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PREFACE



The 1976 election was unlike any other Presidential election. Never before has the Black vote and the Black leadership played a key role in Presidential politics.

The 1976 election demonstrated that the public was looking for a new type of President, one who was interested in the people and who promised to return government to the people.

Carter's campaign strategy was based on the recognition that to win he had to demonstrate his concern for people. To accomplish this Carter ran a people oriented campaign based on a Black vote strategy. In order to get the Black vote, Carter had to be able to relate to Blacks the same as any other voter. He chose not to relate to Blacks as they had historically been approached. Further, in order to run an effective people oriented campaign, Carter had to have the Black support.

Carter also appears to have built his campaign on the principles of the Republican Party because people were looking for these principles and values. The following is the official statement of the Republican Philosophy issued by the Republican National Committee:

I AM A REPUBLICAN BECAUSE

I believe that the proper function of government is to do for the people those things that have to be done but cannot be done, or cannot be done as well, by individuals, and that the most effective form of government is government closest to the people.

I believe that good government is based on the individual and that each person's ability, dignity, freedom and responsibility must be honored and recognized.

I believe that free enterprise and the encouragement of individual initiative and incentive have given this nation an economic system second to none.

I believe that sound money management should be our goal.

I believe in equal rights, equal justice and equal opportunity for all, regardless of race, creed, age, sex or national origin.

I believe we must retain those principles of the past worth retaining, yet always be receptive to new ideas with an outlook broad enough to accommodate thoughtful change and varying points of view.

I believe that Americans value and should preserve their feeling of national strength and pride, and at the same time share with people everywhere a desire for peace and freedom and the extension of human rights throughout the world.

All Carter had to do was to put these words into practice. The President's campaign did not practice the Republican Philosophy.



Conversely, President Ford's campaign appears not to have had a strategy as such. Rather, the President Ford Committee (PFC) appears to have relied on an ability to react to events, to mistakes by Carter and on the advantage of the incumbency.

The President's campaign did verbalize the themes of honesty, leadership, concern for people, but did not implement these themes. The President did appeal to the Youth (18 - 30), to many of the Ethnic groups, to the over 50 generation, to most Americans for their support and their votes. The one key group that was widely ignored was the Black voters. The President lost the election by 3% of the vote. Thompson of Illinois, Heinz of Pennsylvania and others who did appeal to Blacks for support won by significant margins.

BACKGROUND

Three key groups make up over 70% of the American public; the Ethnics, the Youth (18 - 30) and those over 50. Each of these groups will continue to grow in the 1980s and into the 1990s. This fact must be the basis of all of the planning for the future of the Republican party.

Ethnics

Ethnics, especially Blacks, vote. Ethnics believe in America and will vote for Republican candidates who are responsive to the needs and concerns of Ethnic communities. The key to the Ethnic vote is respect for the individual and the opportunity to participate.

America's Ethnic population includes: Blacks, Spanish Speaking, Jews, Italians, Poles, Eastern Europeans, (Russians, Czechs, Slovenes, Croats, and others), Asians, Indians, Irish and Germans. All of these groups must be included in the Republican Party. So far the Party has made very little effort to appeal to the Ethnics so it is no surprise that they do not register or vote Republican.

Youth (18 - 30)

The Youth population is growing at an accelerated rate. It will increase through the 1980s and will stabilize in the 1990s. The political views of young people as well as their voting habits are formed in the period between 18 and 30. Unless the Party builds support now with today's Youth and with the next generation of Youth, Republicans will disappear in the coming years. Further, those in their middle and late twenties in 1976 will be the work force of the 1980s and 1990s.

Over 50

People are not dying. The over 50 generation will increase rapidly in the 1980s and 1990s. For the next several decades, the needs and concerns of older Americans will be the major issue and it will impact on all of us, young and old. Unless the Party builds a record of championing the cause of older Americans by responding now to their needs and concerns, by anticipating the problems, and by

formulating solutions which are good for the country as a whole, the Party will be forever playing catch-up.



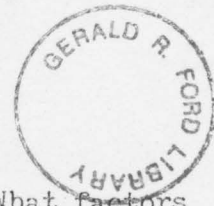
The following research must be implemented immediately in order to lay a base for the future of the Republican Party.

