnics.

(2) Discussion of the posture of federal antidiscrimination agencies toward discrimination against white ethnics could raise the incendiary problem of affirmative action requirements, and the underlying competition between ethnics and blacks for jobs and educational opportunities.

(3) It is not certain that all white ethnic voters would react favorably to a suggestion that they should become, along with blacks, the wards of federal antidiscrimination agencies.

The draft remarks include a section supporting a reduction in the obstacles to voting created by current registration

laws. This material is worded in general terms. As you know, the House of Representatives on August 9 passed a bill (HR 11552) establishing a nationwide voter registration system enabling individuals to register to vote in federal elections by mail. However, on the same day, a provision was deleted from the bill, which would have required the Postal Service to mail voter registration postcard forms to every household in the country. As passed, the bill provides that such forms be made available in Post Offices and other public buildings. You supported retention of the postcard mailing provision. In the Senate, the bill faces a filibuster. If it survives, President Ford may veto it. The arguments against postcard mailing of registration forms are: (1) cost--\$47 million--70% of the recipients would already be registered; (2) potential for fraud--state experience, as noted in the draft, indicates that postcard registration does not increase the risk of fraud.

You spoke at the first annual dinner of the Voter Education Project on May 4, 1974. Senator Kennedy was the principal speaker on that occasion. In your remarks you spoke of the need for universal registration. You noted the relatively progressive laws of Texas and North Dakota, and said: "I believe we ought to set an ultimate goal for all of ourselves, to perpetuate for this project to all Americans when they reach the age of 18 to be registered voters and automatically endowed with this precious right."

cc. Stu Eizenstat, Pat Anderson

August 31, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR CARTER

FROM : Charles Schultze  
THROUGH: Jerry Jasinowski  
SUBJECT: Budget Projections and Long-Term  
Budget Policy

For purposes of both the campaign and longer-term planning you will need a basic statement of your budgetary policy, and how various campaign commitments for new, expanded programs fit into a responsible budget.

This memo states the core of a proposed long-term policy. It also contains the budget projections underlying that policy.

Policy Statement

First, the Carter Administration proposes to follow a long-term budgetary and economic plan which, by fiscal 1980, would: (1) bring the federal budget into balance in a high-level economy; and (2) provide, if events dictate its necessity, for a modest budget surplus.

Second, the specific year by year progress toward this goal must and will be adapted to economic circumstances. Faster than expected recovery will speed progress. Slower than expected recovery should and will call for remedial measures, but while changing the time path it need not change the long-run target.

Third, in all cases new programs or expansions of existing programs will be shaped, in size and timing, to fit within this budget strategy.

Fourth, the combination of economic recovery and a conscious pruning of currently ineffective federal expenditures will permit the careful and judicious introduction of important new federal initiatives within the budget strategy outline above. Responsible and conservative projections show that careful management and a healthy economy would gradually make new budgetary resources available, and by the last year of the next Presidential term these sums would be substantial, on the order of \$50 billion.

Fifth, all of this can be done without either raising taxes or increasing the share of gross national product now taken by federal spending. The one exception relates to national health insurance. Should it prove feasible and desirable to introduce a comprehensive system of national health insurance before the end of the next Presidential term many of the premiums now paid on private and employer-furnished insurance would of course be replaced by a national scale of premiums or special taxes in order to finance the program.

In sum, therefore, two basic propositions would guide the Carter Administration with respect to budgetary policy.

1. A long-term budget strategy would be adopted to produce steady progress toward a balanced budget and, if need be, a budget surplus by fiscal 1980 under conditions of healthy economic recovery. All federal programs, new and old, would be managed and designed to fit within those guidelines.

2. Under this strategy budgetary resources will gradually become available to finance important new programs, and by fiscal 1981 would be quite substantial.

Background Projections

1. Initial Budget Projections. The first step is to project a "no policy change" budget:

A. Budget assumption:

- Tax laws unchanged;
- No new programs or real expansion of existing ones except as required by current law and the growth in beneficiary population;
- Real defense purchases unchanged from current appropriation levels;
- All programs allowed to adjust up to compensate fully for inflation.

B. Basic economic assumptions:

- Steady economic recovery, with the overall unemployment rate falling to 4% in the fourth quarter of calendar 1980;
- Price inflation tapered off to a 4% rate in 1980 and then held there.

C. Results:

	<u>Fiscal Years</u>		
	<u>1977</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>
• Revenues	363	530	600
• No policy change outlay	<u>414</u>	<u>510</u>	<u>540</u>
• Deficit (1977) of "leeway,"			
1980, 1981	-51	+20	+60

D. Relationship to GNP:

	<u>Fiscal Years</u>	
	<u>1977</u>	<u>1981</u>
• Revenues	19.9%	21.4%
• Expenditures	22.6%	19.3%
(GNP, billions	\$1830	\$2800)

2. Calculations of Available Resources in 1981:

- A. "Leeway" from no policy change budget . . . . \$60 billion
- Plus: Selected cuts in older programs. . . . 10 "
- Less: Contingency allowance for  
unforeseen needs . . . . . 10 "
- Possible allowance for budget  
surplus in high-level economy. . . . . 10 "
- B. Equals: Financial resources for new programs  
or expansions of existing ones . . . . 50 "
- C. Expenditures as percent of GNP if \$50 billion  
added to "no policy change" budget (540+50=  
590 billion) . . . . . 21.1%
- D. Financial resources available if expenditures  
held to 20% of GNP (20% of GNP=560; this is  
20 billion more than the no policy change  
budget; the 10 billion in additional resources  
from budget cuts is exactly offset by the 10  
billion set aside for contingencies). . . . . 20 billion

3. Illustrative menu of cuts in ongoing programs (measured as the savings), in 1981, from the "no policy change" budget":

A. Do not allow inflation adjustment in the one-third of programs with lowest budget priority . . . . . 5

B. Defense: Hold 1977 outlays constant in real terms. The "no policy change" budget freezes real appropriation levels, but since appropriations are higher than outlays, this implies a real outlay increase. . . . . 7

C. General reductions in:

- o Space (1.0)
- o Agriculture (0.5)
- o Law enforcement (1.5)

(Suggested by memo from James Storey, Senate Budget Committee staff, the total is reduced below the sum of the parts for conservatism) . . . . . 1.5

D. Eliminate special student benefits under social security . . . . . 1.5

TOTAL 15

Final Notes

1. If the \$50 billion in available resources is used publicly,

perhaps ought to be qualified in two ways.

