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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

6/21

TO : *Mike Duval*
FROM: DAVE GERGEN

FYI



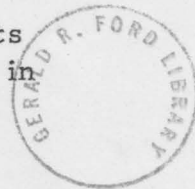
June 18, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: DAVE GERGEN

FROM: GEORGE VAN CLEVE *GWVC*

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH GAYLORD BRILEY ON THE
RELIGIOUS ISSUE

Following are my notes on remarks made by participants (Baroody, Reichley, Briley, Halper, Brannon, myself) in today's meeting on the religious issue. I have altered the order of the discussion slightly in order to give it a better organization.



Briley is a marketing consultant and direct mail specialist who works exclusively for nonprofit groups, most of which are religiously oriented. Last year he raised \$35 million for his clients, among whom are Norman Vincent Peale, Catholic Shrine, and the American Bible Society. Briley is himself a Baptist.

Briley on Carter: The candidate is a "perfect manager of religious symbols" who "sends out signals every time he speaks." The evangelicals assume that because he uses the right words, he must be a conservative, while the blacks assume that if he really is a Christian he must really be concerned about and willing to help the poor and downtrodden.

Briley on "the religious factor": Briley observed that religious people of different faiths are, in many respects, very similar. He sees them as "conservatives" in the classical sense. They share common values of great importance to them such as the primacy of the family, frequent church and home worship, group prayer, etc. One example which ~~Brannon~~ ^{Brannon} gave in responding to Reichley's question about conflicts between the evangelicals and the Catholics was the response to Carter's "born-again" speech at a Catholic college which, he said, produced a "hushed room -- he had 'em right there." Briley sees the "religious factor" as something independent of ethnicity, though there is obviously a high correlation between ethnicity and affiliation.

The size of "the religious group": This group, according to Briley, is one of 35 to 50 million people (I've seen estimates of about 40 million myself). Some indication of its size is to be seen in the fact that Rex Humbard, one of the major gospel preachers, has a weekly TV audience of 15 million people, while Billy Graham and Oral Roberts spectacles generally have an audience of 25 million people.

Possible Responses for the President

As Bill Baroody put it, the answer seems to be "them^es not issues." Essentially, Briley seemed to be suggesting that we develop something comparable to Carter's litany of signals that he uses in every speech. Briley seemed to think (and Brannon agreed) that the vocabulary the President uses is quite important, because what we want to do is to "outdo them (Carter) at their own game" and a "born-again" Christian "learns a new vocabulary." While Briley wasn't very specific about this, I have a feeling that he knows how to write the stuff, and I have seen some of that sort of thing in the Carter fundraising literature.

Briley's sense of the issue positions ^{of the religious group} ~~is~~ is summarized in the memo that Brannon sent around. I agree generally that ~~he~~ accurately states the views of most of the evangelical groups, with the exception of the fact that anti-abortion feeling is probably not as widespread outside the Catholic church as he seems to think it is. Briefly, the broad themes underlying these issue positions are: anti-Washington, which means anti-bureaucrat, and a feeling that the government is out to push religion completely out of public life, or at least to introduce secular control into all aspects of religious activity.

The pitch to be made, Briley believes, is to these people as "religious people" rather than as "ethnics" or "union members."

* * Briley believes that July 4th would be a tremendous occasion for this, because the President is a moral/religious leader (I think Briley is quite right about this, although this aspect of his job is usually ignored), and can thus introduce ~~ex~~ into the occasion the "affirmative, positive, uplifting" note that everyone so badly wants for the nation. His suggestion was that this be done by arranging a completely apolitical "National Day of Prayer," and perhaps ^{by having it} giving a prayer himself (there is precedent for this -- I know that Eisenhower began his inaugural with one).

As Briley put it, on July 4th the President ought to say something that "you could put on cheap chinaware and sell in Washington for the next five administrations."



Miscellaneous

Briley mentioned that people of the kind he'd been discussing often found Mrs. Ford's dancing, and Mrs. Ford generally, somewhat offensive.

He also said that the President could really do himself a favor by letting it be known that he strongly disapproves of the private activities of certain Congressmen who have been prominently mentioned in recent weeks, and not because they may have been misappropriating private funds.

Finally, Brannon and Briley mentioned that:

- (1) The FCC received the largest amount of mail in its history in opposition to a petition to limit the amount of religious broadcasting done on educational televisions stations;
- (2) Certain very prominent religious broadcasters have been rather roughly handled by the SEC.



July 13, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MIKE DUVAL

FROM: GEORGE VAN CLEVE

SUBJECT: METHODS OF PROVIDING "NET IMPACT"
ESTIMATES FOR REVIEW GROUP

You have asked me to suggest possible methods which could be used to provide your "review group" with estimates of the net impact of various Presidential statements and activities.