1976 ELECTION

The following series of assumptions must be researched in depth in order to understand the meaning of the 1976 election:

Assumption #1: Carter's campaign strategy was to run a people oriented campaign based on a Black vote strategy. He won because of the Black vote.

1. What percentage of Carter's vote came from Blacks, what percentage of Carter's Northern and Southern vote came from Blacks? What percentage of President Ford's vote came from Blacks, what percentage of his Northern and Southern vote came from Blacks?
2. What was the overall Black turnout? Why did Blacks decide to register and to vote?
3. What organization(s) and methods did Carter use to stimulate registration and turnout? How effective were these organization(s) and methods?
4. Why did the President Ford Committee (PFC) and the Republican National Committee (RNC) decide not to register Black voters? What factors were considered in making the decision? What proof exists that Blacks will or will not register and vote for Republicans? How can these factors, if they exist, be overcome?
5. Why did Blacks decide to vote for Carter? How did Carter reach the Black vote? Did he rely on Religion, the Church, National Organizations, Black leaders, community groups, Black elected officials, Black Businessmen, one-to-one relationships with voters, all of the above? How effective was each method?
6. What did Carter say to get the Black vote? Did he have to make special deals, did he just promise to include Blacks in the Government and in the Democratic Party?
7. The Black population is made up of all types of people - corporate executives, businessmen, lawyers, doctors, labor, janitors, as well as the unemployed. What was the turnout and vote in each of these groups? Why did Carter get the overwhelming majority of the overall Black vote when President Ford got substantial votes from the same types of groups - lawyers, corporate executives, businessmen, labor, etc. - in every other community?



8. Why did the PFC decide not to appeal to the Black vote? What factors were considered in making this decision? What proof exists to support these factors? How can these factors be overcome?

9. President Ford did get some support from the Black voters. Who were the Black Ford voters, why did they vote for the President?

10. What was Carter's campaign structure in the Black community? How did he select campaign chairmen? Did he use locals or outsiders and why?

11. What was the President's campaign structure in the Black community? On what basis were the National, State and local chairmen and other officials selected? Was there a deliberate effort made to exclude Black Republicans or Black Ford supporters? Was any effort made in the field to get out the Black Ford vote?

12. Why did the President choose to work through Black entertainers? Why were prominent Black Republicans like Senator Brooke not enlisted? Why did Secretary Coleman speak so rarely, was there any effort made to get news coverage for Coleman's speeches, if not why not? If an effort was made, how were media selected, what contacts were made with Black reporters, Black publications, Black radio, Black cable television, the overall Black print and electronic media?

13. Some advertising was done in the Black media markets. How were these selected, what factors were considered in allocating funds? What factors were considered in designing the print and radio spots? Why was television not employed? Did the ads work? Did the ads anger Black voters and thus increase Carter's vote?

14. Was there an Anti-Black vote? Did Carter lose support anywhere because of his appeal to the Black voters? If so, did President Ford gain that support? How important was it in comparison to other factors?

15. How much support did President Ford lose because of his decision not to appeal to the Black vote? Was it just the Black vote or did he lose other votes like the College student vote, the youth vote, the Jewish vote, other Ethnic groups, and the vote of the average man?

16. There was a much higher than normal Black split ticket vote in several states including Illinois and Pennsylvania. What was the National Black split ticket vote, the Northern and Southern split ticket vote? Why did Blacks split their tickets? What did Thompson, Heinz and others do that President Ford did not? What did Carter do to get the Black vote that the other Democratic candidates did not do?

17. The Black vote was also the deciding vote in the Democratic primary. Did Carter's strategy and appeal as outlined above differ from the strategy used by Muskie, Jackson, Brown, Church, Udall, and the others?

18. Did Reagan appeal to the Black vote in the primaries, in the Caucuses? How significant was Reagan's Black vote compared to President Ford's? What did Reagan do to attract Black votes?