- Use a range of \$40 to \$60
- Stress that in the case of each potential use of these funds, their priority will be compared to the alternative of a tax cut before any final decision is made. It may not be desirable to take the posture that all of the free resources from growth will automatically be dedicated to expenditure increases and none to tax cuts.

2. The health insurance issue is a difficulty. Improving Medicaid and providing catastrophic insurance for all would not be terribly expensive and could be fit within the \$50 (or at worst phased in a little more slowly).

But a health insurance program which takes over the bulk of all medical care financing would have to be financed by a separate tax.

My personal judgment is that we gain very little by having the federal government take over existing private financing. The rationalization that this is the only way to control costs and to improve the delivery structure is a purely theoretical argument. Every experience we know of suggests that the centralized bureaucracy of the federal government is the last place one should expect an efficient cost-conscious operation.

~~Confidential~~

MEMORANDUM

TO: Hamilton Jordan, Greg Schneiders, Pat Caddell  
FROM: Stu Eizenstat  
DATE: August 26, 1976  
RE: Transition Schedule

In accordance with my memorandum of August 23, I have outlined a transition work schedule for your review.

I. Talent Inventory Program

The interviewing and screening process should not begin until the Governor and his top staff have time to become heavily involved - after Election Day. There should be no significant winnowing down, no outside contacts on personnel, prior to that point.

Final decisions on the 50 top appointees should be postponed until at least late-November; major appointees, the President-elect and his staff should participate in a full review of persons for the remaining 150 slots.

II. Policy Planning

Note: There are two problems here. There is the political aspect - the arrogance, secrecy, inconsistency between public statements and private policymaking, alienation of certain interest groups, etc. But there is also the substantive aspect, which is that assuming we knew the election

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE  
MARKING BY \_\_\_\_\_

DATE 4/22/02

was won, the work scheduled to be done at this stage is very different from what a transition group ought to be doing. The present process drastically underestimates the importance of regular and open consultations with a wide range of groups and individuals; it underestimates the amount of staff work that good legislation and coalition-building requires; and it neglects the ongoing role of the President and his top staff in the process. We are preparing for the transition; we are not yet in transition.

First, for major legislative initiatives, such as welfare reform or health insurance, a long strategy planning blueprint needs to be completed, a document analogous to the one prepared by Hamilton Jordan prior to this campaign. This paper should include a summary of the last several years of program activity, a history of recent reform efforts, the players in Congress and the national interest groups, along with their pet concerns, a summary of the major proposals that are now on the table, including their constituencies, fiscal implications, tradeoffs of efficiency versus political acceptability, etc., a list of the persons who need to be involved and consulted during the formulation of reform proposals, and a detailed time table for the process beginning November 2 and ending as late as June 1977. A document such as this could not be less than a hundred pages in the case of a major reform. It would be an invaluable educational source for

*even if it were*  
Governor Carter and other top staff, and ~~the~~ <sup>A</sup> leak during the *(which it shouldn't be)*  
campaign would reflect positively, rather than negatively on the  
campaign, indicating our thoroughness and pragmatism.

Contrary to the presumptions of the proposed schedules, it is not simply a matter of completing a broad options paper, having the Governor read it and designate his choices, then drafting legislation. In major areas such as welfare, health insurance, reorganization or tax reform, there is a whole series of decision points. At each point lengthy briefings and discussions are necessary, along with involvement of the affected interests if the proposals are to have a good chance of passage and successful implementation. The players have to include top cabinet officers, top staff, key Congressional contacts, and to a considerable degree, the President.

Secondly, the PPG group should be planning now to utilize the resources of the Office of Management and Budget, and the research and planning bureaucracies of the various federal departments beginning on Nov. 3. These groups will be eager to show their competence to the new administration, and we have significant research needs if we are to act intelligently and quickly by January.

To this end the PPG group should be preparing detailed questionnaires for each department and for OMB. In the case of welfare reform for example, we should be readying a whole series of questions concerning experience with the work incentive program, the fiscal impacts of various reforms on specific highbenefit states and cities, the alternatives available in the 1978 budget, etc.

Jimmy Carter  
Plains, Georgia 31780

6-27-76

To Prof. Jeffrey O'Connell

Thank you for your  
recommendations re reading  
a speech. I studied  
it during the latter  
days of the primaries.  
It helped, and I'm  
sending it to Gerald  
Rafshorn (advertising) for  
arrangement of a possible  
meeting between you &  
me.

Jimmy

cc Rafshorn

Itu.  
file to  
Rafshorn

cc Kopschorn  
J

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

SCHOOL OF LAW

435 West 116th Street

June 4, 1976

Mr. Stuart Eizenstat  
Carter for President Headquarters  
P. O. Box 1976  
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Stu:

Enclosed is a memorandum from Professor Jeffrey O'Connell on the effective reading of speeches. Professor O'Connell apparently has had much success in helping political figures improve their ability to read prepared texts in a more spontaneous and compelling way.

Professor O'Connell called me yesterday and offered to come down to Plains to spend half an hour or so demonstrating his technique with Governor Carter. I am satisfied from my conversation with him and from people who know him that he is a very serious person and that the half hour would be well spent.

Since I am leaving next week for Europe, I have taken the liberty of suggesting to Professor O'Connell that he follow up with you directly. You can then make the decision as to whether an appointment should be arranged.

