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October 4, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB KEYES
FROM: JIM FIELD

**You might want to review the attached information at your
convenience.**



October 5, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN CALHOUN

FROM: JIM FIELD

You might want to review the attached information at your convenience.



West Virginia
University

MORGANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA 26506

College of Law

September 16, 1976

Mr. Stuart Spencer
Political Director
The President Ford Committee
1828 L. St.
Washington, D.C. 20036

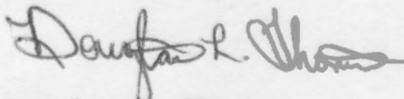
Dear Mr. Spencer:

At our White House meeting during the President's entertainment of the New York State Republican Delegation to the national convention, you asked that I jot down a few of my thoughts with reference to the President's chances with the minority voter. Since then, I have met with minority staffers and discussed various aspects of the current political scenario. The enclosed document is a synopsis of the general tenor of those meetings. It is also heavily laden with my personal views on policy and procedural matters; accordingly, as a document representative of collective thought, it is limited to that extent.

The paper is to be presented as a part of a unified minority proposal. However, I felt it best that you begin to consider the matters discussed therein as soon as possible. It would be counterproductive to the entire effort if it became generally known that you have had prior access to the paper. Please treat it with the requisite confidentiality and see to its security.

If you have any questions relative to anything contained therein, or if I may be of assistance to you in any way, please feel free to contact me at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,



Douglas L. Thomas
Associate Professor
College of Law
West Virginia University

DLT/tlc
cc John Baker
Enclosure



THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

(A Proposal for Adoption of a Minority Voting Bloc Strategy)

INTRODUCTION

This paper* is designed to provide an orderly inquiry into the potential impact on the current national election of a dislocation of a substantial percentage of the minority voting bloc. It also analyzes the short and long term proclivity of that voting entity for redirection from Democratic to Republican support. Initially, the underlying motivations for this effort are set out. Then an attempt is made to outline the assumptions which form the core of the matters to be surveyed. Thereafter, the strategies through which those assumptions are translatable into the desired actions are delineated. Finally, a viable methodology for the implementation of those strategies is discussed.

PURPOSE

The intent of the persons behind the views expressed in this synopsis are several and resolute:

- (a) The retention of President Ford in office in order that the stabilization processes he has set in motion will be continued. In a full term Ford incumbency we are confident that appropriate initiatives would be forthcoming. In short, we have confidence in the man, his innate instinct for decency and his presidential fabric; and, we are prepared to use our acumen, energy and influence to help give him four years to prove us right.

*The authors are minority group members interested in the reelection of President Ford. Jointly and severally, their services are available to the President, and are proffered herewith.



- (b) The initiation of a process by which the Democratic stanglehold on the minority voting bloc could be effectively broken. The aim is not to shatter the minority voting bloc (hereinafter, the "MVB") in perpetuity, though it is intended that it be severely split in this election. The goal is to position it as a viable voting entity within the parameters of a two-party system. We have a strong hope and determination that this effort will signal the transformation of the MVB into an aggressive, astute and influential political force within that framework.

OPERATING THEOREMS¹

THE MVB AS A SWING FACTOR. The view is widely held by political historians, statisticians and other expert commentators that the Democratic Party cannot win a national election without dominating the MVB. Estimates of the essential percentage vary between 80% and 90%. The upper limits are approached most often in the industrial states of the Northeast and Middle Atlantic regions. More recently, as the complexion of the electorate and the motivating issues have altered, the higher percentage has also been called for in "swing" states having a significant MVB.

The Democratic Party had until the last several years, very carefully groomed and acculturated members of the MVB for their role in Democratic victories. The indoctrination had been so complete that the Republican

¹It is important that all parties stand apprised of the position of this paper's proponents. Namely that this MVB strategy is designed to be an integral component of the overall strategy of the effort to elect President Ford to a full-term incumbency. It is conceived as a supplement and complement to that master plan; and, as with other segments thereof, conflicts in procedure are to be identified and reconciled at the planning stage.



Party (hereinafter, the "Party") was urged to accept a direct and public statement of this absolute and impliedly unchallengeable dictatorship of the MVB.² But it is this very circumstance that properly exploited could result in a victory for President Ford this fall. The sole and critical threshold question is whether the President Ford Committee (hereinafter, the "PFC") is prepared to make the necessary political adjustment and resource allocation needed to dislodge the number of MVB votes essential to a Democratic victory.

SUPPORT FOR THE CARTER CANDIDACY LACKS STABILIZING ROOTS IN THE MVB. As has been said of so much of Mr. Carter's broad-based support, the enthusiasm throughout the MVB is paper thin. Unlike many of those statements, however, the sheerness of the MVB support is underlain by tensions traceable to substantive points of departure. Principally, they are Mr. Carter's status as a southerner, his racist gubernatorial campaign and his suggestive ethnic purity faux pas during the primary campaign. The precariousness of his support is particularly glaring when viewed in conjunction with his position on unemployment. Although accepted as better than nothing, public-works-jobs are met with reticent hostility by minorities. The demeaning nature of the make-work jobs created under these programs are known in many segments of the minority community as "working welfare." Mr. Carter is the leading spokesman for public-works-jobs as a quick solution of the current rampant minority unemployment problem. Hence, the fragility of that brace of Mr. Carter's MVB support.