19. Compare the results of the above outline to the previous Presidential elections. Did Carter use a different strategy than Stevenson, Kennedy, Johnson, Humphrey, or McGovern? Did President Ford's decision not to appeal to the Black vote differ from President Eisenhower, President Nixon (1960), Senator Goldwater, President Nixon (1968, 1972)? If so, why?

Assumption #2: Carter used the same formula to win votes in all other Ethnic groups.

1. What percentage of Carter's support and what percentage of the President's support came from the following, what percentage of the Northern vote came from the following, what percentage of the vote in the key states:

Ethnic Groups

Spanish Speaking	Germans
Italian	Irish
Polish	Jews
Eastern Europeans (Russians,	Asians
Czechs, Slovenes, Croats	Indians
and others)	



For each Group

2. What was the overall turnout? Why did the Spanish Speaking, Italians, Poles, etc. decide to register and to vote?

3. What organization(s) and methods did Carter use to stimulate registration, and how effective were these organization(s) and methods for each group?

4. Did the PFC and the RNC make an effort to register Ethnics? If not, what factors were considered in making the decision? What support exists for the factors which were considered? If an effort was made, what organization(s) and methods were employed? How effective were these organization(s) and methods for each group?

5. Why did the Spanish Speaking, Italians, Poles, etc., decide to vote for Carter? How did Carter reach each group? Did he rely on Religion, the Church, National Organizations, Ethnic leaders, community groups, Ethnic elected officials, Ethnic businessmen, one-to-one relationships, or all of the above? Was the same approach used for each group?

6. What did Carter say to get the Spanish Speaking vote, the Italian vote, the Polish vote, etc.? Did he make special deals, or promises to each group or did he promise an opportunity to participate in the Government and in the Democratic Party?

7. Did Carter place special emphasis on Ethnic heritage, on patriotism, foreign policy, etc, in his discussions with these groups? He spoke Spanish, what impact did this have? Did Carter use similar methods with other Ethnic groups?

8. Why did the PFC decide to appeal to Ethnic groups? When was this decision made? Was it a fully supported policy? If not, why not? What factors were considered in deciding how much attention to pay to the Ethnic vote? Can these factors be supported?
9. Why did the Spanish Speaking, Italians, Poles, etc. decide to vote for President Ford? How did the PFC reach each group? Did the President and the PFC rely on Religion, the Church, National Organizations, Ethnic leaders, community groups, Ethnic elected officials, one-to-one relationships, or all of the above? Was the same approach used for each group? How effective was it for each group?
10. What did the President say to get the Spanish Speaking vote, the Italian vote, the Polish vote, etc.? Did he make special deals, or promises to each group or did he promise an opportunity to participate in the Government and the Republican Party?
11. Was the Ford vote a pro-Ford vote or an anti-Carter vote in each group? Was the Carter vote a pro-Carter vote or an anti-Ford vote?
12. Each of the Ethnic communities is made up of all types of people from the janitor to the Chairman of the Board - lawyers, corporate executives, businessmen, doctors, white and blue collar workers. What was the vote in each Ethnic group for each of these types of people? How does this compare to the Black vote, to other groups? Are there differences between the Ethnic groups, if so why?
13. What was Carter's campaign structure in the Ethnic communities? How did he select campaign chairmen? Did he use locals or outsiders and why? Did this structure vary between Ethnic groups, if so why?
14. What was the President's campaign structure in the Ethnic communities? How were campaign chairmen selected, were locals or outsiders used and why? Did the structure vary between Ethnic groups, if so why?
15. How did the Ethnic campaign structures relate to the overall structure in both Carter's and the President's campaign committees? Were Ethnic groups included throughout the campaign structure or only in the Ethnic special emphasis groups? How did this compare to the Black campaign in both the Carter and Ford committees?
16. What factors were considered in allocating funds, time, candidate appearances to each Ethnic group in both the Carter and Ford committees? Which was more efficient in terms of votes received?
17. Did Carter enlist the support of Black leaders in appealing to different Ethnic groups? If so, was this effective?
18. Did Carter gain or lose support in each Ethnic community because of his very visible Black vote strategy? Why?



