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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 13, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RICHARD B. CHENEY *Rich*

SUBJECT: Meeting with Georgia Republicans,
Saturday, June 14, 1975

It occurs to me that regular Republican officials, especially those in the South, have a number of specific concerns which occasionally lead to criticism. For example, we often get criticized for the size of the budget deficit projected for FY 76. In my opinion, it's possible to talk about the deficit in a very conservative fashion. I don't believe there is any need to be defensive about the deficit or any other Administration program. I would suggest making the following points:

- You are probably the first President in recent times to make a pledge of no new spending for an entire calendar year.
- You took a number of steps not only to hold down the size of the deficit, but more importantly, to reduce so-called uncontrollable spending.
- Administratively you put in place a regulation that would have required food stamp recipients to pay 30% of their income for food stamps. That action was overridden by the Congress. On the key vote in the Senate, a good many traditional conservatives who have been critical of the size of the deficit refused to vote against efforts to control the cost of the government of the Food Stamp Program. If memory serves me correctly, Senators Thurmond, Hruska and Buckley voted against increasing the price of food stamps.
- You recommended legislation to limit the increase in Social Security Benefits to 5% instead of the projected 8%. When it came time to find sponsors for the legislation in the Congress, we had trouble finding anyone willing to put their name on the legislation.

- You sought to limit increases in federal pay and that too failed for lack of support.
- Last December when the Congress passed legislation providing for payment of Railroad Retirement Benefits out of general revenues, you vetoed the bill. On the override in the Senate, only one Senator, Wallace Bennett of Utah, supported your decision.
- You vetoed the Farm Bill and made it stick.
- You vetoed the Jobs Bill and made it stick.
- The basic thrust of your energy policy is to get government out of the business of regulating the price of domestic oil and natural gas, and to let the free market mechanism conserve energy and stimulate greater domestic production.
- You made clear your opposition to the so-called Consumer Advocacy Agency.
- You have taken a position in opposition to national no-fault insurance.
- You have to date successfully defended the Defense Budget against major cuts.
- You worked very hard to obtain military and humanitarian aid for both Cambodia and South Vietnam.
- You successfully rescued the Mayaguez and her crew.
- You vetoed the Strip Mining Bill and made it stick.
- You are about to send a major crime message to the Hill that emphasizes the right of all Americans to domestic tranquillity and provides greater protection for the victims of crime.

-- You are moving ahead with regulatory reform designed to reduce the role of government in misguided efforts to regulate the private sector.

I would hope that in the course of your remarks to the Georgia Republican Party leaders, you could emphasize many of the points mentioned above. In my opinion, the record of your Administration to date stands up well to scrutiny by any conservative. Indeed, I think it can be argued that your attitude and your approach to government has more consistently reflected conservative Republican principles than any President in the last several decades.

Republican
National
Committee.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN....

Rumikeld -
[Handwritten signature]

September 16, 1975

TO: Mack Mattingly, Chairman
Republican Party of Georgia

RE: Highlights of Survey Findings

This summary of findings from the August 1975 Georgia Statewide Survey is aimed at those areas which might be useful to you in your party planning. We have emphasized the partisan political profiles and state issue concerns. Where applicable we have made comparisons with other research findings.

PARTISAN POLITICAL CLIMATE IN GEORGIA

A series of questions was asked to determine the affinity of the Georgia electorate to the major political parties. Considering the history of the two party system in the state, we asked separate party identification questions for the national and the state level. Georgian's identify more closely with the national Republican party than they do with the state GOP, (23% national identification to 17% on the state level). On both levels, of course, the Democrat party commands the majority affiliation having a 2:1 margin over Republicans on the national level and a 3:2 margin at the state level. An almost equal number at both levels say they do not identify with either party, while less than 8% claim they "do not know."

"....Which of the two political parties would you say you are closer to....."

	<u>% National</u>	<u>% State</u>
Republican	23.4%	17.0%
Democrat	53.5	60.0
Neither/Other	15.6	16.7
DK	7.5	5.5



[Original in folder "Polling" in Box 17]

Perceived Differences Between the Parties

Somewhat unlike the rest of the country, Georgians do not think there are that many differences between the two major parties. A look at their actual comments on these differences shows the traditional party images to be consistent with the national pattern. Republican are perceived as having more interest in the rich, the conservatives and big business. The GOP is held somewhat responsible for inflation and low wages. Democrats are seen as being more interested in "the working man" and are identified with "better" economic times.

