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MEETING WITH WILLIAM BAROODY, JR.

MONDAY - MAY 10, 1976

4:00 P. M.

The Oval Office

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN....


THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN....

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 7, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: WILLIAM J. BAROODY, JR. 

SUBJECT: Eleventh Hour Requirements

This memo is written in the harshest, worst-case terms in order to crystallize some of the essential elements that in my judgment need to be addressed by you and your campaign advisers as we proceed in the primary and general election campaigns. I do not believe that things are as bad as I paint them in this memo, but they could become that bad if some immediate and fairly inexpensive steps are not taken.

I also recognize that what the memo contains may be so contrary to your own perspective and assessment that it may become clear to you that I can no longer make a constructive contribution to your Presidential and campaign efforts. I am totally dedicated to the proposition that you are the right person at the right time for this country in one of its most difficult periods. And that not only should you be President, you deserve to be President to carry out the healing process you began so well in the last twenty months. Therefore, as I told you in August of 1974 before you appointed me to this position, I am prepared to quietly and constructively move into the private sector or to stay in my present position through the campaign carrying out any role or responsibility you deem most beneficial to your election.

As a member of your senior staff, I feel an overwhelming obligation to bring to your attention my perspective on what has been happening in America and its relation to the political landscape.

It is clear that your campaign is currently in serious trouble and that a fatal domino effect could become irreversible if significant defeats in Michigan and other key primary states occur. Steps are

Memorandum for the President
May 7, 1976
page two

being taken by the Campaign Committee to reestablish momentum and I am confident that Stu and Rog will do everything possible and professional to turn the situation around from a campaign organization and tactics standpoint.

It is equally clear that election in November is dependent on laying the groundwork before the convention for some of the efforts that will be necessary in September and October.

I believe that it is critical that your strategy for the remainder of the convention struggle be compatible with the strategy you must follow to win in November.

To be blunt, the campaign strategy up to now has not been compatible with the needed strategy for November. To illustrate:

- ... Ronald Reagan currently has an increasing hold on major elements of the so-called Nixon new majority voters.
- ... Jackson, Udall and Humphrey tried to reestablish the old FDR coalition and failed because the new politics in America reject that approach.
- ... Jimmy Carter has a very tentative but increasingly strong hold on a new broad political coalition that appeals to all major groups in our society.
- ... Your current position, in the words of Kevin Philips, gives you a hold only on the old GOP minority and we realistically have to subtract from that many of the more conservative Republicans who have gone to Reagan.

The reasons for your current posture in my judgment include at least the following factors:

- ... The campaign has focussed on standard GOP issues only (economy, big government, over-regulation, etc.).

Memorandum for the President
May 7, 1976
page three

- ... Your very significant accomplishments in these areas are largely discounted particularly by an ideologically committed conservative majority in the primary and convention states. These accomplishments will also be discounted as we get closer to November in part because we will have had several months of a stable economy and the American people have a short memory, as you know. Besides, the anti-Washington mood involves much more than pocketbook issues.
- ... The voters perceive no identifiable Ford Philosophy or Strategy for the Nation.
- ... They do perceive that you have been defensive on Reagan initiated issues.
- ... There seems to have been a total focus in the campaign up til now on tactical issues and tactics.

What to do?

In addition to all the necessary steps the PFC is taking to regain momentum in the primaries immediately ahead, I believe that it is imperative that we simultaneously superimpose a strategic approach that quickly lays out the Ford National Security and Domestic Themes and reappropriates for you the basic issues in America on your terms, not on the terms of your opponent.

Specifically, in the next two and a half weeks:

- ... send a message to the Congress that would be the Ford version of the old State of the World report. This should simply be transmitted to the Congress and on the same day you could brief the national media, including defense experts in the press, on your national security and foreign policy message and then take questions (the same as you did on the budget in January). I would suggest

Memorandum for the President
May 7, 1976
page four

that this time, however, that event should not be embargoed but should be open to immediate coverage.

- ... Follow up on Jim Lynn's suggestion that you respond to the Congress on their concurrent resolution on the budget and again brief the press or have a press conference on that subject.
- ... You should also deliver as soon as possible a major speech in an appropriate forum that thematically outlines your domestic policy approach, both on general substantive matters and with respect to how you, as President, are putting into effect a new politics of participation and involvement in America. This would be the umbrella speech that signals you are going after a common sense coalition of all Americans through your participatory approach to government.

The impact of these three centerpiece events in the next two and a half weeks could reappropriate the central issues on your terms and set the stage for impact in the primary and convention states that follow. A series of properly timed, smaller meetings here in the White House on issues of concern to the constituencies we're going after, such as the meeting last week on Ethnicity and Neighborhood Revitalization, would then be programmed to maximize the potential of the themes you have outlined.

I have separately submitted to Dick Cheney some thoughts on other events in the next several weeks and have also made some recommendations for improving our communication activities here in the White House.

A related point. There are two categories of voters that can be somewhat helpful in the crossover primary states ahead, but highly significant in the general election. Those are labor and ethnics.