Additionally, in the upper socio-economic reaches of the MVB there is a propensity to bolt from any candidate or cause which poses a serious threat

²Moynihan, Patrick D.: Benign Neglect



to their tortuously achieved job security and economic well-being. Their nervousness is the same as that identified and targeted by the PFC in middle-class White America. Mr. Carter is teetering dangerously close to the edge of philosophical association with factors who advocate policies inimical to those interests. If the PFC is successful in cementing that associational reference, it would be possible to push Mr. Carter's tenuous relationship with that segment of the MVB to the breaking point.

THE REPUBLICAN ALTERNATIVE. Substantial numbers of minority voters are looking for a viable alternative to their Democratic Party alignment. There is a desire to escape the constraints of a singular and liberal-sounding lock step approach to the resolution of problems. The same evolutionary cycle that has seen the New-Dealers of the '30's become the Liberals of the '50's, the Moderates of the '60's and the Conservatives of the '70's, permeates the membership of the MVB. The problem for them is, however, anomalous. It lies in their forced inability to identify a viable alternative in which to exercise their changing ideological and political philosophies. The Party, in its current functional embodiment as the PFC, with the proper strategy could enter the November balloting with an expanded and eager constituency. It needs only takes a half step to the left and one step forward.

The half step to the left is effectively no philosophical movement at all. It is a definitive statement of what the party does NOT stand for, especially a disavowal of its supposed desire to subjugate and subvert the interests of minorities and the poor. Similarly, the step forward calls for a positive definition of the goals and aspirations of the Party. A



simplified and comprehensive message geared to the average voter, explaining the various credos of the party would suffice. The average voter must be SHOWN how fiscally responsible government reduces to hard permanent jobs and stable, substantial purchasing power. The message, once developed, could be tailored to the audience whether it be majority or minority, blue collar or white collar.

THE MERCHANTABILITY OF PRESIDENT FORD. By virtue of an unusual convergence of circumstances, President Ford emerges vis-a-vis the MVB as a relatively saleable commodity. But more importantly, President Ford does not pose the type of threat to minority interests that would impel the MVB to the polls. There is absolutely no similarity between this and the national contests and resulting debacles of 1964 and 1972. It would even appear that the President's busing stance has been discounted to a great extent by a majority of the electorate at large as an unavoidable dictate of the moment. Among the MVB, the busing problem has been further dimmed by the President's African initiatives.

A substantial effort would be directed at exposure of Mr. Carter's personal inconsistencies and the policy perils that attend his candidacy. If we succeed in fostering MVB disenchantment with Mr. Carter, there is no present exigency which would serve as an effective Democratic rallying point. A primary goal of this strategy is to ensure that one is not created. Any segment of the MVB once neutralized must be programmed to sit out the election.

DESIRABILITY AND FEASIBILITY OF A MINORITY STRATEGEM. There is absolutely



nothing to suggest that a sophisticated and effective MVB strategy would in any way conflict with, or detract from, the overall PFC strategy for the full campaign. The initial failure to include a strong MVB strategy was myopic. However, the fault lies equally with those of us who failed to make known our thick-skinned approach to political necessity. In an election, **ideology** is secondary to tactics and is properly a subject of post victory implementation. In any event, we would do well to treat what is past as done, and make a concerted effort to take a more enlightened, realistic and candid approach in our dealings. In this vein, it is urged that an effective program be designed to split the vote of the MVB. That split would deny the Democrats the White House and could be accomplished within the parameters of the overall campaign scenario drafted by the PFC last month at Vail.

There are essentially three primary spheres in which the electorate positions itself. The first is the White middle class, blue and white collar grouping. The second, a congeries of liberal-progressives, middle and upper-lower class minorities and activist women. The remaining sphere is a moderate, compromise-oriented hybrid of the other two. For convenience, reference will be made to them as Conservative, Minority-Liberal and Moderate, respectively.

It is possible to cultivate the various desires and fears common to each of these spheres without alienating or offending the sensitivities of any one of them vis-a-vis the others. For example, it is perfectly logical to corner the White backlash vote by coveting the accepted "work ethic" subterfuge. While, at the same time, pressing the message among the MVB that



President Ford seeks to develop an economy where they are an integral and essential part of the primary work force. And, that he rejects a give-away system wherein minorities are relegated to the role of recipients of the morsels its Democratic benefactors choose to dole out. In other words, Conservatives can be sold on the belief that it is the "willing working class" against an undefined "THEM"; and the Minority-Liberals convinced that minorities are properly a part of that working class.

On the matter of desirability, the inquiry is simply whether enough MVB votes can be neutralized or taken away from the Democrats without any significant or countervailing attrition in the voting strength already targeted by the PFC. What has been set out hereinbefore, particularly in the immediately preceding paragraph, suggests that the answer is an unequivocal yes. There are several working examples which underscore the desirability as well as the feasibility of garnering a substantial percentage of the MVB. The gubernatorial race strategies of several Republican incumbents and a challenger in the key states of Ohio (Governor Rhodes), Michigan (Governor Milliken), Indiana (Governor Bowen) and Illinois (Thompson) place heavy emphasis on a respectable split of the MVB in those elections. Their strategies have several common precepts which are transmutable to our present purposes.

Prerequisite to a Presidential victory, the Republican Party must accomplish three things. First, it must spark enthusiasm among its natural supporters, those who will go out and work for the Party against all discouragements -- on the national level, this is commonly thought to be the



conservative wing of the Party. Next, it must retain its hold on the more loosely affiliated voters for the Party, those who are not politically active but tend to lean more to the Republican cause than to the Democratic cause -- conservative-minded Democrats, work-ethic independents and businessmen. Finally, the Party must draw away from the Democrats as many of its loosely affiliated voters as possible -- primarily the Catholic and Jewish voter in the present national election. Of course, the true independents must be wooed in sufficient numbers to consolidate the victory.