With best regards,

Sincerely,



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

RNG/pm  
Enclosure

cc:  
Professor Jeffrey O'Connell  
University of Illinois  
College of Law  
Champaign, Illinois 61820

MEMORANDUM

TO: Professor Richard N. Gardner  
FROM: Professor Jeffrey O'Connell, University of Illinois College of Law  
RE: Effective Reading of Speeches  
DATE: May 18, 1976

Start from the premise that any major political figure -- and especially a candidate for President (or a President) -- must often deliver set speeches from written texts. Certain of his speeches -- at crucial times on crucial subjects -- cannot be subject to the vagaries of impromptu remarks. In addition, even if such speeches could be subjected to the impromptu, a Presidential candidate (or President) must speak on too great a variety of topics, under too many varying conditions, and under too many pressures of enervation to count on being "up" for any given important occasion. (And, of course, nothing is more taxing than thinking well -- and articulating those thoughts well -- on one's feet in the hot glare of attention, whether alone before a TV camera or in a crowded hall.)

Start too, however, from the premise that any spoken word is spoken most effectively when it is impromptu.

Why is this so?

Because we rarely listen to the spoken word without the immediacy of impromptu speech. So when someone "reads" "at" us, it is inherently artificial. Imagine -- other than in an auditorium -- the effect on us if someone began to read a request for help, an anecdote, or a joke. Imagine, too, even in an auditorium, if actors "read" their lines,

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without carefully imitating the immediacy of conversation. We would walk out after a portion of the first act.

I recall the advice of a famous comedian to George Plimpton on Plimpton's television program where Plimpton took the role of a nightclub comedian. In order for a story to get a laugh (which is another way of saying in order for a story to get a genuine -- in this case, heightened -- response) "you must," he said to Plimpton, "make it sound newly born -- even if you have told it five hundred times before." Actor and playwright William Gillette used to refer to the essential quality of creating "the illusion of the first time."

And no one can read anything and make it sound newly born, without very consciously altering his reading, because, by definition, anything that is read is not newly born.

Anything that is read -- without adjusting to imitate the immediacy of impromptu speech -- is flattened out in pace, inflection, volume, pitch, etc. Even when these are varied, as an excellent reader will do, the variations thus achieved tend to be too uniform and sonorous.

(Note that not only is the voice -- in all its quality -- too uniform in the "read" speech, but so is the eye contact, facial expression and bodily movement. When we "talk" our eye wanders, our face changes expression; we sigh; we smile; we frown; we raise -- we lower -- our eyebrows, we hitch our shoulders. Very rarely does anyone reading -- even reading well -- do these things. A teleprompter, for instance, can cause a "reader" to look intently and only at the camera. But if anyone were to look intently -- and only -- at one of use in speaking

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to us, we would be rather uncomfortable. (Test yourself as to how long you keep looking at your listener in any conversation before you switch your gaze while, for example, you ponder a word or thought.)

But just as the "read" speech is too fraught with perfection and evenness, so the impromptu speech is often too fraught with imperfection and unevenness. Impromptu speech by even the best speaker is too often filled with vocal pauses, ungrammatical construction, stumbling over words, not to speak of outright mistakes in substance in what the speaker meant to say -- especially when the speaker is tired or preoccupied.

Is there any way to marry the spontaneity of impromptu speech with the haven of a carefully crafted text?

Of course there is. Actors do it all the time. They have read the speech to death: Actually they have, of course, gone one step further in that they have memorized it. And yet they make it sound "newly born" every time -- even the thousandth time -- they "read" it. How? They very consciously imitate the patterns of impromptu speech, with some -- but controlled -- imperfections.

How can a public figure learn to do the same, on the many occasions when he thinks it best to speak from a written text?

In introducing someone to the technique of able oral reading, I use the following procedure:

First, the speaker is asked to read aloud, in his normal way of reading, two or three paragraphs from a speech prepared by or for him. This is recorded and immediately played back. Almost any speaker -- no

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matter how well he reads -- instantly perceives how relatively flat and artificial he sounds.

Next, the speaker is asked to read over to himself the same few paragraphs three or four times whereupon the manuscript is taken from him. He is then asked to recite -- impromptu -- the same now familiar but not memorized paragraphs. This forces him to speak the words -- or a paraphrase of them -- thinking them anew. This too is immediately played back and the speaker immediately senses how much more alive and vibrant are his remarks when spoken impromptu and not read. But he will also sense he cannot hope to speak the whole speech impromptu; he will in addition sense that his own natural speech idiosyncracies -- his own short hesitancies, repetition of phrases, changes of inflection, speed, volume and tone -- while adding immeasurably to the vibrancy of his presentation, may be too imperfect. (He may, for example as suggested above, have paused too long while he forgot a phrase or even have become inadvertantly ungrammatical, etc.)

Next, having obtained the feeling and flavor of saying the words with the uneven -- but somewhat controlled -- spontaneity of "new born" impromptu words, the speaker is asked to recite them a third time, this time by reading them, but building into the reading some slight -- and relatively controlled -- vocal pauses, hesitancies, repetitions, changes of pitch, pace and volume which characterize his spontaneously uttered words.

Note that this procedure is simply my way of introducing the speaker to the concept of effective oral reading. I have found in extensive

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experience working with lawyers, law students, and others that in about three-fourths of an hour almost everyone sees the value of these techniques and makes marked improvement. Although there are subtleties one can work on beyond this initial session, the breakthrough -- almost as in learning to swim or ride a bike -- is sudden and dramatic after one session, leaving time for almost endless improvement as the techniques are perfected.

Keep in mind that what one is always trying to do is build the speaker's own natural way of saying the words back into the artificial process of repeating words long planned. Just as the good speech writer will try to catch the cadence of the speaker's own style, so the speech reader himself must try to catch the cadence of his own impromptu speech pattern -- including even, and indeed especially, his own informal mannerisms, including his own hesitations, variations in speed, etc. (In some respects, it might be noted, the speech reader's task is much easier than the actor's: He doesn't have to memorize the lines and he doesn't have to pretend to be someone else.)

