

The original documents are located in Box 22, folder “WIN Campaign - General (1)” of the Robert T. Hartmann Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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ITEM TRANSFER / DISPOSAL SHEET
ITEM NUMBER 00022

Description of Item Moved .. > One WIN flag.
Series/Folder ID No. : 001100302
Accession Number : 70-NLF-123
Collection Title : Robert T. Hartmann Files
Type of Material : MUO, Museum Object(s)
New Location : MUS, Museum
Archivist's Initials : WHM, William H. McNitt

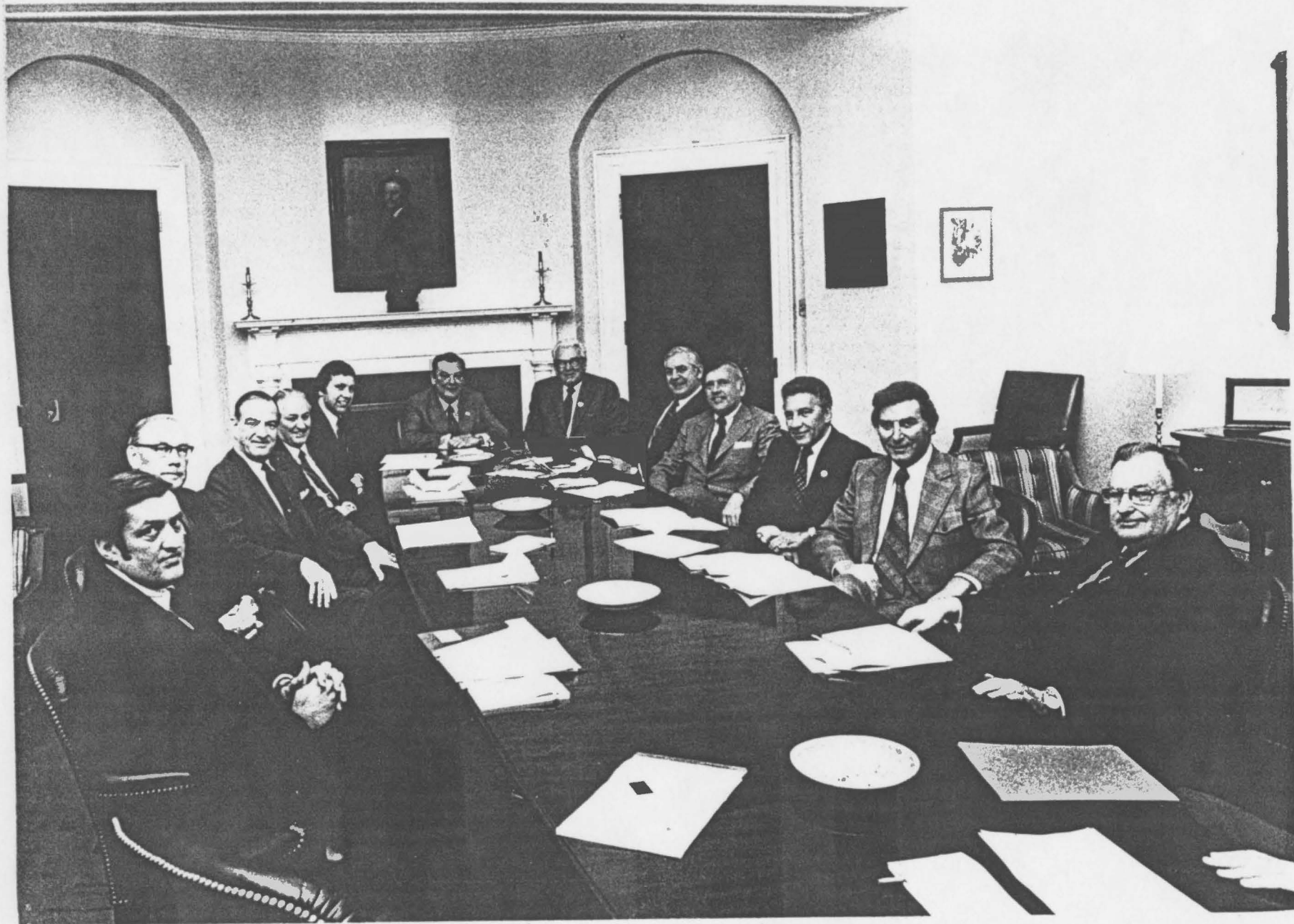
ITEM TRANSFER / DISPOSAL SHEET
ITEM NUMBER 00010