However, in the state contests mentioned above, it is the recognition that the MVB can be thrown into the Democrat's "loosely affiliated" category that is so tantalizing. These several Republican gubernatorial hopefuls are seemingly convinced that a substantial percentage of the MVB can either be prompted to cross party lines or to remain neutral. We think they are accurate; and further, suggest that those races are only a macrocosm of the general situation. It is our proposition that the MVB is already loosely affiliated on the national level and must be dealt with accordingly.



REALIZATION STRATEGEM

SPLITTING THE VOTE OF THE MVB. Most of the closely watched projections point to a steadily tightening Presidential contest from now until the balloting in November.³ If those estimates are accurate, during the final forty-five days of the campaign the eventual margin of victory for the prevailing candidate should close to a single figure on the downside of five percentage points (5%). It is our premise that the opposition party is relying heavily on the traditional Democratic bloc-voting of the minority sector for this prevailing margin.

Unchallenged, these estimates will no doubt translate into votes and the Democrat's expected victory. However, a dilution of the minority Democratic vote to a respectable margin below eighty percentage points (80%) would be enough to consolidate a successful Republican Presidential drive. The estimate moves up or down depending on the size of the projected gains of the President in the Catholic and blue-collar sectors. The aim of the MVB strategy is the creation of an atmosphere and incentive for a substantial defection of minorities from the Democratic camp to either the President's support or to political inactivity. Stated differently, the goal is either to increase the President's share of the MVB to between fifteen (15%) and eighteen percent (18%), or to reduce the Democratic total to below seventy-seven percent (77%). A combined Democratic attrition and Republican gain would, of course, be the best of both worlds.

³The assumption implicit in the various voter preference surveys is accepted here; viz., that the popular vote will roughly parallel the electoral vote.



Make-Up of the MVB:

Before proceeding further, perhaps as a threshold matter we should analyze the composition of the MVB and state why constant reference is made to matters for which, facially, it would seem they should have no concern. The bulk of the MVB is drawn from the traditional middle to lower-middle and upper-lower class socio-economic groupings. They are the minorities who regularly exercise the vote and they are our target group. However, within the guidelines of any chosen MVB strategy, it is imperative that this group be given a saleable commodity. Saleable in the sense that it is sensitive to their need as successful minority group members to see to it that there is something for less fortunate minorities in the programs and people they support. There must be some ostensible and readily identifiable benefit for those persons. This is not to suggest that the primary thrust of a MVB strategy does not have to be promotive and protective of the successful minorities' vested interests. That would be fallacious as well as fatal to our purpose. It does mean that the strategy must be careful not to offend their sensitivities.

It is not an unusual phenomenon among newly succeeding minorities to feel a sense of guilt at having left behind the environs and ills of the typically debilitated minority habitat. This is especially true of the vast majority of those minorities who see a direct causal nexus between their success and the provocative activities of their "abandoned," ghettoized benefactors. It is terribly difficult to reconcile their new life style and attendant concerns with the professed commitments to community and people of the not so distant past. Understandably, then, the



minority person we are targeting has a compelling need to assuage his conscience, or more colloquially, "to pay his dues." Active support of programs purportedly directed to the alleviation of some of the on-going problems of the average minority group member is a painless and popularly accepted method of paying those dues. It is those circumstances that provide the foundation of our concern. Namely, that no strategy be adopted, and no statement made, which would do violence to this rather fragile intra-group compromise.

In a nutshell, a MVB program must be one wherein the rhetoric promises maintenance of the traditional implements and privileges of the middle-class; without, at the same time, appearing to advocate policies which are openly hostile to the hopes and aspirations of those less fortunate minorities for whom the typical MVB member feels a sense of duty.

Democratic Infirmities:

Operatively, we would seek to exploit two basic infirmities of the Democratic Party vis-a-vis minorities. Firstly, the utter failure of essentially every public-works-jobs program to improve the socio-economic plight of minorities. And, the continuing persistence of the Democratic Party in the deceitful promotion of such blunderbuss programs as a panacea for the panoply of problems confronting minorities. Secondly, from the viewpoint of the MVB, the Democratic candidate is, at best, an inherently suspect commodity. At his worst, he is anathema to all in which they believe and have fought to achieve.

There are many arguments against the use of public-works-jobs programs,



but none so appropriate to our purpose as the statistics on the number of minorities actually put to work under them. These figures are surprisingly small, averaging well below twenty percent (20%) in many instances. They drop to as low as three percent (3%) of the supplemental work force on those public-works projects where the primary work force is highly unionized. An even more damaging revelation would be proof that public-works projects intentionally program unemployment through their failure to build-in a continuing need for the supplemental workers. It is a revolving door approach wherein the minority beneficiary of today's Democratic give-a-way scheme is the intended victim of tomorrow's Democratic take-a-way. These are the programmatic stopgap measures that the Ford administration has successfully resisted. They are basically a product of the Democrat's historic paternalistic attitude towards minorities; which have, as a whole, produced more pain and suffering than benefit. Under these programs minorities have been the last to be hired in good times and the first fired in bad times. In sum, the Democratic Party has bankrupted itself through its failure to provide hard jobs for minorities. But standing alone this means little, that bankruptcy must be made a glaring reality to the eyes of the MVB.