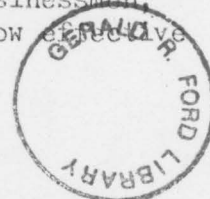
19. Did President Ford gain or lose support in each Ethnic community because of his obvious intention not to appeal to Blacks? Why?
20. Which of the two is the more profitable approach?
21. Did Carter gain or lose support among each Ethnic group because of his personal religious beliefs?
22. What was the split ticket vote in each Ethnic community? Did it differ between groups? Why? Did the President or Carter benefit from the split tickets in each group? Was there a split in each group comparable to the Black split ticketing for Carter and Thompson in Illinois and Carter and Heinz in Pennsylvania? If so what did Thompson, Heinz and others do that President Ford did not? What did Carter do that the Democratic candidates didnt do?
23. Was the Ethnic vote, other than Black voters, as much a factor to Carter in the Democratic primary? How did the Ethnic vote in the primaries? Why?
24. Compare the results of the above research to the previous Presidential elections. Did Carter use a different strategy than Stevenson, Kennedy, Johnson, Humphrey, or McGovern? Did President Ford's approach differ from that of President Eisenhower, President Nixon (1960), Senator Goldwater, President Nixon (1968, 1972)? If so why?

Assumption #3: Carter used the same formula to attract the Youth vote (18-30).

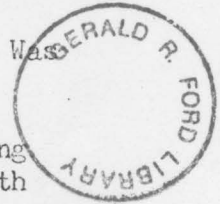
1. The Youth (18 - 30) vote is made up of Ethnic youth, college students, Professionals, white and blue collar working youth and other groups. Identify the important groups in the Youth (18 - 30) vote.

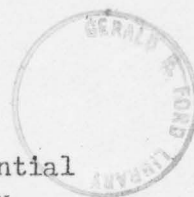
For each group of Youth voters

2. What was the Youth (18-30) turnout? Did it differ for different groups of youth voters? Why did youth vote or not vote?
3. What organization(s) and methods did Carter use to stimulate registration? How effective were these organization(s) and methods for each youth group?
4. Did the PFC and the RNC make an effort to register youth (18-30)? If not, why not? What factors were considered in making the decision? What support exists for the factors which were considered? If an effort was made what organization(s) and methods were employed? How effective were these organization(s) and methods for each youth group?
5. Why did youth groups decide to vote for Carter? How did Carter reach the youth vote? Did he rely on Religion, the Church, National Organizations, youth leaders, community groups, young elected officials, young businessmen, Parents, one-to-one individual relationships, all of the above? How effective was each method? Did the methods vary between youth groups? Why?



6. What did the PFC and the RNC do to stimulate Youth (18 - 30) voting? What youth groups were targeted a potential new GOP voters? Why were these groups selected? What potentials were overlooked? What factors were considered in targeting the groups? Can these factors be supported?
7. Why did youth groups decide to vote for President Ford? How did the President reach the youth (18 - 30) vote? Did the President rely on Religion, the Church, National Organizations, youth leaders, community groups, young elected officials, businessmen, Parents, Young Republicans, one-to-one relationships, all of the above? How effective was each method? Did the methods vary between youth groups and why?
8. What did Carter say to get the youth (18-30) vote? Did he have to make special deals, promises or did he just promise to include youth in the government and in the Party? Did he say the same thing or different things to the various youth groups?
9. What did President Ford say to get the youth vote? Did he have to make special deals, promises, or did he just promise to include youth in the Government and the Party? Did the President say different things to different youth groups?
10. Was the Ford youth vote a pro-Ford vote or an anti-Carter vote? Was the Carter youth vote a pro-Carter vote or an anti-Ford vote?
11. Did Carter enlist the support of the Black leadership in appealing to the youth vote? If so was it successful? Did it vary between youth groups?
12. Many of Carter's most trusted advisors and campaign officials were quite young. Most of the President's advisors and campaign officials were older. What effect did this have on the vote in each youth group?
13. What was Carter's campaign structure for the youth effort? How did he select youth chairmen? Did he use locals or outsiders, and why?
14. What was the President's campaign structure for the youth effort? How did he select youth chairmen? Did he use locals or outsiders and why?
15. Which of the two was the more efficient and more profitable?
16. What factors were considered by both the Carter and Ford campaign committees in allocating funds, time, and candidate appearances in each group and for the overall youth effort?
17. Did youth voters in each group split their tickets? If not, why not? If so did it differ between the youth groups? Did the President or Carter benefit from the split ticket in each group? If Carter benefited, what caused this, what did he do that President Ford didn't, that the other Democratic candidates didn't? What did the Republicans who did receive split ticket benefits do that Carter didn't, that the President didn't?
18. What was the effect of the youth vote in the Democratic and Republican primaries? Which of the Democratic Presidential candidates got the largest share of youth support in each youth group? Why? Did Reagan or the President do better in each group and why?