With the exception of the UAW in Michigan, labor generally has been very opposed to Jimmy Carter's candidacy. That is going to change

Memorandum for the President
May 7, 1976
page five

dramatically in the next thirty to sixty days as he consolidates his hold on the Democratic nomination and begins to have breakthroughs in labor ranks. Therefore, some overtures should be made by the Ford camp to selected elements of labor in the next thirty days.

Jimmy Carter does not have a strong hold on the ethnic American community at this point in time. I believe there is no question that the thirty or forty million ethnic Americans in the United States will play a key role in the general election and are playing some role in the crossover primary states. The activities that we have generated and can generate in the coming weeks could go a long way to consolidating support for you if we make a conscious decision to go after the ethnic vote now.

We have some key Democratic contacts available and ready to move in these areas if such a decision is made.

One final note, I believe that the mechanisms Dick Cheney has established here in the White House can function effectively, but I believe also that one additional, small group needs to be established if you agree with the main recommendations in this memo. That would be a very small strategy group that would focus on the major elements of your strategy and insure appropriate guidelines are transmitted to the other functioning elements of your staff.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN....

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 10, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BILL BAROODY 

Attached is a one page outline of the domestic theme I think you ought to stress and three examples of how it should be done related to specific events this week.

The three events are:

1. Lincoln Memorial Handicapped Event (turned down).
2. Ethnic Heritage Groups (approved).
3. Business and Professional Women (Convention in Michigan) (video tape possible).

Good government in America requires a politics of participation and involvement on the part of all Americans. I have dedicated myself and my Presidency to that common sense goal.

On that first fateful day, August 9, 1974, I pledged to be President of all the people and to follow my instincts of openness and candor.

Three days later before a Joint Session of Congress, I promised that my Administration would be one of communication, conciliation, compromise and cooperation and that I would listen not just to Congress but to the people themselves.

The first step in this new politics of participation was the convening of an economic summit that was attended by leaders from every sector of American life.

I directed my departments and agencies to open up their decision making processes and to go out to the people and consult with them on programs and policies.

I reorganized my White House Staff to insure that the doors of the White HOuse would be open to people from all walks of life and I took the White House to the people in Town Hall meetings around the country.

I directed the Vice President to hold public forums to obtain recommendations for my Bicentennial State of the Union Address. In my State of the Union Message of January 1975, I pledged to turn this country in a new direction and in my State of the Union Message at the beginning of our Bicentennial year this past January, I told the American people that it is the right direction because it follows the truly revolutionary American concept of 1776, which holds that in a free society the making of public policy and successful problem solving involves much more than Government.

It involves a full partnership among all branches and all levels of government, private institutions and individual citizens.

In short, good government in America requires a politics of participation and involvement on the part of all Americans. I have dedicated myself and my Presidency to that common sense goal.

EVENT: Dedication of the New Features Providing
Access By The Handicapped To The Lincoln
Memorial

DATE: Tuesday, May 11, 1976

PLACE: The Lincoln Memorial

TIME: 11:00 A.M.

PRESIDENTIAL

INVOLVEMENT: Approximately 20 minutes.

TALKING POINTS:

This activity today is appropriately held in the Lincoln Memorial. There is no more fitting place for the symbolic accomplishment of one of our efforts on behalf of the handicapped. The symbol of making accessible to the handicapped this shrine which is dedicated to the author of The Emancipation Proclamation should be lost on no one. Not an end unto itself is the provision of this access, but a dramatization of the opening of all public buildings to those who would enter -- those who should enter.

This ceremony today and the assurance of access to this building is not the result of chance. Many have made special efforts -- some have been working for many years.

I, myself, have been deeply involved since becoming President.

At the end of my first year in the White House, my Committee on the Employment of the Handicapped met with leaders from large and small businesses, labor unions and groups representing the handicapped. The dialogue was forceful and enthusiastic and it was abundantly clear that often employment was more limited by a lack of accessibility in facilities than by the handicap of the individual. There was a consensus in that meeting which influenced my thoughts and which led to further actions.

I wanted to learn more, so in February of this year we conducted another White House meeting to explore in depth the problems of architectural barriers. Architects, contractors, civic leaders, consumer representatives, representatives of the medical profession, and related paramedical groups, discussed with informed and experienced handicapped

people the best ways to make our environment more accessible and functional for all people. There are specific problems in the White House itself which need to be corrected.

As a result of citizen participation in this President's decision-making process, I issued an Executive Order for "nondiscrimination With Respect To the Handicapped In Federally Assisted Programs."

I have also called for a White House Conference on the Handicapped to be held in the Spring of 1977, a time when there will be less rhetoric and more communication. I intend to support it fully.

Of course, not all Americans will see in this series of initiatives the same dramatic significance that there was in President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. My words today will not have the significance of a Gettysburg Address in the opinion of all Americans. I can assure you, however, that those of us who have been working for this day, working towards the emancipation symbolized by the architectural changes that have taken place here will have great personal satisfaction from what we have done. Those who have been chained and defeated by their handicaps, confined to their chairs, held by their braces, will indeed be emancipated when all Federal buildings are adjusted to their handicaps.