Description of Item Moved .. > White House photographs (8"x10") and a tape recording relating to the WIN (Whip Inflation Now) campaign. The photographs include: A 2538-07 (2 copies), A2538-04 (2 copies), and A2538-02 (9 copies). The tape contains a recording of a WIN song.

Series/Folder ID No. : 001100302
Accession Number : 70-NLF-123
Collection Title : Robert T. Hartmann Files
Type of Material : PHO,Photograph(s),AUD,Audiotape(s)
New Location : ADV,Audiovisual Collection
Archivist's Initials : WHM,William H. McNitt







GEORGE W. BUSH LIBRARY

U.S. MARINE WHITE HOUSE ORCHESTRA
U.S. NAVY SEA CHANTERS
MGySgt John Bourgeois, conducting

W.I.N. song
w/ CHORUS

MONORAL version
(P.A. Systems etc.)

Words + Music: MEREDITH WILLSON

ARR. by THOMAS KNOX, U.S. MARINE BAND

7 1/2 1/2 TR MONO



[Note: See also the material described below, W.H.M. 12/3/86]

File Memo
June 3, 1976 (Oct. 1974)
CL/cc

EXECUTIVE
BE 5-3

One (1) box of miscellaneous and Sylvia Porter material sent to Central Files
from the WIN Committee on June 3, 1976 filed Oversize Attachment # 7667 ..

[Files of Russell Freeburg, WIN Coordinator and others
W.H.M. 1/5/81]

[Primarily dated Oct. 1974~~3~~ - Feb. 1975]



A DISPASSIONATE EVALUATION PASSIONATELY ARGUED

The Citizens Action Committee to Fight Inflation -- and the WIN program -- appear to be based on some assumptions:

1. There is an unspoken cry of "what can I do" in the hearts of millions of Americans.

2. The American people can effectively mobilize themselves to slow inflation by

-- working together;

-- peer pressure;

-- individual as well as institutional discipline.

3. Americans, through their own initiatives, can support, even compel, the government initiatives essential to long-term solutions.

Intuition and judgment suggest these assumptions may be valid. But there is surely no empirical evidence to support them. Moreover, whether they are valid or not may in the end be irrelevant.

This is not the day after Pearl Harbor. There is no Axis whose target coordinates are known. There are no beaches to hit or ships to sink or ports to capture by which we may know, week by week, whether we are winning or losing.

This is the day after Hugh Hefner and instant credit and barbecue grills and two cars in every garage and other great acquisitive expectations. And, simultaneously, it is also the day after OPEC and the Third World and global interdependence and, yes, the balance of terror.

Given these realities can WIN really win? Can WIN even help?

Maybe.

The task of containing inflation -- and, now, restoring the economy -- is neither simple nor easy nor certain. You cannot talk your way out of inflation. You cannot talk your way into prosperity. You cannot create essential natural resources -- energy, food or any other kind -- where shortages are real and absolute. And where some obvious remedies are beyond your territorial and political control.

You also dare not dismiss the fact that Americans no longer buy the quick scare.

Even so, we do know Americans are disaffected, frustrated, cynical and "fed up." And we do know that inflation and the condition of the economy are THE issues of the day. Hence, it is not altogether naive to suppose that Americans would be willing to do something, do anything, if they just knew what to do, when to do it and how to do it (and, unfortunately, whom to do it to!).