One especial value of the infusion of (simulated) spontaneity into one's reading would be variations in pace. Perhaps the principal problem with most reading of speeches is that the reading pace tends to be uniformly slow. Now, being slow is better than being too fast, but any unrelieved pace is disconcerting. Perhaps the principal reason that any good speaker is so much more arresting when he is speaking impromptu is that he unconsciously varies his pace between faster and slower paces, going faster when he gets a rush of thoughts or slower when he is

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reaching for words. Both paces then become effective. The good "reader" should vary his pace the same way when he reads.

There are other techniques besides change of pace for the speaker to use in investing reading with spontaneity. For example, despite the strange contrast, the speaker must learn to be careful to be careless: He must be careful to be careless in adopting his ordinary patterns of speech; as one small, but crucial, example, he must often speak in contractions. In normal talk, we do not say "cannot," as opposed to "can't," "it is" as opposed to "it's," "that is" as opposed to "that's." Only very rarely and only when he is very carefully emphasizing a point, does anyone of us in normal talk avoid contractions (e.g., "That . . . is . . . evil.") And yet in listening to tapes of almost any speaker when he is reading from a text, he often does not make the normal contractions which make speech sound natural. For example, one hears him say "that is why . . ." instead of "that's why"; "I do not intend . . ." instead of "I don't intend . . .", as just two examples. Not to contract those phrases is to make the speaker sound needlessly stilted, formal, and even ponderous. In this respect the manner in which the reading text is prepared can be of great help.

We increasingly live in an age of verbal -- not written -- communication. And just as any person with intellectual tastes takes great pains with his writing, so he should take great pains to communicate effectively when he speaks from his writing. And the fascinating thing -- and the great potentially personalizing thing about speaking -- is that, unlike

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much writing, speaking can't be delegated. Maybe, in part, that's why in an impersonal machine age we are turning so often to what would seem to be inefficient verbal communication. Look at it this way: Originally communication was dominated, of course, by the spoken sound -- evolving into the spoken word; and the spoken word was replaced by the written word only because, especially with the printing press, the written word could be so proliferated -- albeit at the price of much personal communication. All that has -- only recently -- changed with means of broadcasting the spoken word. And isn't the incredibly pervasive and profound impact of television -- even yet only sensed -- explained by the fact that for the first time we can have both the personalization of speech -- visually and orally -- along with its proliferation? Given that fact it becomes really rather insane to depersonalize speech all over again by manifestly "reading" it through written words.

Almost no one in public life has seen the real implications of all this. No political figure I know of has seen the opening that combining the immediacy of impromptu speech with a written text gives to convey warmth and interest and excitement. (Indeed, very few television performers read that well. The best is Alistair Cooke -- he'd be worth looking at on one of his TV stints as host for the Masterpiece Theatre on Public TV to test what I am asserting. He "reads" so well you don't think he's reading -- which is the whole idea -- but he is!) Reading aloud well will take a little time, but it will make "reading" speeches

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effectiveness when there is no audience, as where one is speaking from a studio or one's office on TV, and the need to be realistically conversational in tone is often all the more essential. (Incidentally, it is the speaker's prepared speeches -- with their carefully crafted attention-getting remarks -- that are likely to excite TV clips. If, in turn, these remarks are "spoken" or "read" well, with warmth, elan and spontaneity, it is all the more likely that TV stations and networks will devote greater time to them.)

What I have just mentioned are the main -- but only a few of the -- techniques that are possible in effectively reading from a manuscript. But perhaps my thoughts give an indication of the potential involved.

JO'C/rcg

Ted & John

29 August 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. EIZENSTAT AND MR. HOLBROOK E

FROM: Larry Hargrove 

SUBJECT: Canvass of views on foreign policy, defense and arms control issues for the debates

Attached is a composite of views obtained during the last week from Barry Blechman, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Clark Clifford, Richard Gardner, Milton Katz, Michael Oksenberg, Henry Owen, Cyrus Vance, Jim Woolsey and Paul Warnke (George Ball was in Europe). Contributors were asked to assist at this early stage in identifying the issues most likely to be useful to, and those most likely to be used against, Governor Carter and Senator Mondale. Some went a good deal beyond this request.

Contributions have been organized according to major subjects, and within each subject according to major themes, points or arguments suggested, identified as "pro" or "con" Carter-Mondale. I have tried to take the minimum practicable editorial liberties with the contributors' own language, and as to each point have identified the contributor(s) putting the point forward. Where material was contributed by telephone and not recorded verbatim, I have added my name to the contributor's to insulate him against mistakes of interpretation on my part. I have also included a few points of my own not otherwise covered where it seemed useful.

Paul Warnke submitted also a thoughtful four-page discussion of "major cautions" in planning for the debates, which I have attached. Clark Clifford provided a fairly exhaustive check list of possible issues, major and otherwise, and I have included a list of issues mentioned by him but not emphasized by other contributors.

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Memorandum on the debates from Paul Warnke	Attachment

Management of Foreign Affairs in GeneralOrganization and Procedure:

--Governor Carter should emphasize three points where the Nixon-Ford-Kissinger conduct of foreign policy has been especially defective:

--Maximum feasible participation by all relevant parts of the Executive Branch, Congress and the public as against systematic exclusion (Katz).

--Maximum feasible openness as against chronic and often pointless secrecy (Katz, Vance).

--Full and effective use of reorganized and re-vitalized governmental institutions for the conduct of foreign policy instead of 1 or 2 man solo or duet performances (Katz, Vance). The administration has relied on a highly personalized, and therefore fallible, type of diplomacy concentrating on the major powers (Clifford).

CON

Experience and competence:

--Ford will argue that the ability to conduct foreign policy comes from experience; he will argue that he knows all the foreign leaders, has had both Congressional and executive branch experience in the field; he will charge that Governor Carter lacks the necessary experience and personal contact with foreign leaders (Vance).