19. Compare the results of the above research to the previous Presidential elections. Did Carter use a different strategy than Stevenson, Kennedy, Johnson, Humphrey or McGovern? Did President Ford's approach differ from that of President Eisenhower, President Nixon (1960), Senator Goldwater, or President Nixon (1968, 1972)? If so, why?

Assumption #4: Carter used the same formula to attract the over 50 vote.

1. The over 50 vote is made up of people facing retirement, those already retired, the Ethnic aged and others. Identify all of the important groups in the over 50 vote.

For each over 50 group

2. What percentage of Carter's support and what percentage of the President's support came from those over 50? From each group in the over 50 generation?

3. What was the overall turnout for the over 50 generation? For each over 50 group? Why did they decide to register and to vote?

4. What organization(s) and methods did Carter use to stimulate registration? How effective was it for each group?

5. Did the PFC and the RNC make an effort to register the over 50 voter? If not what factors were considered in making the decision? What support exists for the factors which were considered? If an effort was made, what organization(s) and methods were used? How effective was it for each group?

6. Why did each over 50 group decide to vote for Carter? How did Carter reach each group? Did he rely on Religion, the Church, National Organizations, over 50 leaders, community groups, elected officials, businessmen, one-to-one relationships, or all of the above? Was the same approach used for each group?

7. What did Carter say to get the over 50 vote, the vote of each group? Did he make special deals or promises to each group or did he just promise to include them in the Government and in the Party? Did the approach differ for each group?

8. Why did the President and the PFC decide to appeal to the over 50 group? When was the decision made? Was it fully supported? If not why not? What factors were considered in deciding how much attention to pay to the over 50 groups? Can these factors be supported?

9. What did President Ford say to get the over 50 vote? The vote of each over 50 group? Did he make special deals, promises to each group? Did he make a promise to include them in the Government and the Party? If so why, if not why not?

10. What campaign structures did Carter and the President use in the over 50 groups? How did they select campaign chairmen, were locals or outsiders used, and why? Did the structure vary between groups?

11. How did the over 50 campaign structures relate to the overall structure in both the President's and Carter's campaign committees? Were over 50 individuals included throughout the campaign, were elderly and retired individuals encouraged to participate?
12. What factors were considered in allocating funds, time and candidate appearances to each over 50 group in both the Carter and Ford committees? Which was more efficient in terms of votes received?
13. Did Carter enlist the support of Black leaders in appealing to the different over 50 groups? If so, was this effective?
14. Did Carter gain or lose support in each over 50 group because of his obvious and visible Black vote strategy? Why?
15. Did President Ford gain or lose support in each over 50 group because of obvious intention not to appeal to Blacks? Why?
16. Did Carter gain or lose support among each over 50 group because of his personal religious beliefs?
17. What was the split ticket vote in each over 50 group? Did it differ between groups? Why? Did the President or Carter benefit from the split ticket in each group? If Carter benefited what did he do that President Ford didn't, what did Carter do that the other Democratic candidates didn't? If the President benefited what did he do that Carter didn't, what did the President do that the other GOP candidates didn't?
18. Was the over 50 vote a factor to Carter in the primaries? How did the over 50 groups vote in the primaries? Why? Which Democratic candidate got the support and why?
19. Was the over 50 vote a factor to the President in the primaries? How did they vote and why?
20. Compare the results of the above research to the previous Presidential elections. Did Carter use a different strategy than Stevenson, Kennedy, Johnson, Humphrey or McGovern? Did President Ford's approach differ from that of President Eisenhower, President Nixon (1960), Senator Goldwater, or President Nixon (1968, 1972)? If so, why?