A Committee However Well Intentioned Is Only a Committee

That there is in existence a non-partisan Citizens Action Committee to Fight Inflation and that this Committee has spawned and sanctioned a WIN program is -- so far, at least -- anything but a convincing demonstration that Americans can be mobilized.

Two hundred thousand pledges notwithstanding.

White House support notwithstanding.

The fact is, WIN is only a slogan. A button. And as yet it hasn't touched the public's hot button.

The fact is, the Committee's ten recommendations are a potpourri of urgings, which however meritorious, have not been thought through. Have not been tested in terms of the practical considerations involved

in winning the support of people, organizations and institutions which would be affected. Have not been evaluated in terms of their relative contributions toward a desired outcome.

In short, there is as yet no program to WIN!

Frankly, it is not enough to merely offer advice, encourage local initiative and then hope that grass roots support will emerge and translate your entreaties into prompt, effective action.

Absent explicit organization, absent realistic programs, absent continuing direction, WIN is destined to remain a slogan. And destined to fail as a rallying cry.

It didn't play in Kansas City and it won't play anywhere else either.

A realistic assessment of the Committee and its recommendations must begin with these questions:

Is there a constructive role for organized, voluntary citizen action? If so, can the role be clearly defined? Can it be organized and directed? How? By whom?

Can realistic programs be devised to implement the recommendations?

Can the public's role be presented in a way that will be understood and, more to the point, merit the commitment of millions of individuals?

Can the desired outcome (or outcomes) be specified in advance? Can progress along the way be measured and reported in concrete terms?

Will the outcome justify the time, energy and resources required to achieve it?

Is a feasible timetable a realistic timetable? Or would success, if any, come too late?

Don't Go In the Kitchen If You Can't Stand the Heat

Assuming, for the moment, the foregoing questions can be answered in ways that affirm the validity of the Committee and its purpose, a second pair of strategic questions ought not be ignored at the outset.

1. Should the Committee and its program focus solely upon short-term, symbolic actions intended only to nurture an environment in which government initiatives can take root?

As Alan Greenspan observed in his evaluation:

"...a diffusion of inflation psychology would remove a very major depressant on the system. I think that policy must focus on this particular objective."

2. Alternatively, should the committee dig in and address its programs to long-term goals as well? Should the Committee explicitly seek to propel national policy toward the inevitable, fundamental and painful changes that must come if enduring equilibrium is to be achieved?

In his comments on the need for budget (Federal) discipline, Greenspan also said, "...it is important to recognize that items which affect only fiscal 1975 are far less significant for long-term budget control than those which have a major impact on fiscal 1976 and later."

Alternative #1 is more than a cop-out but less than what's possible. Alternative #2 is more than the Committee is obliged to undertake but by no means stretches its charter beyond the original intent.

The first is safe: Awake America. Do something! The second isn't. If successful it could significantly modify assumptions, expectations and behavior for a generation or more.

The first could be more readily co-opted, or at least given a partisan political tilt. The second likely could not and, in time, might even be perceived as a threat by Republicans and Democrats alike.

The point, of course, is that Committee strategy should be chosen deliberately rather than unwittingly.

Mid-course corrections are awkward.

II

HOW CAN A CITIZENS ACTION COMMITTEE TRANSFORM 12 IDEAS INTO EFFECTIVE AND TIMELY PROGRAMS

The Committee has suggested 10 ideas for voluntary action and President Ford has added two of his own.

1. Balance family and government budgets.
2. Postpone unnecessary borrowing (the original suggestion was, "use credit wisely").
3. Accumulate family savings.
4. Conserve energy.
5. Ask business and labor not to raise prices or wages more than costs or services absolutely require.
6. Insist on productivity improvements.
7. Make economizing fashionable.
8. Eliminate outmoded government regulations that keep costs high.
9. Plant WIN gardens and pool other do-it-yourself skills.
10. Assist in recycling programs.
11. Reduce waste.
12. Guard your health.