Defense

Note: Generally speaking, Ford is relatively good on remembering budget figures, program details, and what has happened to various programs. He is weak on philosophy, strategy, and reconciling inconsistencies. Therefore it is advisable to stay off the former and try to make him do the latter as much as possible (Woolsey).

--The Administration has been inept and inefficient in defense planning and management. It has failed to maintain the defense complex in proper perspective, resulting in excessive expenditures for unneeded weapons systems (Clifford).

--Failure to develop a co-ordinated policy with our allies: Not only is it necessary that we have a defense policy that drives our force structure, but we must also do more to develop a coordinated defense policy with our allies, particularly in Western Europe. For years, defense planners on both sides of the Atlantic have cited the necessity for standardization of NATO weapons. Both national pride and domestic economic pressures have led to disparity and misfit. There is no reason why we and the Germans must both come out with a new tank instead of a common item jointly produced. The "Main Battle Tank" debacle is not a necessary harbinger of future joint endeavors.

The "not made here" syndrome leads us to spend millions or billions for a new American weapons system when one made in Western Europe might be more cost effective. The same phenomenon on the other side of the ocean leads the French to struggle to sell their new tactical fighter instead of accepting our superior F-16. A coordinated approach would not only improve the readiness and the fighting capability of NATO forces but also would lessen the compulsion to sell arms to third countries and would improve the prospects of a multinational conference convened to limit the quantity and quality of arms transfers (Warnke).

--Inefficiency: The theme here would be that even with now-rising defense budgets, we are not getting enough "bang" for the "bucks". Could stress inefficiency in the use of manpower--especially civilians, inadequacy of the military compensation system, and persistent problems (cost overruns, etc.) in the weapons procurement process. Shipbuilding would provide numerous examples of the latter (Blechman).

--The Administration has politicized defense policy, management and planning. Recent examples include:

--Shipbuilding budgets: In January Ford cut out 5 cruisers from the budget before sending it over, and then put them back in at the time of the Texas primary (Woolsey, Hargrove).

PRO

Defense, contd.

--Congress and the defense budget: According to an OMB memo, the Ford Administration deliberately left in the FY 77 defense budget \$3 billion worth of expenditures they regarded as unneeded, as padding to act as "insurance" against Congressional cuts (Woolsey, Hargrove).

--Appointments in the Department of Defense: Some of the people given Presidential appointments in the Pentagon have been unbelievable. One appointment to be a Service Assistant Secretary had been a used car salesman in Southern California all his life (Woolsey).

--The B-1 Bomber: Originally the production schedule called for a November 1976 decision on production. Ford superseded this just after he lost the Texas primary to Reagan, and announced (in the Ohio town where the B-1 engines are made) that the production decision had already been made. (Note, however, that Rumsfeld had written Congressmen in the Spring that the B-1 would in all probability be built.) (Woolsey)

--The Nixon-Ford Administration has failed to adopt and implement new technologies. In general, current defense planning is too hide-bound; it has not kept pace with new realities of contemporary warfare stemming from technological innovations (Blechman). There has been a general reliance on expensive platforms rather than on new technology such as precision-guided weapons. (In technological areas, Carter can make Ford look very weak indeed. The trick is to give some feel for the promise of these newer systems without over-selling them. There are a number of important caveats. (See Woolsey paper of 19 August on New Accurate Weapons.)) (Woolsey)

--Overemphasis on Asia: A strong case can be made that too much of the U.S. defense posture is oriented toward Asia, at a time when there are deficiencies in the U.S. European force posture. A reallocation would help to optimize capabilities (Blechman).

--The Navy: The Ford Administration's reliance on large expensive surface ships is at least one important factor in the shrinkage of the Navy. (Woolsey)

--The Schlesinger firing: Schlesinger was not just a hawk-- he pushed hard for a number of cost-saving reforms in the Pentagon. By emphasizing both his toughness in dealing with the Soviets and his cost-consciousness, Carter could put Ford in the box of saying that he valued neither characteristic so much as having someone in the job who could get along with Kissinger

--Manpower: It is hard to get specific about this range of issues because the saving which are possible are: (a) long-range, and (b) often politically sensitive (Woolsey).

Defense

--Carter, Mondale and the Democrats generally, are soft on defense, in contrast to Ford.

--Budget cuts: "I called for an up-to-date powerful Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines that will keep America secure for decades." The Democratic Congress "slashed \$50 billion from our national defense needs in the last 10 years". (Ford acceptance speech.) Now, Carter and the Democratic platform promise a \$507 billion defense cut (Vance, Clifford, Owen, Woolsey).

--Retort (on budget numbers only): What Ford doesn't tell us is that in the FY 77 budget, for example, his own Administration (OMB, OSD) cut \$9.7 billion from what the services requested, and admitted (in an OMB memorandum) to having left in \$3 billion of padding as "insurance" against cuts by the Congress. In fact the Democratic Congress cut only about that amount--\$3 billion (Woolsey, Hargrove).

--B-1 bomber: Failure to go ahead with the B-1 will jeopardize our strategic force (Vance, Woolsey).

--Korean troop withdrawal: This will give the wrong signal, jeopardize North Korean-South Korean negotiations and endanger stability in the area (Vance). Carter's positions already on record are an example of flip-flopping (Oksenberg), and might even be cited as a factor in North Korea's current friskiness, including the tree-pruning deaths (remember Acheson's speech drawing the defense perimeter in such a way as to exclude Korea a short time before the 1950 attack) (Woolsey).

--SALT: (less likely, but possible): Especially if Ford does a deal before the debates, he may argue that his defense program and diplomacy in combination have led to a major arms-control breakthrough (Woolsey).

--Navy: (less likely, but possible): Most people agree that something should be done about the need to improve the Navy vis-a-vis the growing Soviet naval power, and Ford may argue that it is the Democratic Congress that is standing in the way (Woolsey).