It is suggested that, without the explicit use of ethnic labels, a message be framed emphasizing that the people these programs are intended to benefit are conceptualized by the Democrats as a secondary or tertiary work force. The process would entail a restatement of the factoring that goes into such Democratic programs; viz., that operationally those programs intend the employment of minorities only after persons who have been thrown



out of the organized labor pool (the primary work force) are returned to their positions, and provided with a full complement of desired overtime (the secondary work force). Then, and only then, is it within the contemplation of the Democratic scheme that new entrants to the labor pool (the tertiary work force) are to be in a position to share in the spoils of such public projects. In closing out the characterization of the job-works proposal as a "vote-getting boondoggle," a strong and fundamental point should be made of the basic distinction between the soft job approach of the Democrats and the hard job approach of the Republicans -- the simple difference between temporary make-work employment and permanent (regenerative) productive employment.

THE CARTER CANDIDACY. Mr. Carter has several very basic liabilities that he faces in his quest to retain the allegiance of the MVB: (a) his status as a southerner (and a "plantation" owner to boot); (b) his racist gubernatorial campaign; (c) his exploitation of religion for personal gain; and (d) his public statement on "ethnic purity." To date, Mr. Carter has successfully negotiated each of these hurdles. However, his success is directly traceable to the ineptness of the pre-nomination opposition in identifying and effectively utilizing those infirmities against him.

Minorities have historically viewed the South as a fomenting ground for forces whose precepts are anathema to their basic rights and interests. It was the seat of slavery and post-bellum oppression. Its leadership was assigned the task of continuing the supremacy of the White populace as



the ruling class. And, it was from the South that the typical urban ghetto dweller was forced to rip his roots and emigrate to an alien and, ironically, equally hostile environment. One would suppose that Mr. Carter would suffer the insurmountable liabilities of his southern heritage since he epitomizes each and every aspect of the enumerated negatives. He is the southern gentleman of the great white house, a plantation owner, and (prior to his governorship) a true dixiecrat leader and racist campaigner. Stereotypically, he is doubtlessly one of the contributing sources of the minorities' forced trek to the misery of the northern urban ghetto.

Mr. Carter has, however, skillfully avoided the general resentment of the MVB toward the South by an adept appeal to their natural fondness of "home." He has successfully sublimated the vicissitudes of the minorities' plight in the South, and appealed to their indomitable affinity and affection for its sun and soil. Because his points have been so deftly subtle, and poignantly delivered, no effective counterpoint has heretofore emerged. An equally subtle and skillful reinforcement of his stated liabilities must be accomplished by the Republican Party if the objectives set out in this paper are to be realized.

Mr. Carter has also successfully enshrouded himself in the image of the southern gentleman cut to the quick by the deprivations reeked on minorities in the Southland. By picturing himself as a stealthful philanthropist, he has reframed every step of his racist rise to power as a calculated ploy to position himself so that he could effectively implement



his true blue desire of racial egalitarianism. This is a hard pill for the MVB to swallow but so far Mr. Carter has it half way down their political gullet. However, given a strong and convincing answer to his concededly fair incumbency as Governor of Georgia, the MVB could be prompted to regurgitate this sop whole, and while it is still undigested.

The task is to discover a convincing ulterior motive for his about-face. The answer is discoverable and no doubt potent. It must be found and delivered soon. All of the remaining pieces of the enigma are surfaced and ripe for utilization:⁴ (1) Mr. Carter, based on his past political history, is a proven racist. [He is temporarily sublimating his true propensities for purposes of political expediency]; (2) the sublimation is a thin veneer through which his true colors are bound to bleed. [His advocacy of the maintenance of the ethnic purity of selected enclaves of our society]; and (3) Mr. Carter is an admitted manipulator on whose sincerity the MVB cannot afford to gamble. [He sold himself to the voters as a Wallace-Maddox Dixiecrat, but seeing greater advantage (Perhaps the White House? This is the point where some such hard reason for the Carter change must be produced), he betrayed their trust. What dictate of reason says he will not betray the trust of the MVB?]

Finally, Mr. Carter's manipulation of religion is a potential political bombshell as it relates to the MVB. However, it is an advantage that improperly managed could have disastrous consequences for its cannoner. Most minorities subscribe to the philosophy of the socio-economic mainstream of Americana that the proper structure of life is "sweat of the brow six

⁴The bracketed statements which follow the accusatory matter would be the beginning the justifications for those accusations.



days a week, worship on Sunday morning and rest, relaxation and a scotch-and-soda on Sunday evening." Non-conforming persons, especially those who wear their religion on their lapels, are inherently suspect. In the instance of the MVB, it is an uneasiness that is readily transmutable into warm association or vehement opposition. As in the case of his credible gubernatorial incumbency, an advantage to the Republican effort is only realizable if an ulterior motive for Mr. Carter's miraculous rebirth can be identified and presented to the MVB.

Again, the caveat in this area goes to the very sensitive nature of the underlying subject matter. In essence, this requires that all steps be taken to avoid offending the very large and powerful church contingent of the MVB. The potential conflict can be circumvented by a prospective reconciliation of the Republican purpose and that group's interests. By drawing a readily ascertainable ("bright") line between their noble and productive activities, and the ignoble sort of exploitative religious activities with which Mr. Carter is sought to be associated, this is made possible

There are primarily two types of minority worship centers. One is the traditional steepled brick-church variety that has acted as a stabilizing, faith-inspiring force in the minority community. Church organizations such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the AME Zion Church Alliances make up this grouping. They are the protagonists to whom are attributed the credit for the civil rights initiatives of the current epoch. The other is the disdained storefront variety whose main aim is the pecuniary gain of its leadership. They are colloquially thought of as "mail-order worship warehouses" whose sole



philosophical base is found in the bottom of a collection dish. This element of the religious scene is patronized principally by nonvoting minorities, and is looked upon with hostility by those persons properly includible in the MVB. Accordingly, negative connotations may be used with varying degrees of caution in seeking to tie it to the Carterized brand of religious exploitation. For example, a ready analogy can be drawn between the stance of those church groups during the civil rights era, and the current Carter message to minorities.