The premise from which I begin is that it will probably not be possible to construct a computer model which would provide this capability. As you may know, Ithiel de Sola Pool and his colleagues at MIT constructed such a model for John Kennedy's 1960 campaign and later wrote a book about their efforts.¹ As the book indicates, the model worked reasonably well, and provided the Kennedy campaign with reports on the impact of the Catholic issue, foreign policy, and the Nixon and Kennedy personalities.

But the cost of constructing such a model would be substantial (Pool, et al. do not give costs). We do have access to a good part of the necessary data base, but in addition to the cost factor, there is a very serious lead time problem. Pool and his colleagues spent a year getting their model ready for use, and there is little reason to believe that even if substantial additional funds were committed the necessary lead time could be cut as drastically as current circumstances require.

Assuming, then, that the decision is made not to order construction of a simulation model, here are some of the other available alternatives.

1Pool, Abelson, Popkin: Candidates, Issues & Strategies:
A Computer Simulation of the 1960 Election.



In reviewing these alternatives, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive, it is important that it be understood that most of the alternatives do not attempt to provide "net impact" estimates. Instead, they seek to provide methods by which good information can be obtained for use as a basis for making such estimates.

First. Poll a Limited Number of Carefully Chosen Opinion Leaders in Potentially Affected Interest Groups.

Work could begin now on the identification of approximately 100 individuals, 5 or so in each of 20 separate population groups throughout the country. The secretary to the review group would identify the group or groups likely to be affected by the proposed action, and direct that they be called in order to determine:

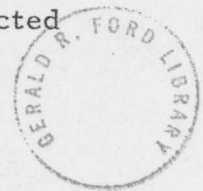
- (1) Their view of the action;
- (2) The intensity with which their views are held;
- (3) Their perception of the views held by members of their group on the subject and their perception of the intensity with which those views are held.

The secretary's deputy would then analyze the results of the calling (the whole calling and analysis process could be conducted very quickly) and disseminate the results and analysis to members of the review group. Review group members could then compare the results with current polling data and background data to which they have access in order to make judgments about net impact.

This process, of course, is precisely the same process that Richard Daley undertakes when he wants to determine the appropriate course of action for his organization to take on an issue. The fact that Daley uses such a system is a strong indication of its value.

The key to a successful use of this process is the selection of individuals who can provide accurate information. We would be interested in knowledge rather than in prestige in making selections.

This alternative is clearly open to the objection that it creates a security problem, but I think this could be overcome

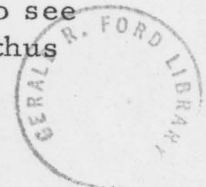


Second. Develop the capability to isolate the views of various special interest groups using past and present computerized polling data.

National political polls are generally based on a sample which is too small in size to allow good generalizations about the attitudes of various population subgroups. In one national survey, for example, there might be only 10 Ohio union members. But if a series of political polls which ask comparable questions over time are aggregated, it may be possible to get meaningful information about the attitudes of such population subgroups. We have access to such data, and we have the computer capability to allow new cuts at the data to be made quickly.

Getting such a system up and running would provide members of the review group with detailed information about the attitudes of important groups in specific states and regions. With this information available to them, review group members would be better able to predict impact.

It might also be possible to construct "most important issues" rankings for various population groups using the technique described above if we can get the data. It is obvious, for example, that foreign policy issues, while matters of great concern to most GOP convention delegates, don't matter at all to most voters. Once such issues rankings were constructed, it would be possible for a decision maker to see the relative importance of a position by interest group, thus making it possible for him to get a better feel for the probable "net impact."



Third. Develop a targeted tracking polling operation.

With 12 trained callers and 12 national WATS lines it would be possible to poll 600 people and to analyze the data gathered within an 8 hour period. What is more important is that the 600 people could easily be chosen to represent only 1 state, or one interest group (Catholics, for example). The data thus gained would provide a good basis on which to make judgments about the effects of particular actions on particular population groups.

July 28, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MIKE DUVAL
FROM: GEORGE VAN CLEVE *GVK*
SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH SENATOR DOLE'S A.A.

I talked yesterday evening with Bill Wohlford, the A.A. to Senator Bob Dole. Bill informed me that the Senator had had what he described as a very productive meeting with the McCormack people, during which they discussed possible platform language and other actions which might be of some help with this particular group. Dole's people are now reviewing various options, and will shortly have ready a draft letter from the Senator to the President. They will send me a copy of the letter when the Senator has approved it.

On another problem, Wohlford informed me that farmers in Kansas and other areas of the Midwest are still very upset with the President over the grain embargo, which they view as a "doublecross" by the President because he told them to plant everything they could in order to hit foreign markets, and then embargoed under pressure, as they see it, from George Meany. Wohlford said that this is a serious problem for the President, but one that can be overcome -- and again, Dole's people expect to be sending me some material on this in the near future.

Generally, according to Wohlford, the farmers think Butz has been an excellent Secretary, but that the President doesn't listen to him enough. They generally dislike HAK. Although farm income has risen steadily, farm costs have also gone up rapidly -- particularly in the areas of fuel, fertilizer, land and machinery.