OTHER GROUPS OF VOTERS

It is equally important to research the same questions for the other important groups in the voting public. This includes but is not limited to the following:

Labor -- for each of the major Unions

Government Employees -- Federal, State and local

Corporate Political Action Committees

Veterans Organizations

National Education Association

Farmers and Farmers Organizations

Major Consumer Groups like the Consumer Federation

One simple way to compile a complete list of the activist groups is to include all those who testified before the Republican and Democratic Platform Committees.

Additionally, the impact of Watergate must be researched. What was the impact of President Nixon himself, President Ford's association with President Nixon, the Nixon pardon, Secretary Kissinger's association with President Nixon, and the association of Black and Minority Business programs and Black Republicans (the Black Hustlers) with Watergate? What role did this play in deciding not to get the Black vote?

SUMMARY

The Carter strategy was to conduct a people's campaign the key to which was the Black voter strategy. It is vitally important not to underestimate the significance of the Carter victory. Although Carter won by only 51%, he did first defeat the national leaders of the Democratic party. Further, he went on to defeat an incumbent President.

At first glance there is little similarity between Carter and McCarthy's 1968 campaign, or between these two campaigns and McGovern's 1972 campaign. However, once the issue stands and postures are set aside it can be seen that all three ran a people's campaign. Where McCarthy and McGovern relied on a portion of the Youth and on the anti-war activists, Carter relied on Blacks and on the average man. Carter won.





RECOMMENDATIONS

A number of recommendations will emerge from the completion of the above research. The following recommendations should be implemented immediately with any additional recommendations which stem from the research to be implemented as they are documented.

The Republican Party must come out of isolation. Otherwise it will mean the demise of the two party system in America.

The first step to becoming the majority party is to practice what the Party has been and will be preaching. The following is the RNC statement of Republicanism:

I AM A REPUBLICAN BECAUSE

I believe that the proper function of government is to do for the people those things that have to be done but cannot be done, or cannot be done as well, by individuals, and that the most effective government is government closest to the people.

I believe that good government is based on the individual and that each persons ability, dignity, freedom and responsibility must be honored and recognized.

I believe that free enterprise and the encouragement of individual initiative and incentive have given this nation an economic system second to none.

I believe that sound money management should be our goal.

I believe in equal rights, equal justice and equal opportunity for all, regardless of race, creed, age, sex or national origin.

I believe we must retain those principles of the past worth retaining, yet always be receptive to new ideas with an outlook broad enough to accommodate thoughtful change and varying points of view.

I believe that Americans value and should preserve their feeling of national strength and pride, and at the same time share with people everywhere a desire for peace and freedom and the extension of human rights throughout the world.

Once the Party begins to implement these principles, Blacks, Spanish Speaking, Indians, Italians, the other Ethnic groups, Youth (18-30), the over 50, in fact more Americans will readily join the Republican Party and will vote Republican.

In order to communicate these principles, to broaden the base of the Party, and to create a structure people can work within the following specific steps must be taken immediately:



REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1. Broaden the membership on the National Committee, the State Committees, the Regional Committees, and the local grass roots committees to include:
 - (a) Ethnics - Blacks, Spanish Speaking, Asians, Italians, Poles, Jews, Eastern Europeans, Indians, Germans and others.
 - (b) Youth - High School and College students, Young Professionals, Young white and blue collar workers, Ethnic youth and others.
 - (c) Over 50 - Include retired and aged individuals from all walks of life.
2. Identify individuals in each and every community in America who will work to support and implement the principles of the Party. Each individual should then be made responsible for forming a local community/block committee with at least five other members. These five members should identify and recruit five more and so on. The National, State, Regional and local Committees will be responsible for providing Political Education, Leadership Development, Coordination, and any other support these community/block committees need.
3. The Regional, Local and Community/Block Committees should be viewed as a source of candidates and leaders. They must be encouraged to run candidates for every local level office. This will allow the Party's candidates to evolve naturally from the Black, Spanish Speaking, Italian, etc. communities and because they evolve naturally, they will have a much greater vote drawing ability.
4. The Community/Block committees must be a point of help for other community residents. They should assist people, Republican, Democratic or any other in resolving problems. Any problem - sewage disposal, school problems, crime, insurance, business, jobs, moving, etc. should be treated.