On its side of the equation is the worship warehouse's attempt to keep its followers out of the civil rights struggle and, hence, preserve the peace (and its venerable pocketbook) for the singular benefit of the church; rather than to risk the wrath of outside forces by active pursuit of goals beneficial to its congregation. And, on the other side, is the Carter message:

I, in my rebirth, am a man of the Lord (you know I would never lie to you). Give me your poor and your unemployed and I will cure their ills (for a price, of course). He that cometh to me with votes I will in no way cast out (but I do ask that you be quiet and docile for a year or so; thereafter I will make you happy and secure).

It should be noted that the "rebirth" business has a long history of ridicule in the minority community. This is mainly due to the fact that the proprietors of the worship warehouses have professed that they are surrogates of the Lord and "he has given [them] the power of rebirth."

Finally, Mr. Carter's statement on maintenance of the ethnic purity of neighborhoods at once uncovers an advantage and creates a dilemma. It



is an outward manifestation of what we wish to frame as Carter's true character. But it also forces the question of whether to launch a frontal assault on the portrayal of Mr. Carter as decent and unbiased; or, to reserve use of the revelation to impeachment of that portrayal whenever the opportunity arises (or can be convincingly fostered). It is suggested that the latter is the better of the two alternatives. Firstly, it is consistent with our purpose to get a substantial percentage of the MVB to vote AGAINST Mr. Carter, not necessarily to get them to vote FOR the President. An affirmative attack on Mr. Carter via the ethnic purity utterance would also draw attention to the President's own statements on maintenance of the ethnic character of neighborhoods with the net result that the attack would either earn the President the enmity of a large segment of the target group, or create an unexpected groundswell of sympathy for an "unfairly maligned" Carter. Secondly, the last thing that the President's bid needs at this juncture is to do anything to provide another excuse for a nationwide blitz by Andy Young and the King family in defense of Mr. Carter. We seek to undermine Mr. Carter's credibility with the MVB, and provocation of such a reaction would only serve to reinforce it.

However we choose to go about unravelling the Carter knit, it is essential that the attack not be overt or overdone. A simple and compelling presentation is preferable to a epithet slinging confrontation. People like Mr. Carter, its just that they don't trust him. That should make us wary.



RECLAMATION OF THE MVB. Several decades have elapsed since the Republican Party's passive acquiescence in the Democrats' co-option of the Party's traditional Lincolnian principles. Throughout that interval significant numbers of minority voters have had to either adopt a political party with whose philosophy and policies they often felt antipathetic, or be without a political base. Properly managed, that antipathy can readily become an integral part of the effort to make a significant inroad on the MVB. A close look at the origins of the MVB alienation from the Republican Party provides the core of the answer to its reclamation.

The Democrats have succeeded in convincing the body politic that to be Republican is to be conservative, and to be conservative is to be reactionary; and, conservatism, naturally enough, is to be equated with every available negative -- anti-labor, anti-poor, anti-women, anti-minority, anti-Israel, etc. Circumstance has lent its aid to the Democrats in their rather astute ex parte characterization of the Party.

The Party has repeatedly taken office in times of fiscal crisis; i.e., following a period in which the Democrats have spent the country into a monetary panic. The Republican's role has then been reduced to reordering the finances of the nation and restoring the eroded confidence of the public. Those readjustment periods have, not surprisingly, been times of tight taxing and spending policies. They have been periods of expediency and, hence, limited opportunity for Republican initiatives directed to the resolution of extant social problems. The net result has been the attribution to the Party of the various additional and compounded social welfare problems which have



arisen as a side effect of the many misfiring Democratic programs. Stated differently, the consequence of such dictated conduct of the Presidency has been the fortification of the view of the Party as a necessary evil. A counterweight to the "well-intentioned," and hence excusable, excesses of the Democratic Party.

What is important for our purposes is that a significant number of minority voters have been rendered captives of the Democratic Party by this image. We estimate that approximately twenty percent (20%) of the MVB currently fall within this category; and given the proper incentives can be returned to the Republican camp. Among such enticements are the following:

1. Exposure of the actual effect of "Great Society" type programs.
2. Development of a Carterite Imagery wherein the several ethnic liabilities previously mentioned are to be institutionalized as a serviceable embodiment of minority-directed Democratic philosophy. [Assignment of racial overtones to Democratic policies and programs].
3. Pretermittence and eventual interdiction of the Democratic Party's co-option of the Lincolnesque principles of the Party. [Force them into a permanent "New-Deal" posture].
4. Development and presentation of a "hard-jobs" alternative to the Democrat's "soft-jobs" approach to resolution of the unemployment problem. [A defusing of the "bread and water is better than air" response].
5. Concretization of the current "Southern Africa Policy" of the President into a discernible and saleable commodity. [Reinforcement of the message that President Ford's decency is insurance that he will do right by minorities].⁵

In the emotion charged atmosphere of political intercourse with special interests groups, the need for cautious treading is legion. In the arena of

⁵Care must be taken to deliver this message without alarming or alienating Ford supporters who are, at best, ambivalent about the African Initiative.



minority politics that tender treading is more akin to tip-toeing on egg shells. There are limitless pitfalls and entrapments that await the unwary. If this effort is to be successful, there must be a continuing awareness of the need to be fully informed.

IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGEM

TRUTH SQUAD. The task of this group would be to convey to the MVB the substance of the detail contained in the Realization Strategem Section of this paper. This would be accomplished through limited access conferences, local and regional radio and television talk shows, newspaper interviews, public debates, general-purpose public appearances, and other appropriate media. The implementation phase of the overall MVB strategy has been designed such that the bulk of the matters contained herein would be most effectively conveyed by a small well-informed, and well-coached, core group of minority persons. Each person selected to present the statistical and philosophical information should be analytical, politically astute, emotionally controlled and, of course, articulate.

This group would also act as the absorption point for criticism leveled at the Republican bid for a share of the MVB vote. For instance, there will no doubt be a charge of election year politics regardless of form of the Republican initiative in the minority area. It is expected that the persons making up the so-called Truth Squad would act as national advance men. preparatory to a direct and enthusiastic response by the President or a



high-ranking official of the PFC. The group would also be responsible for collaborational guidance in the formulation of that reply. The response would ideally be to the following effect:

" The President welcomes the opportunity to have minorities exercise their political muscle for their betterment. They are seeking aid in the same way every other interest group does -- through our system of democracy.

In our system, special appeals for support are made to identifiable interests groups by their representatives. Those interest groups demand a price for their support. The law says that this is a perfectly legitimate way to conduct the business of our country. The Congress has even licensed people to represent those groups in their efforts to deliver a plain message: 'Mr. Congressman, you see to my interests and needs, and in November I will reward you with my vote.

For their vote the Irish expect the President to aid Ireland, the Jewish People expect him to aid Israel, the farmer expects him to help the farmer, Catholics expect support for their position on abortion, businessmen expect him to promise to resist destructive quick sell solutions to economic problems. The message is clear: NO HELP, NO VOTE.

Then I ask you, what is it that says minorities can't ask for help with those things that matter to them in exchange for their votes? Are you suggesting that they are different from everyone else?"

Politics is a reality of American life. Those among us who support President Ford can deliver the message among the MVB that his administration will not lie about it. We can continuously put an estoppel question to any who would attack the PFC initiative: "Is it permissible for the Democrats to make endless promises they have proven they can't keep, but improper for President Ford to agree to act with the power he has available to him?"

N.B. Mr. Carter's primary campaign and acceptance speech is wrought with promises of vote for me and I will help you, "AND YOU CAN COUNT ON IT!" [Dates, times and places of Mr. Carter's offer of aid in exchange for votes are readily ascertainable. These offers to deal have been made to Jews, organized labor, Blacks, women, Catholics, and Chicanos.]



RESOURCE CENTER. Perhaps the greatest obstacle to the successful splitting of the MVB is the pervasive unfamiliarity of the Party heirarchy with the do's and don'ts of courtship of the minority voter. The minority task force mentioned above could solve this problem, if properly utilized. It could review policy proposals to help in the rephrasing of statements to, or concerning, minorities. For example, the negative impact of Secretary Kissinger's recent address to the National Urban League, designed to elicit support for President Ford's Southern Africa initiatives but which instead resulted in the "no qualified minorities" debacle, could have been avoided. A brief consultation with a group of this sort would have alerted and sensitized him to the potential pitfalls of the question and answer segment of his presentation. The Secretary, properly prepared, could have drawn upon his considerable diplomatic skill to avoid the unfortunate response. The statement would have been to the effect that "some difficulty is being encountered in locating qualified minorities WHO ARE INTERESTED IN SERVING in the State Department. The League's help in locating those persons would be greatly appreciated." Effectively the same response, but no adverse fall out.

The most immediate function that such a resource pool could serve is preparation of the President for the questions of the Minority-Liberal representatives of the press in the upcoming debate on domestic issues. Minority input is even more critical to successful negotiation of the "qualifying statement" segment of the debate. Ideally, the resource group would formulate the questions and put them to the President in a thoroughgoing "dress rehearsal" for the actual debate. It would also be responsible for ferreting out disarmingly comprehensive yet concise responses designed to force Mr. Carter into a strained



and ineffectual commentary.

A major objective of these sessions would be to alert the President to the need to avoid being pushed into any statement or position that could not be defended or explained away before the MVB. Obviously, if the President comes away from the Domestic Issues debate with the advantage; or, for that matter, as Mr. Carter's domestic equal, he would have delivered a mortal blow to the Democratic effort. Mr. Carter's strength is his accepted superiority to the President in the approach to resolution of domestic problems. If that handle is lost, he may very well turn to the desperation tactics that began to surface in the final days of his waning primary campaign. At that juncture, the President's cup of alternatives would runneth over.



October 15, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN CALHOUN
FROM: JIM FIELD

The attached telegram, which is addressed to the President, should be answered by you. I think it is a little unfair. With just over two weeks to go, I think we should be positive about our people.



MIDDLETOWN, VA. 22645

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Mailgram®



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RICHARD B CHENEY, ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON DC 20500



DEAR MR PRESIDENT:

I TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO BRING TO YOUR ATTENTION MATTERS THAT SHOULD BE OF CONCERN TO EVERY REPUBLICAN THAT IS INTERESTED IN THE SUCCESS OF YOUR ELECTION ON NOVEMBER 2 1976.