East-West Relations

--The Administration has misled us on detente. The American people have been misled on what to expect from detente. Detente itself (i.e., finding common ground and methods of reducing tensions between East and West) is a sound principle. However, we have been led to believe by the Administration that 'understandings' or linkages exist which do not and never did exist. It has been implied that because agreements were reached in strategic arms reduction, the Soviets would not compete with the United States in other areas. This was untrue. The Soviets have repeatedly stated that they intend to continue political competition throughout the world. Examples are Angola and the Middle East. The American people should have been told the hard truth. They are prepared to accept it. In short, the Administration either misled us or were naive (Vance).

--By contrast, we need to pursue peaceful and constructive relations, with a hard-nosed insistence on common and mutual benefit and the execution of mutual commitments (e.g. Helsinki) (Katz). We need a more balanced and business-like approach, which will avoid the pitfalls of euphoric detente and periodic reversions to crisis tension when our illusions are punctured (Owen).

--At the same time, the Administration's preoccupation with US-Soviet relations has worked to the detriment of a global foreign policy (we have neglected or slighted both our Allies and the Third World) (Clifford, Hargrove).

North-South or Third World Issues

--We must give a higher priority to international economic and social issues. These issues and the areas principally affected by them, such as Africa and Latin America, were ignored or overlooked during a large part of the Ford-Nixon years (Vance). What is needed is continuous and responsible attention to the needs and policies of the developing nations instead of neglect punctuated by opportunistic and back-handed attempts to be a good fellow (Katz).

--US should devote greater attention to international economic and social issues which transcend national borders, i.e., food, population, energy, terrorism, environment, human rights, and economic issues, and which particularly affect the Third World (Vance).

--In general, the Administration has been insensitive and ambivalent toward the concerns of the Third World. E.G., Is it Simon and Parsky opposing commodity agreements, or Kissinger making proposals to the 7th Special Session of the UNGA, who speak for the Administration (Brzezinski)?

--As a positive theme, Carter should emphasize that some accomodation to the rising expectations of the developing countries in the Southern Hemisphere is the key to solution of a series of existing and potential major difficulties.

--An appropriate response to the needs of the poorer countries can help ameliorate the Black/White conflict in Africa and provide a climate in which transition can be made to majority rule. Bigotry is intractable when it derives from an economic base. White Rhodesians and White Africans will be willing to risk cataclysm when the alternative is either expatriation or a national membership in the unexclusive club of poverty-stricken nations under Black rule.

--Progress toward development of Third World countries also will lessen the risks of nuclear proliferation and of atomic weapons coming into the hands of irresponsible desperate national and sub-national groups.

--The present irresponsibility and ill repute of the General Assembly of the United Nations is a direct function of frustrated aspirations. If the UN is truly to be an instrument of world peace and stability, it has to be something other than a place where the have-nots only vent their spleen against the haves who are indifferent to their plight (Warnke).

North-South or Third World Issues (cont.)

--Policies toward Southern and black Africa are a major issue, including the Administration's errors with regard to the Angolan Crisis and its belated adoption of constructive policies on Southern Africa (Clifford).

--A possible Ford argument on Africa: Governor Carter is for majority rule and criticizes the Administration. What would he do that the Administration is not doing? Would he provide assistance to groups seeking to achieve majority rule by force? Does he favor protection for minority rights? Has he any short-cut for achieving majority rule peacefully (Owen)?

--International cooperation for environmental protection is a major issue (Clifford).

--Despite a lot of Administration rhetoric to the contrary and some good internal advice, the Nixon-Ford Administration has characteristically placed environmental concerns very low on the scale internationally, and a number of examples can be cited. This parallels, and is often related to, a similar attitude domestically (e.g., under pressure from the chemical companies, the Administration has opposed effective legislation on cancer-causing and other toxic substances in the environment, and has thus been unable to take any initiative internationally--even though Russel Train told NATO this year that this is a "critical area") (Hargrove).

Arms Control

--The Nixon-Ford Administration has been dangerously irresponsible on nuclear exports and proliferation. Its policy has been dominated by opportunistic and shortsighted deals which neglect the dangers of nuclear fuels, reprocessing facilities, and mishandling of spent fuels--and by recent frantic efforts to correct the situation by closing the barn door after the horse is out. Instead, Carter should emphasize the essence of his New York speech (Katz, Hargrove).

Note: The Administration's record is sufficiently short-sighted, and Ford sufficiently unlikely to understand the issues, that this seems an excellent topic for the debates (Woolsey). One caution: the Administration is actively canvassing new moves which would serve to get it off the defensive on this issue--or even enable it to take the offensive (Hargrove).

--The Nixon-Ford Administration has mishandled strategic negotiations with the Soviets and new approaches are required.

--It has introduced Presidential politics into our strategic relationships with the Soviet Union. In 1972 and again in 1974 the negotiating process got short-circuited because of Presidential political objectives (Brzezinski, Hargrove).

--The Nixon-Ford strategy of "bargaining chips" has spurred the U.S./Soviet arms competition. To achieve effective arms control, we should call for mutual restraint while SALT talks continue. A priority item should be a comprehensive ban on nuclear explosions and flight tests of advanced missiles. (Warnke).

--Conventional arms sales: Our conventional arms transfer policies have meant reckless infusion of large quantities of sophisticated weapons into troubled areas of the world (Warnke, Blechman). The scope of our sales to Iran has received detailed attention recently. This scrutiny should continue. The tragic spectacle of Lebanon illustrates the cruel folly of spreading sophisticated weaponry throughout the world to increase the carnage of local hostility (Warnke).

Decisions have often been made with inadequate attention to the genuine security interests of the United States, or on a highly personalized basis (the Nixon directive on Iran) (Hargrove).

--Other arms control issues: Together with those just mentioned, a whole slew of issues all revolve around the idea that arms are in fact out of control. Talks to limit strategic arms and forces in Europe are bogged down, the test ban treaty is inadequate, no initiatives are in sight (e.g. Indian Ocean arms control). SALT might receive special emphasis. So as to avoid an embarrassing surprise, the current stalemate should be downplayed, concentrating instead on the inadequacies of the Vladivostok Accord itself (Blechman).