Presently, two sub-committees are functioning in an effort to stimulate voluntary action: (1) Public Awareness. (2) State and Local. In addition, action to implement two more of the recommendations -- WIN gardens and recycling -- will shortly get under way.

The Public Awareness sub-committee appears to have made the most headway, notably through the effort to obtain voluntary WIN pledges from businesses, consumers and workers.

Can the 12 recommendations and the beginning which has been made toward implementing them really generate a citizens mobilization movement to control inflation?

Frankly, it is not possible to say at this juncture.

Each of the recommendations must be tested individually -- and all of them collectively -- against the kinds of questions enumerated in Section I, Page 3.

Above all, the recommendations must be translatable into programs of action that can be organized, directed and implemented.

It is not the purpose of this paper to test the recommendations or to suggest explicit programs of action. To do so would plainly require further consultation with resource people in government, labor, industry and other disciplines. Consumer groups and other organizations would also have to be consulted.

What is possible at this juncture -- and begging the key questions -- is a tentative attempt to categorize and group the 12 recommendations so as to provide a basis for some speculative analysis of what may be required to make them succeed.

For example:

* Some of the recommendations could take hold promptly.

All that's required is to persuade people to act on them. And to provide machinery for assistance and direction.

- * Some would require individual citizen action plus a manifestation of public opinion sufficient to impel the national leadership (government as well as private) to take whatever policy actions may be necessary.
- * Some appear largely dependent upon the intervention of the White House and/or Congress and involve intricate domestic as well as foreign policy considerations.
- * Almost all fall into two or more categories.

Looked at in this way, one possible framework for organizing and mobilizing effective action can be suggested.

Organizing The Recommendations For Action

Mobilization Objective

Resources For Assistance/Implementation

Group 1

Balance family budget.
Use credit wisely.
Accumulate savings.

Thrift associations, banking industry,
Treasury Department, large employers.

Make economizing fashionable.

Retailers, distributors, manufacturers.

Recycling.

Local organizations, affected industries,
industry associations.

Reduce waste.

Food brokers, retail outlets, hotel and
restaurant associations.

Conserve energy.

State coordinators, industry associations.

Guard your health.

Media, medical societies, health care
agencies, large employers.

WIN gardens.

Agri-industry, retailers, distributors,
state agencies.

Mobilization Objective

Resources For Assistance/Implementation

Group 2

Price restraint.

Business. Labor. Government. Consultants.
(Service industries would also have to
participate.)

Improve productivity.

Business. Labor. Government. Consultants.
(Service industries would also have to
participate.)

Balance Federal budget.

White House. Congress. Various organizations
and resource people.

Eliminate outmoded regulations.

White House. Congress. Federal agencies.
State and local governments.

Conserve energy.

White House. Federal and State agencies.

Group 3

Conserve energy.

White House. Federal agencies. Congress.

Balance budget.

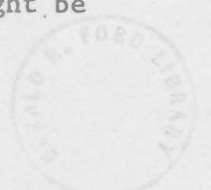
White House. Congress.

Eliminate outmoded regulations.

White House. Congress. Agencies.

It will be apparent from this admittedly arbitrary grouping of the recommendations that the amount of staff work, start up time and field coordination will vary greatly. Therefore, however you choose to proceed it is also apparent that a master plan and timetable will have to be developed so as to take account of the fact that individual programs or clusters of programs would be launched separately -- although certainly not randomly.

Please note, too, that even though the recommendations have not as yet been fully tested against the questions enumerated in Section I, it is nonetheless evident that some programs would be more likely to succeed if they are targeted more specifically. "Reduce Waste," for example, might be



directed expressly to food and packaging. Similarly, "Make Economizing Fashionable," might be directed to certain kinds of consumer purchases which can readily be curbed without dislocating the marketing plans of industries which cannot adapt quickly.