POLITICAL EDUCATION PROJECTS

1. There is an immediate need to provide a multi-facted, locally autonomous, voter education project in every city in America composed of a board of directors and such staff structure as is deemed necessary.
2. The organization's functions should be to provide a service to all voters and groups and should provide education on how to issues. This includes but is not limited to the following: all phases of a campaign from start-up, to candidate development, to wrap-up; delegate selection processes to the national and state conventions so that any individual can run; make up of the electoral college including the selection process; how to form special interest groups; how to lobby for an issue or issues or for business; how to mount and conduct recall movements and any other skill or skills necessary to participate in all areas of politics.

3. The organization should provide research services on request as well as initiate research and fact gathering on vital local, state, and national issues.
4. The Board should be broadly representative of the community and should include Ethnic, Youth, Over 50, all levels of society from the janitor to the Chairman of the Board of the Fortune 500s.
5. The organization should make contact and interact with all local organizations such as Business Development Corporations, Churches, Boy Scout and Girl Scout Troops, YMCAs and YWCAs, Chambers of Commerce, business and industry, financial institutions and the like. These local organizations should be designated as field offices of the political education project.
6. Funding for these organizations will be the responsibility of the local city leadership. Sources of funds should include private donations, the local and Community/Block committees, Private Foundations, and especially fund raising drives designed to tap small individual donors.

YOUNG REPUBLICANS

1. The Young Republican (YR) organization must be vitalized.
2. Turn it over to Youth (18-30). Let them run it!
3. Encourage the YRs to run candidates, develop legislation, become actively involved in Federal, State and local government.
4. Ensure that the Principles of the Party become the central focus of the YRs.
5. Challenge the YRs to work to achieve these principles and to put them into practice.
6. Make sure that YR organizations are started in the Ethnic communities.
7. Encourage the older YRs (18-30) to develop the next generation of YRs now.

CANDIDATE DEVELOPMENT

1. Identify and develop candidates in the Ethnic communities, especially in the Black community for the 1978 Congressional elections with an eye on the 1980 elections.
2. Ferret out potential Black candidates from the working community -- business, industry, government, etc. and the professional community -- doctors, lawyers, small businessmen, etc. for the purpose of candidate development for the 1978 elections especially the Congressional elections but also the State and local races.
3. Do the same thing in the other Ethnic communities.
4. One way to give these candidates visibility is to enlist them to carry out the recommendations relating to the RNC, Political Education Projects, YRs and other high visibility programs.

PUBLIC FORUMS

1. As the opposition party, the GOP should initiate a series of Public Forums in every city in the United States on a regular and continuing basis.
2. Issues to be covered should include Inner City conditions and Neighborhood Revitalization, Business Development, Energy, Jobs, the Economy, and most important concerns of Ethnic America.
3. These forums should be opened so as to allow important local concerns to surface. This will enable the Party to keep in touch with the people.
4. Speakers at the forums should include a broad cross-section of the City's population including Ethnics, youth, over 50, Business and labor - everyone must be encouraged to participate.
5. The statement of Republican principles should be used as the framework for the public forums. The speakers and audience and the workshops should be required to formulate methods, policies, etc. which will not only solve the problems of the community and the nation but will serve to further the achievement of the Party's principles.

FUND RAISING

1. The fund raising activity must be redirected and stepped up to bring more small donors to the Party.
2. If an individual can be persuaded to give even a dollar, and to give willingly to ensure that the Republican principles be achieved, then his vote will follow.

MEDIA

1. A broad gaged print and electronic media effort must be launched to communicate the Republican Principles.
2. This media campaign must avoid the stodgy, stereotyped Republican image. It must be based on a broad, diverse, people oriented image which should include the working community -- business, industry, government, etc. and the professional community -- doctors, small businessmen, lawyers, etc. and especially Blacks and women.