Identifiable Party Personalities

When respondents are asked what specific people they identify in the state as Democrats and Republicans, they say:

(In declining order of mention).

Democrats

Herman Talmadge
Jimmy Carter
George Busbee
Lester Maddox
Sam Nunn
Dawson Mathis
Richard Russell
Andrew Young
Carl Sanders
Maynard Jackson
Jack Brinkley
Elliott Levitas
Julian Bond
Marge Thurmond
Zell Miller

Republicans

Bo Callaway
Ronnie Thompson
Bob Shaw
Ben Blackburn
Hal Suit
Fletcher Thompson
Mack Mattingly
Jack Mickel



September 16, 1975

Self-Identification/Profiles

Another series of questions on political behavior asks the respondents specifically if they consider themselves Republican or Democrat and how they usually vote. Twenty percent (20%) consider themselves Republican, while 58% say they are Democrat and about 20% say they are either Independent or Other.

"Do you generally consider yourself a Republican or a Democrat?"

	%
Republican	20.1%
Democrat	58.0
Independent	19.0
Other	.9
Refused/DK	2.0

	<u>By Region</u>			
	Region # 1 (Atlanta Metro)	Region # 2 (Bal. N. Ga.)	Region # 3 (S.W. Georgia)	Region # 4 (S.E. Georgia)
Republican	23.3%	20.6%	16.4%	16.9%
Democrat	52.6	64.9	57.9	60.0
Independent	22.0	11.9	25.1	15.4
Other	---	---	1.0	2.3
Refused/DK	---	1.5	.6	5.4

The results of the past voting question which asks how respondents voted in the last few elections for Governor and Senator in Georgia matches the Democrat and Independent self-identification questions quite closely. The Republican voting behavior pattern is below that of the self-identification question. This can probably best be explained by the fact that the Governor and both of Georgia's two United States Senators are Democrats. There is also the fact that people have a tendency to report more toward the direction of an election winner the further away in time you get from that election.



September 16, 1975

A look at the profile of self-identifiers uncovers some interesting facts. We have a profile of party types and those who are shifting away from the parties in our 1974 RNC National Survey. Among those groups who have moved away from the Democrat party (an into the Independent column) are people who can best be classified as "middle-Americans." These are skilled-trade and blue-collar people who have had some education beyond high-school, either vocational or college, under 40 years of age, white and in the \$8-14,000 per annum income group. Any shift away from a traditional voting pattern can be considered as a target group by a political party. This survey shows that these groups also tend to consider themselves as Independents in Georgia. (The Ronnie Thompson voters also fit this description). Where Georgia differs somewhat from most of the nation and also other states in the Deep South is among the 18-24 year olds. This group tends to identify with Republicans in Georgia. Proper attention and well-targeted appeals to this group would be a definite advantage for the state party. One of the problems on the national scene for the GOP is a growing lack of support among the young. There appears to be some opportunity for Georgia to add some new young life to the GOP.

Liberal-Conservative Perceptions

Another kind of self-perception is ranking on the Conservative-Moderate-Liberal continuum. On this question the Georgia electorate considers themselves:

	%
Conservative	34.2%
Moderate	40.3
Liberal	13.1
Refused/DK	11.9



About 55% of the respondents in this survey say they could support a political party which consistently took conservative positions, while 23% say they could support a party which took consistently liberal positions.

LIFESTYLE ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS OF STATE ISSUES

The Georgia population is quite stable, with almost 4/5 (78.6%) of the population having lived in the state for more than 16 years. Shifts in the population and movement in the last 10 years tend to occur in the Atlanta Metro area. There are more young people in the Atlanta area, more business and professionals, more Republicans and attitudes are more cynical than in other parts of the state.

On the state level, Georgians are optimistic at this point that the quality of life in the state will be better in the next few years than it is today. Younger voters have a tendency to be more negative on the better/worse issue and older voters have a tendency to be more positive. Republican have a tendency to think things will stay about the same. Those groups who consider themselves Independents are/could be considered targets for the Republican party i.e. skilled-trades and other lower income groups are also among those who think things will get worse in the next few years.