Finally, the amount of effort and cooperation required to build a sufficiency of economic understanding to galvanize public opinion with respect to many of the recommendations included in Group 1 and Group 2 should not be underestimated.

III

CHOOSING A STRATEGY TO WIN

You may WIN with a broadscale, comprehensive program.

You may WIN by narrowing your focus and concentrating on only the most promising programs.

You may WIN by concentrating on relatively easy programs which promise relatively quick and visible results.

You may WIN by concentrating on difficult programs which could take longer but accomplish more.

Or you may WIN with a combination of the relatively easy and the relatively difficult.

But no matter how you choose to WIN you won't unless every program includes these essentials:

- You must define clearly what is to be done.
- You must specify who is to do it.
- You must offer the public something that's truly worth doing.
- You must be able to communicate persuasively and with a sense of urgency.
- You must provide the machinery by which your program can be effectively directed.
- You must monitor results and report them.

All of which may sound painfully obvious. Nonetheless, these are the basics and they must not be forgotten in your enthusiasm to WIN.

How To Approach A Choice

Haste is dangerous. But time is not your ally. Public pressure for action, for remedy, is building. And because it is, it would be tragic to

miss the moment when the public seems ready for constructive measures and can likely be persuaded to help.

The Committee may therefore want to consider -- arbitrarily -- a combination of programs which: (1) address visible, urgent and easy to grasp issues; (2) have a reasonable chance to succeed; (3) could have a significant impact on inflation as well as "inflation psychology."

One possible combination would be:

From Group 1: Conserve energy

Reduce waste

Balance your budget,
accumulate savings and
use credit wisely

From Group 2: Eliminate outmoded regulations
which keep prices high

Price restraint

Productivity

This combination embraces:

One program of overriding urgency: conserve energy.

Two programs which can move forward promptly and produce measurable results: Reduce waste. Shape up your family budget.

One program which gives witness to the commitment of government (Federal, state and local): eliminate outmoded regulations.

Two programs which cannot be ignored in any credible anti-inflation effort and which require the cooperation and coordination of business, labor, government and individual citizens: Price restraint. Productivity.

These programs, in combination, appear especially attractive for a number of reasons.

(1) Energy conservation: It's urgent. It's understood. It's do-able.

The government, in concert with the energy industries, would set the goals (targets, allocations). The Citizens Committee could initiate and coordinate a program and report results. The energy industries would have a hand in shaping the objectives and could be counted upon to use their own advertising resources to sell the program.

(2) Reduce waste: If focused on specific kinds of waste (food and packaging, for example), results could be achieved, measured and reported relatively quickly. It could help reduce consumer prices and producer costs. Industry associations could be counted on to help sell the program.

(3) Balance your family budget, accumulate savings and use credit wisely: It's do-able. It's measurable. Individuals will see and directly benefit from the results of their own efforts. Industry associations and retailers have the resources and can be counted on to help sell the program.

(4) Outmoded regulations: Results would be visible and measurable. Government could take the credit. The growing criticism of regulatory agencies and other kinds of rule-making boards might be tempered.

(5) Price restraint. (6) Productivity. These are the issues which will test our unity, our statesmanship, our resolve. If the Citizens Action Committee won't take a leadership role the likelihood of politically expedient solutions (or non-solutions) will fill the void. Worse, if the Committee picks the hard issues and concentrates on the easy, popular ones, its other programs may be perceived as partisan, cosmetic -- or as "PRing our way out."

What About The Programs Already Under Way?

If the foregoing discussion and suggestions are to be taken as a guide to further Committee action, it is evident that programs already under way must be merged with programs yet to be developed -- and within the framework of a coherent master plan.

That's no problem.

As a symbol, WIN has the right connotation and therefore isn't all bad. "Whip Inflation Now" is an extravagant promise which cannot be fulfilled and that's not all good. On balance, though, your investment in WIN and all that it symbolizes is too great to abandon now. Furthermore, it's important to keep the momentum going while new programs are being developed.