TO SAY THAT I AM DISCOURAGED IS PUTTING IT MILDLY I BELIEVE THAT THE PEOPLE WHO ARE HANDLING THE MECHANICS OF YOUR CAMPAIGN IN SO FAR AS THE BLACK AMERICAN VOTERS ARE CONCERNED EITHER 1. DO NOT KNOW WHAT THEY ARE DOING 2. HAVE NOT TAKEN THE ADVICE THAT HAS BEEN GIVEN TO THEM OR 3. THE REPUBLICANS IN CHARGE HAVE WRITTEN OFF THE BLACK VOTE IN THIS CAMPAIGN. I AM TAKING THE LIBERTY TO SEND YOU THIS MAILGRAM OUT OF DESPERATION IN ORDER TO TRY TO SALVAGE SOME OF WHAT WE COULD HAVE HAD IN THIS CAMPAIGN AT LEAST 50 PERCENT OF THE BLACK SUPPORT.

A. EARLY IN THE PRIMARY CAMPAIGN IT WAS SUGGESTED TO MR. RICHARD B. CHENEY, ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT THROUGH MR JOHN CALHOUN, ANOTHER ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT THAT THE BLACK NEWS MEDIA COULD BE AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE GERALD FORD CANDIDACY. WE SUGGESTED THAT THE HONORABLE WILLIAM O. WALKER EDITOR AND PUBLISHER OF THE CLEVELAND CALL AND POST ONE OF THE LARGEST NEGRO WEEKLYS IN THE COUNTRY SHOULD BE ASKED TO HAVE THE ORGANIZATION TO INFLUENCE BLACK SUPPORT FOR GERALD FORD EVEN WHEN HE WAS STRUGGLING WITH RONALD REAGAN.

WILLIAM O. WALKER IS PRESIDENT AMERICAS OF NNAP WHICH REPRESENTS OVER 500 WEEKLY PUBLICATIONS AND ONE DAILY PUBLICATION NAMELY THE ATLANTA DAILY WORLD. THIS RECOMMENDATION HOWEVER, SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN IGNORED.

B. EVEN AT THIS LATE HOUR WHEN THE ELECTION IS BUT 3 WEEKS AWAY I STILL RECOMMEND THAT WILLIAM O. WALKER BE PRESSED INTO SERVICE. BLACK PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES REMEMBER WILLIAM O. WALKER AS BEING THE FIRST BLACK MAN TO SERVE IN THE CABINET OF A GOVERNOR. THE HONORABLE WILLIAM O. WALKER SERVED UNDER THE HONORABLE JAMES A RHODES, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF OHIO IN HIS FIRST TWO TERMS. WALKER IS A BLACK REPUBLICAN WHO IS AN ASTUTE POLITICIAN AND UNIQUE IN THAT HE POSSESSES THE INSTRUMENTS NECESSARY TO REACH THE MASSES OF BLACK VOTERS.

C. I AM CRITICAL OF THOSE PERSONS WHO HAVE BEEN CHOSEN TO ORGANIZE AND IMPLEMENT THE FACTION OF THE FORD CAMPAIGN DIRECTED AT SECURING THE BLACK VOTE. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN ELLY PETERSON, ROBERT KEYES WHO IS ON LOAN



FROM LOCKHEED CORPORATION, MARTIN BINKINS AND MR JAMES CUMMINGS JR. WHO
HAS BEEN APPOINTED CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL BLACK REPUBLICAN COUNCIL
AND TOP ADVISOR TO PRESIDENT FORD ON BLACK AFFAIRS WHILE I DO NOT
GENERALLY QUESTION THE COMPETENCE OF THESE PERSONS THEY ARE UNKNOWN AND
CERTAINLY CANNOT MAKE THE KIND OF CONTRIBUTION TO YOU THAT NEEDED TO BE
MADE AT THIS TIME.

I FEEL THAT I AM QUALIFIED TO MAKE THE RECOMMENDATIONS I HAVE MADE AND
ALSO THE CRITICISMS I HAVE MADE. I HAVE BEEN A REPUBLICAN ALL OF MY
LIFE AND HAVE MADE MY CONTRIBUTION TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY NOT ASKING
WHAT THE PARTY COULD DO FOR ME I HAVE BEEN CONSISTENT IN TRYING TO DO
SOMETHING TO HELP THE REPUBLICAN PARTY SUCCEED BUT WE CANNOT SUCCEED BY
PUTTING THE WRONG PEOPLE IN KEY POSITIONS. A CRITICAL BUT STAUNCH
SUPPORTER,

WILLIAM H SEARIGHT

00141 EST

MGMCOMP MGM



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 18, 1976

TO: JIM FIELDS

FROM: JOHN CALHOUN

J.C.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 18, 1976

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Dr. Joseph H. Jackson, President of the National Baptist Convention, USA., Inc., the world's largest Black organization. The President addressed their annual convention in St. Louis on September 12, 1975.

DATE: October 19, 1976

RECOMMENDED BY: John Calhoun

PURPOSE: To invite him to support the President and to take the message to Black Americans that he wants their support.

BACKGROUND: The National Baptist Convention, USA., Inc., is the world's largest Black organization with a membership of 6.3 million. Dr. Jackson attended the State Dinner for the President of Liberia.

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION:

1. Express thanks for Dr. and Mrs. Jackson attending the State Dinner in honor of President and Mrs. Tolbert.
2. Express thanks for Dr. Jackson's support of a strong National Defense at his National Convention.
3. Invite him to support the Ford-Dole ticket.