Most of the Georgia electorate thinks the people who run the state government are doing either a fairly good (63.6%) or a very good (12.0%) job, while about 18% think they are not doing a good job with the remaining 6.6% saying they don't know. Georgian's do think (84%) the state government wastes money and only 9.5% will say they do-not think money is wasted by the government. Young people are particularly emphatic about money being wasted, as are business and professional people and the target skilled-trades people.



Maynard Jackson

About 40% of the Georgia electorate think Maynard Jackson is doing a "good" job as Mayor of Atlanta. There are a group statewide (24.5%) who do not think he is doing a good job and 34.6% claim they do not know. It should be noted that in the three regions of this study located outside the Metropolitan Atlanta area 45-50% of the respondents felt they did not know enough to rate Mayor Jackson. In Atlanta, however, where the "don't knows" drop down to about 13% the Mayor's negative performance rating goes up to 39%.

Maynard Jackson's Job Performance

Very good job	9.8%
Fairly good job	30.9
Not a good job	24.5
DK	34.6

Issues

A series of state issue concerns was tested with the results being:

	<u>AGREE</u>	<u>DISAGREE</u>
Lobbyists have too much power...	58.1%	19.2
Too many secret decisions in the legislature....	63.6	21.7
State Reps are honest.....	54.3	32.1
Power Company criticism is <u>not</u> fair	30.5	53.9
Teachers more concerned with money than education....	52.4	41.0
Prefer a 1% raise in state tax to service cutback....	50.2	40.1



September 17, 1975

Some interesting group tendencies on the state issue concerns show that:

-Atlantans tend to think state legislators are more dishonest than in the rest of the state
-Atlanta respondents are more negative on the Power Company than in the rest of the state
-In Atlanta people are less likely to think teachers are too concerned with salary. That criticism comes mostly from Northern and Southwestern Georgia

U.S. POLITICS

The Congress

In Georgia, as elsewhere in the country, there is dissatisfaction with the job performance of the United States Congress. The 31% approval rating is about at the national average, with the 46% disapproval being a bit "kinder" than in some other parts of the country and the stated don't know of 21.6% being somewhat high. However, most people in Georgia will not state that their own Congressman is responsible for the problems in Congress.:

".....Is your Congressman part of the problem in the Congress or is he trying to help bring about a solution?....."

Part of the problem	14.8%
Part of the solution	62.8
Don't know	22.3

President Ford's Performance

Gerald Ford's performance is approved by 53.9% of the Georgia electorate while 32.6% disapprove of the President's performance, with 13.4% saying they don't know.



PRESIDENTIAL BALLOT TEST

A three-way Presidential ballot test was given to the respondents in this survey:

	%
Gerald Ford	30.4%
Edward Kennedy	28.4
George Wallace	27.5

A closer look at this race by groups shows President Ford doing better among the Republican in Atlanta than elsewhere in the state. Ford would get more Democrat votes than would Senator Kennedy Republican votes in Georgia and both President Ford and George Wallace would get about 36.5% of the identified Independents in the state. George Wallace does well in rural Georgia and with blue collar workers. Governor Wallace also does well with the 35-54 year olds and with those over 65 years of age. It is also interesting to note that he does better than President Ford among those with less than college and more than a college education.

ADDITIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend a further exploration of the demographics, voting behavior questions and regions on the questions in this survey by the Republican Party of Georgia. This memo hits at the highlights of the findings and it would be useful for those with more background in state political behavior to take a deeper look at these findings by groups.



[1976]

Telegram to Georgia

It is a great privilege and honor to extend my greetings to all participants in the Georgia State Convention.

As a Party, we have been through great crises and we have endured them. We have faced great problems and we have solved them.

We have demonstrated that we are a party of internal vigor and healthy competition. We have proved that we are a party capable of resolving its differences while maintaining our position of strength as a forefront on the American political system.

More than ever before, we must stand united as a party in order to offer to the American people a new hope for their future, a hope that is consistent with the great traditions and principles of the Republican Party.

More than ever before, we must demonstrate that Republican leadership in our nation's third century is the best promise for lasting peace throughout the world, the best hope of quality life for all Americans, and the best symbol of an enduring faith in the Democratic processes by which all the rule.

Gerald R. Ford