In this context, the following observations are offered for your consideration:

1. WIN pledges should continue to be sought and the sub-committee on Public Awareness should be encouraged to keep the program visible.
2. The "Recycling" and "Garden" programs should not be discouraged -- assuming the plans are sound and leadership is available to implement them.
3. The State and Local sub-committee, through its requests to Governors and Mayors, may generate some useful ideas and programs. But don't count on it. Not yet anyway. It would seem more realistic to anticipate that once your recommendations are translated into explicit programs of action, the Governors and Mayors will delegate the appropriate tasks to their staffs and agencies. Meantime, their role is likely to be more ceremonial than substantive.
4. Finally -- and to make explicit what has been heretofore only implicitly suggested -- it is much too much to hope that local autonomy and initiative will insure the development and implementation of effective

WIN programs. In time, perhaps. But at the outset, the impetus, direction and focus cannot remain so vague.

IV

HOW TO ORGANIZE TO WIN

Should the Citizens Action Committee remain a committee or should it be chartered and incorporated as a not-for-profit corporation?

Obviously, the Committee is functioning now and can continue to function without any structural change. All that is required is that it be positioned in the private sector and staffed, funded and physically located outside the Executive Department.

Nonetheless, there may be some advantages to incorporation and they should at least be considered while the option remains.

1. The fight against inflation will doubtless be a protracted one. A corporation might better assure a locus for citizen involvement for as long as may be necessary.

2. A corporation, privately funded and staffed through its own resources could more readily avoid even the appearance of political tilt. Which could be important from the standpoint of how its purpose may be perceived by the public and those in and out of government whose cooperation it may require.

3. The very structure of a corporation provides better assurance of continuity -- and continuity of purpose -- than a volunteer committee and its dependency on volunteer leadership and possibly uncertain funding.

4. Election to the Board of Directors of a corporation requires a commitment far more binding than mere membership on a Committee, however lofty the purpose of the organization.

5. As has been suggested previously, it is unrealistic to suppose that grass roots initiative and grass roots leadership will provide

continuing direction in effectively mobilizing citizens against inflation. If this assessment is accurate, would a corporation be a more desirable instrument for effective leadership?

It is not the purpose of this paper to offer a recommendation one way or the other -- only to raise the question. And the implication the question suggests.

(The pages which follow provide alternative organization charts and, also, a preliminary staff and budget estimate supplied by Mr. Freeburg's office.)

SUGGESTED BUDGET FOR WIN PROGRAM

Salaries - p & t

Executive Director	\$ 40,000
Deputy Director	35,000
Public Affairs Officer	30,000

Salaries - clerical

3 - secretaries @ 10,000	30,000
1 - typist	7,500
1 - secretary for Office of Volunteers	10,000

Fringe Benefits

Payroll taxes (FICA)	
Payroll taxes (Workmen's Compensation)	
Payroll taxes (Unemployment Insurance)	

Reproduction

xerox	5,000
multilith & printing	25,000

Postage & freight

25,000

Office supplies

stationery /	5,000
miscellaneous /	

Telephone & telegraph

6,000

Travel

5,000

Contingent expenses

5,000

Rent

-

Furniture & equipment

-

Profession services (fin. admin.)

21,500

Miscellaneous expenses

5,000

Public information

Advertising Council	135,000
Audio-visual material	25,000
Special events	25,000
Newsletters	10,000

\$450,000

VI

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION

1. Choose a strategy.

2. Choose as between a volunteer committee or a corporate structure.

Seek staff and funding as appropriate.

3. Recruit and organize task forces to explore and validate the Committee's recommendations (or suggest alternative ones) and develop programs of action in detail.

4. Set target date for establishment of your permanent organization, in place and functioning.

5. Establish target date for presentation and approval of master plan and timetable.

Lewis W. Shollenberger

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