In the words of Lincoln, "How weak and fruitless must be any word of mine," trying to thank adequately all of those who have contributed to the development of this new era of access to the handicapped. You have been part of the new politics of participation and citizen decision making. And while commending each and every person who has thus far contributed, I am calling on you for more. We are far from attaining our goal of true and total access. It is as Lincoln said when refusing a loan to a somewhat wastrel relative - "What I propose is that you shall go to work tooth and nail," and complete the job.

Good government in America involves a full partnership among all branches and all levels of government, private institutions and individual citizens.

In short, good government in America requires a politics of participation and involvement on the part of all Americans. I have dedicated myself and my Presidency to that common sense goal.

Event: Meeting with Republican Heritage Group Leaders
Place: Diplomatic Reception Room
Date: May 11, 1976
Presidential Involvement: 40-minute meeting -- remarks and questions
and answers

Very soon after taking office one of my first priorities was establishing a dialogue with ethnic Americans. Therefore, the first White House Conference involving ethnic leaders was held soon after I came into office. I ordered that meeting because I wanted to learn your views and your concerns.

At that time you asked for a Special Assistant to the President for Ethnic Affairs so that there would be direct access to the White House for American ethnic groups. I listened to your advice and agreed with you, and we now have such a special assistant -- Myron Kuropas.

You also told me that you were concerned about prospective cuts in the ethnic heritage studies program, which were being considered due to the economic troubles and the size of the Federal budget. I listened again to your concerns and although I made many budget cuts I did not reduce the spending level for the Ethnic Heritage Studies Program. Some months later I ordered a second ethnic meeting to be held in the White House to consider bilingual education. Again, after your participation I had an opportunity to consider your views. As a result, the bilingual education program is also being continued and supported by my Administration.

In March I ordered a third meeting held to identify general ethnic concerns, both in domestic and foreign fields. An immediate outgrowth of that conference was a meeting on ethnicity and neighborhood revitalization, which was held on May 5. I participated in that meeting and indicated that I was interested in the recommendations which would be brought forward and I'm studying those recommendations right now.

I want to assure you that my Administration believes in the American ethnic mosaic and in the preservation of our ethnic heritage, which I call our ethnic treasures. You are all taking part in the politics of participation, to which I have been dedicated since the first day of my

Administration. I believe that it is this process of participation that ultimately guarantees the maintenance of individual liberty and limited government in America. And I believe that it is individual liberty and limited government that preserve the root values of America -- the values of family, of community, of neighborhood, and of private groups and associations. I'm interested in your recommendations now and in future meetings -- and we plan to have three more meetings with ethnic leaders between now and the end of June -- on how to best preserve these values. I assure you that as long as I am President we will continue this process and we will continue to respond to your concerns.

Good government in America requires a politics of participation and involvement on the part of all Americans. I have dedicated myself and my Presidency to that common sense goal.

EVENT: Michigan Business and Professional Women's Clubs
State Convention

PLACE: Michigan Inn, Southfield, Michigan

DATE & TIME: Friday, May 14, 7:30 p.m. or sometime on
Saturday, May 15 (opening at 9:00 a.m. with a
banquet at 8:00 p.m.)

PRESIDENTIAL INVOLVEMENT: Major Address

TALKING POINTS:

1. In the first weeks of my Administration I met with the leaders of 19 women's organizations including BPW. During this meeting several concerns were expressed by the organization leaders. These issues included ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, appointment of women to top level positions, enforcement of the laws, inflation, education and the opening of the military academies to women. Since that time we have been working on these issues and have made considerable progress.

2. In March of this year, I met with your National President, Maxine Hays, and several other women leaders in the business community. The topic of the discussion was how the government can be more responsive to the needs of women in business. As a result of that initial meeting, the Small Business Administration has held follow-up sessions to discuss setting up seminars around the country to help women break into business in the future. I understand that BPW will be assisting in this program.

3. I had the privilege of seeing many of the Michigan BPW members as well as those from other States at your National Legislative Conference held on March 4th in Washington, D.C.

4. On April 24th, I accepted the 1975 report of the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women. Your speaker (tonight, May 15th, Sally Cunningham is a member of that Council) and of course, Michigan's own Virginia Allan (a past president of the Michigan BPW and the National BPW) is a member of that Council. Their report showed the tremendous progress which has been made to advance the status of women. But it also shows how much more needs to be done. Many of the ideas they discussed are of great interest to your organization as well.

5. I met recently with all the top level women in the government. I'm pleased to report that the number keeps getting larger. I'm told that I have appointed a higher percentage of women during my Administration than any President. That is about 14% of my appointments but it is still not good enough. I assure you that I will continue to do my part in nominating and appointing more women to serve in this Administration.

6. These many meetings with women leaders reflects my view that good government requires a politics of participation. In America we need involvement on the part of all Americans. I have dedicated myself and my Presidency to that common sense goal.