Relations with Allies

--Relations with key allies deteriorated during the Nixon-Ford years, and there is a need to restore confidence and cooperation: Examples are the Nixon shocks in Japan; bad relations between Kissinger and the Heath government. The US should give top priority to strengthening political, military and economic cooperation with our core allies, i.e. Europe and Japan (Vance, Clifford). The objective should be the effective renewal and further development of the partnership with the NATO and OECD countries so sadly eroded under the Nixon-Ford-Kissinger Administration (Katz, Clifford).

International Economic Policy; Food

--The record of the administration's economic policy is a series of failures:

--General lack of Presidential leadership in relating foreign economic policy to domestic economic policy and to U.S. foreign policy.

--Disarray in U.S. government organization (e.g., State Dept./Treasury/Agriculture disputes).

--Failure to implement Congressional mandate to target aid on "basic needs" of the poorest people in the poorest countries (head of U.S. delegation actually spoke against "basic needs" strategy at June World Employment Conference).

--Failure to discharge U.S. commitments to multilateral development institutions (IDA, IADB, ADB, through failure of Presidential leadership with Congress).

--Personalized diplomacy of Kissinger gets in the way of effective economic cooperation with other countries (example: mishandling of Resources Bank proposal at Nairobi).

--Stagflation of U.S. economy through years of mismanagement impedes successful international economic cooperation (Gardner).

--Food: There is a need for a coherent multifaceted world food policy, to ensure that our capacity for all-out food production is put to good use in the cause of peace. There is a need for more food aid, to avoid export controls, etc. (Owen).

--A "world food problem" issue might cover:

1. Improvement of the U.S. Food-For-Peace Program.
2. Development of a multinational food reserve system.
3. Support of the International Fund for Agricultural Development.
4. Improved production and distribution of world food supplies.
5. Stabilization of international food prices (Clifford).

--A possible Ford argument on food reserves:

Governor Carter has come out for some system of food reserves. How does he propose to do this without creating stockpiles that will overhang the market and depress food prices, as farmers fear (Owen)?

PRO

United Nations and International Organizations

--The Nixon-Ford policies have been misconceived and inept:

--There has been no long-term concept of how to build up international agencies to serve U.S. interests in a decent world order.

--The Administration has pursued balance of power politics at the expense of world order politics (examples: arms trade, nuclear proliferation, human rights).

--It has failed to defend the interests of U.S. and Israel in the UN through deeds as well as words (e.g. President, Secretary of State and Adbassadors did not use our leverage with foreign governments to block the Zionism resolution).

--It has failed to work for the reform and restructuring of the UN system (e.g., lack of any U.S. follow-up to the Report of 25 Experts on UN restructuring).

--It has failed to appoint top people on a merit basis to international organization missions and conference delegations (Gardner).

PRO

US Corporate Activity Abroad

--The American presence is felt throughout the world primarily through our international business activities. The recent disclosures about extensive bribery in sales by American multinationals reflects sadly on the American image. Unilateral action and American leadership in implementing the OEDC guidelines, adopted in June by 24 industrialized countries including the United States, should be a matter of high priority (Warnke). Issues raised by the Administration's legislative proposals will have to be addressed, in particular whether Carter is willing to call for criminal sanctions in US law for illicit foreign payments, which the Administration's proposal stops short of doing (Hargrove).

Human Rights in US Foreign Policy

--The Nixon-Ford Administration has failed to give aggressive support to the concept of human rights as a part of US policy (Clifford). It has done little if anything to deal with the troubling issue of U.S. relations with repressive regimes (Warnke).

--This includes the question of how to administer a policy of detente which will lessen the chance of U.S./Soviet military confrontation, while avoiding condonation of or support for Soviet international repression. It also includes the question of what to do with a treaty commitment when the treaty partner begins to acquire the attributes of a tyranny. We failed miserably in dealing with the Greek Junta, to the detriment of our relations with today's democratic Greece. In failing to use our influence to preserve at least rudimentary democracy in President Park's regime, we risk alienating those Korean leaders who will be in control when his day passes. Our Latin American policy will never be worthy of the name until we respond to the challenge of inhumanity, political imprisonment and torture in Chile, in Argentina and in Brazil. Our security at home cannot be based on human misery abroad (Warnke).

Asia

--Japan: American relations with Japan have been mishandled throughout the Nixon-Ford years, from the Nixon shocks on the China trip, revaluation of the dollar and other aspects of the Nixon package in the summer of 1971, the soybean embargo, and unilateral restrictions on textile imports, to the Current Lockheed scandal (Administration handling of which has badly embarrassed the Miki government) (Oksenberg, Brzezinski, Hargrove).

--China: Whatever may be said about the opening up of relations with the PRC in 1973, nothing much has happened since then and indeed there has been a decline in both trade and exchanges and the chances for improvement of Sino-Soviet relations seem improved.

Caution: This invites the suggestion that Carter can only mean we must be softer on the Taiwan issue in order to improve PRC relations. And in general China is not a fruitful issue for Carter to raise (Oksenberg, Hargrove).

--India: The notorious Kissinger "tilt" against India in the Bangla Desh conflict certainly provoked the ensuing wave of anti-Americanism in India (then the world's largest democracy), and may have been a contributing factor in its tragic slide toward authoritarianism (Brzezinski, Hargrove).

CON

Asia

--Experience: Ford is knowledgeable and experienced on Asia, and Carter the opposite. Ford has been to China, Japan, South Korea, Indonesia; knows the leaders; and has demonstrated a capacity to manage crises (Mayaguez, Korean DMZ incident). Particularly on China, Ford can credibly say "my opponent is not adequately informed" (Oksenberg).

--Korea: (a) Carter is soft on Korea, having given disconcerting signals about withdrawal of US troops that might invite probes from the North Koreans (Woolsey).