DATE OF SUBMISSION: October 18, 1976

Action _____

Atlanta World

Published Every Tuesday, Thursday, Friday, Sunday

BAPT. LEADER DEPLORES RED GROWTH

Dr. Jackson Lashes Congress And Supports Strong Defense

(Special to the Atlanta Daily World)

DALLAS - The Bicentennial, world-wide military preparedness, the Negro role in today's society, a political philosophy, free enterprise, and prayer in schools were among topics presented here Thursday at the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc. by Dr.

Joseph H. Jackson, president.

The ninety-sixth annual convention is being held at the Dallas Convention Center with approximately 20,000 of the 6.3 million membership in attendance. The group is the largest organization of Negroes in the United States.

In the matter of Negroes

celebrating the Bicentennial, Dr. Jackson said he was firm and positive that we should take part in this celebration.

"We were, and are, a part of the nation's history. Our achievements as a people are found within the records of the last two hundred years of American history. We have made our distinct contribution to this nation from the cotton fields of the south to the industrial centers of the north. We have played our part.

"Our brains and our brawn have helped to build the tabernacle called America. We have gone forth in the wars and struggles to make as well as to preserve this great republic. To be committed to a refusal to participate is a denial of the nation's worth and would be a voluntary with-drawal from all the things for which the nation stands, for which we have struggled and fought so long."

The concern with the growing strength of the enemies of America and the growing disrespect Americans have for themselves and for the institutions was dealt with in some length throughout Dr. Jackson's address.

COMMUNIST LANDS

Dr. Jackson referred to twenty-four countries that have fallen under the domination and control of communist power and influence.

"The fact of this expansion of the influence of Marxist ideology over so many countries and so many areas of the world indicates that the influence of the leaders of the free world is in some respect on the wane."

Dr. Jackson has recently toured United States Air Force bases in England, Germany and Spain (June 1976) under the auspices of the office of the Chief of Chap-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

lains. This experience re-emphasized his feelings that members of Congress as well as all leaders of this nation should give concern to the growing military might of the Soviet Union.

"An exhaustive study by the Library of Congress points out that since 1965 the quantitative military balance has shifted substantially in favor of the Soviet Union.

"In strategic nuclear weapons America's numerical superiority in 1965 has dissolved. Ten years ago the United States had 630 more ICBMs than the Soviet Union; today we have 549 fewer than the Soviets. Since 1965 Russia has increased her numerical superiority over the United States in troop strength from 860,000 to 1,700,000 men; the strength in tanks has moved forward from 20,000 to 30,000.

LOSS STRENGTH

"In 1965 the United States had 2,500 more fighter bombers than the Soviet Union. Today the Soviet Union has 2,900 more such planes than the United States. In 1965 the United States had sixteen more nuclear-powered ballistic submarines than did the Soviets. Today the United States has thirteen fewer than the Soviets.

Dr. Jackson described many members of Congress as being indifferent to the present crisis. He said all our political leaders should become united on foreign policy and on the security of the nation.

"There has been a reduction in the number and the strength of America's historic allies. There is no longer the superior navy from Great Britain with unquestioned mastery of the Seven Seas. France is weak from within. Germany is divided into two countries and two cultures, and many of the smaller nations that once looked upon America with awe and great expectations have turned their backs on us. We must decide within the first decade of the third century what our destiny will be.

STAGGER BUDGET

As a result of his personal experiences in Europe Dr. Jackson expressed the urgency of the United States preparedness and the importance of a strong defense budget.

He emphasized that political leaders should not be economic advisors and engineers of the cultural patterns of our society. "One should specialize in business and another in government," he said.

"Now the federal government though some of its bureaucrats has become the big boss that dictates the terms on which money for education, social benefits and relief may be secured.

"Our system of taxation must be re-studied and re-adjusted so that the wealth of America must not be con-

trolled from the White House and men in government must not become the economic dictators of this nation.

"America has not produced politicians skilled in handling money and they should not control the wealth of America through the tax dollar."

FREE ENTERPRISE

Urging his delegates to take advantage of the free enterprise system he said that free enterprise must encourage the freedom of the local community to produce and to invest.

"My belief is - it is much better to allow the respective states to carry the responsibility of both earning, collecting and spending some of the revenue within their communities. We have learned the hard way there is not enough wisdom in Washington to lift this nation to the highest possible democratic standard nor to give every citizen the blessings and fruits of freedom.

"The state capitols of America must also become units and headquarters for the distribution of the jewels of justice and for the dissemination of the fruits of freedom. It was not intended by the founding fathers of this nation that Washington would become the seat of a centralized government.

TELLS NEGROES

In a three point suggestion to his race, Dr. Jackson said we should remain committed to the struggle for first class citizenship.

Secondly, we should harness the rights we have won in the past and understand the values and virtues of our free enterprise system. This calls for a combination of labor, of sacrifices, of thrifty and wise investments. We should begin with small savings clubs and co-ops and learn well the rules as well as the creative laws of free enterprise along with the ethical principles involved therein.

Thirdly, we should not be satisfied with winning the rights to acquire the opportunities to spend and consume but we should voluntarily shoulder the responsibilities of adding to the store of values.

SCHOOL PRAYER

In dealing with prayer in the schools Dr. Jackson believes that students and teachers should be taught to pray as a voluntary process. "So frequently in the sixties and the early seventies many of our churches lost their way. They learned how to protest and forgot how to pray."

Four major programs outlined by Dr. Jackson illustrate his sincerity and long time advocacy of moving from protest to production. They include the Convention Retirement Program, land purchases in the United States and West Africa by