(b) In any event, Korea is a case-in-point of vagueness and inconsistency (early calls for unilateral withdrawal, later changed to phased withdrawal linked to stabilization in the peninsula (Oksenberg, Hargrove).

--Democrats as the war party: Our Asian wars have started with the Democrats in power and ended only after Republicans took over (already used by Dole). No American is now fighting anywhere in the world (Ford's acceptance speech) (Oksenberg, Clifford).

--Taiwan: Carter is too weak on the U.S. security commitment to our 14 million allies on Taiwan (look at differences between the two platforms in this respect). This softness invites probes by potential adversaries. (Much less likely to be used by Ford than by Reagan) (Oksenberg, Hargrove).

Administration Ineptitude in Particular Crisis Situations

--Cyprus: Administration's vacillation, indecision and bad judgment resulted in failing to prevent invasion by Turkey, in virtual partition of the Island, and the alienation of all three countries--Greece, Turkey and Cyprus (Vance).

First we seemed to condone the coup on Cyprus, then we inadequately opposed the invasion and later Turkish military operation. The result was a general deterioration in our position in the Eastern Mediterranean (Brzezinski, Hargrove).

--Angola: Here it was questionable whether we should have been backing the group we did. If so, we should have done it sooner and on a non-covert basis (Vance, Clifford).

Additional Issues Mentioned by Clark Clifford

1. Middle East conflict
2. Korean Peninsula--North Korean aggression and South Korean repression
3. Western Hemisphere relations
4. Energy conservation and development
5. Revitalization of the U.S. Merchant Marine fleet as an aspect of international relations and national security
6. Support of effective voluntary family planning to control world population growth
7. Diplomatic efforts to stop international trafficking in illicit drugs
8. Improvements in and enforcement of the International Law of the Sea
  - a. Protection of U.S. territorial fishing rights
  - b. Conservation of resources of the continental shelf
  - c. Preservation of freedom of passage in international waters
  - d. Agreement on seabed mining and profits
9. Protection of the rights and interests of Americans charged with crimes in foreign countries
10. Oversight and control of foreign intelligence operations
11. Domestic intelligence and surveillance--new FBI leadership and elimination of abuses

August 25, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HARGROVE

Re: Treatment of Foreign Affairs  
and National Defense Issues  
in the Carter/Ford Debates

You will of course be receiving a number of check lists covering the various issues that will almost surely come up in the debates, or that should be stressed by Governor Carter, or that may be seen by President Ford as yielding possible advantage to him. I know that Mr. Clifford has prepared a very comprehensive list. Rather than contributing redundancy, I would like to suggest a few major cautions and a couple of proposed themes.

Major Cautions

1. President Ford has suggested that the first debate should be on the topic of "national defense," to be followed by a debate on "domestic policy," then by one on "foreign policy," ending with a debate on "economic policy." In my opinion, none of these are legitimately separate topics and should not be dealt with in isolation.

In particular, I believe that Governor Carter should not accept a debate confined to national defense. The major problem in the national security area is that

we have no defense policy coordinated with a foreign policy and shaping the structure of our defense forces. To develop sensibly the issues in the defense field, it is necessary to define what our foreign policy objectives are and how these objectives can be advanced by the possession and the possible use of military might. At present, our military planners are left at large to design weapons and forces for wars we will never have to fight.

A debate restricted to national defense would give President Ford an opportunity to expound on his knowledge of defense budgets acquired through years of service on the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee. He would regale the audience with figures on declining U.S. defense expenditures in real dollars and rising Soviet defense spending. The Pentagon and the NSC would provide him with dramatic charts purporting to show the increasing Soviet threat. He would again decry the Democratic Congress' cuts of \$50 billion over the past few years and question whether Governor Carter could fight with a Congress of his own party for a strong defense.

The key question about the defense budget, however, is not whether it is rising or falling or whether it is higher or lower than that of the Soviet Union. The question rather is whether we are buying enough of the forces

that we need to deal with the least unlikely military contingencies. This, obviously, is a function of our foreign policy and where logically that policy might bring us into conflict with a foreign power, primarily the Soviet Union. If our foreign policy is to police the world, or to impose American economic and political models on emerging countries, then we need more attack carriers and improved amphibious capability. If our policy instead is to protect our own territory and that of our key allies, we might find that we're spending too much and getting too little.

Accordingly, to accept the invitation to debate "National Defense" as a separate topic is to accept the illogical premise implicit in the Nixon/Ford Administration's approach to the defense budget, i.e., it doesn't matter what you spend the money on provided that you keep on spending more of it.

2. The Ford agenda would devote two out of the four debates to foreign and defense policies. I do not believe that 50% of the most important issues fall within these two categories. Nor do I believe the American public generally believes that these are the subjects in which their well-being is most intimately involved.

Our national security is perhaps most immediately threatened by continued urban unemployment. The Nixon Administration's economic policy ignores the fact that American

blacks living in the cities account for an appalling part of those out of work. Policies that do not aim at finding work for them to do, because efforts to alleviate this situation might breed inflation, are the modern-day counterpart of those that excused slavery as necessary to preserve economic prosperity.

Moreover, foreign policy is quite substantially bipartisan. In seeking to develop debating points against an incumbent, the challenger risks sounding trivial, inconsistent with his own party's earlier positions, or even unpatriotic. Foreign affairs can't be avoided in debate, but it shouldn't be encouraged.

3. The Ford agenda does not indicate whether international economic policy would be dealt with as part of the foreign policy debate or as part of the economic policy debate. It is, of course, one of the most important issues in the field of international affairs and one on which the Nixon/Ford record is dismally poor. The North/South issues are at least as vital for future world peace as are the East/West issues. The Kissinger speech to the Special Session to the United Nations last September presented an impressive array of proposals to help the developing countries. The implementation of these proposals has been sadly lacking and State Department initiatives in this area have been effectively blocked by Treasury recalcitrance.