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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 4, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: WILLIAM J. BAROODY, JR. 

SUBJECT: The WIN Program and Two Presidential  
Schedule Proposals

Background

The WIN Program has generally received poor press response, and is also widely misunderstood. The public perception of WIN continues to be a belief that it is merely sloganeering with no real substance. Although WIN has been slow to evolve, there have been some real achievements which should be called to the attention of the American people. Ed Block and Dick Krolik have been working to put a substantive program together and can report some achievements that do put flesh on the WIN bones. Your participation in the enclosed events would greatly assist in reestablishing a needed momentum behind this program.

Program

1. As a result of your meeting with the American Automobile Association Board (AAA) on December 12, 1974, AAA is now set to launch their nation wide energy conservation program. It is called "Gas Watchers: A Plan for Action to Achieve Widespread Voluntary Gasoline Conservation." This plan will cost AAA a substantial amount of money and has been reviewed and approved by your Economic Policy Board. AAA will begin running a nation wide advertising campaign immediately following your State of the Union announcements on energy. The AAA campaign will not only assist you in reaching your energy saving goals, but will also show that private, voluntary efforts are a significant part of the answer to our present problems. This, of course, will strongly reinforce the WIN effort. Your meeting on January 15 or 16 with the AAA leaders to kick off the program would be extremely useful, if not indispensable to a proper launching. Tab A is the schedule proposal for your approval.

2. The second proposal concerns a meeting with the full steering committee of the Citizens Action Committee to Fight Inflation, their first full meeting since their formation. It will be important as WIN begins to mature and take a definite shape to reorient its members to your new energy and economic plans. WIN has slowly evolved from a general and somewhat unfocused program to a more realistic one of limited and concrete goals and a careful targeting and husbanding of its resources. Your meeting with the full steering committee on January 18th would be important in reestablishing momentum for the WIN effort. Tab B is this schedule proposal for your approval.

These two Presidential efforts would be a prelude to your State of the Union message and hopefully would contribute to building a sense of momentum which would be climaxed by your January 20th speech. Your participation would also show that there was a strong sense of direction at the White House on our energy and economic problems. I would strongly recommend that you agree to participate in these two events.

Finally, Mr. Donald Regan, Chairman of Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, Inc. is hosting a luncheon in New York this coming Tuesday (January 7th) for principal executive officers of leading corporations. Bob Hartmann will address them, as will Ed Block, Executive Director of WIN. A letter from you to Don Regan endorsing the WIN program and urging their support is at Tab C for your approval.

**SCHEDULE PROPOSAL**

**DATE:** January 4, 1975

**FROM:** William J. Baroody, Jr.

**VIA:** Warren Rustand

**MEETING:** The President with the top two or three American Automobile Association heads.

**DATE:** Wednesday, January 15 or Thursday, January 16, 1975.

**PURPOSE:** To launch AAA's major energy conservation program.

**FORMAT:** You would meet in the Oval Office to formally be advised of AAA's new campaign "Gas Watchers: A Plan for Action to Achieve Widespread Voluntary Gasoline Conservation."

**SPEECH MATERIAL:** You would thank them for their efforts and tell them that their program is making a real contribution to your energy conservation program. (Incidentally, I have forwarded AAA's Gas Watchers Plan to the Economic Policy Board, which has reviewed and approved it).

**PRESS COVERAGE:** Full photo opportunities.

**RECOMMEND:** William J. Baroody, Jr.

**STAFF:** William J. Baroody, Jr.  
Ed Block, Executive Director, WIN  
Dick Krolik, White House liaison with WIN

**PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION:** You met with the leaders of the AAA on December 12, 1974.

**BACKGROUND:** The AAA Gas Watchers program is perhaps the most significant, concrete achievement to come out of the WIN Program. It should receive wide attention and publicity, for it is not only valuable on its own merits but it also could go a long way toward creating a more positive image for the WIN Program.

**SCHEDULE PROPOSAL**

**DATE:** January 4, 1975

**FROM:** William J. Baroody, Jr.

**VIA:** Warren Rustand

**MEETING:** The President and the full steering committee of the Citizens Action Committee to Fight Inflation.

**DATE:** Saturday, January 18, 1975.

**PURPOSE:** To reorient the WIN Program to your new economic policies and to recharge members' enthusiasm.

**FORMAT:** You would participate for thirty minutes in the opening of this session, which would be similar to the first working session of the Committee. The session would be devoted primarily to reviewing the progress of WIN and to strengthening areas of weakness.

**SPEECH MATERIAL:** You would outline the new economic program to the Committee members so that the WIN Program could be better coordinated with your efforts.

**PRESS COVERAGE:** Full photo and follow up press conference with members of WIN committee.

**RECOMMEND:** William J. Baroody, Jr.

**STAFF:** William J. Baroody, Jr.  
Ed Block, Executive Director, WIN  
Dick Krolik, White House liaison with WIN

**PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION:** You met with the original steering committee on October 12, 1974.

**BACKGROUND:** See attached memo.

January 6, 1975

Dear Mr. Regan:

I was very pleased to learn that you have invited a group of business leaders to meet in New York to discuss the voluntary citizens action program to conserve energy, reduce waste and improve productivity.

I want you to know that this program has my unqualified support. Regardless of what measures I adopt and recommend to the Congress to attack our problems of recession and inflation, there will be a compelling need to mobilize the country, on a voluntary basis, to support this non-partisan conservation and productivity effort.

The WIN committee has substantive plans to effect this mobilization. I sincerely hope, as I told the Business Council before the holidays, that they can count on the support of the business community.

Sincerely,

Mr. Donald T. Regan  
Chairman of the Board  
Merrill, Lynch, Pierce,  
Fenner & Smith, Inc.  
165 Broadway  
New York, New York 10006

RESOLUTION NO. 2097

WHEREAS, the City and citizens of Joliet share the concern of all Americans about the rate of inflation in the United States and the world; and

WHEREAS, we all look to business and political leaders and to individuals to band together to begin an assault on inflation; and

WHEREAS, President Ford in a nationwide speech October 12, 1974 called for a WIN (Whip Inflation Now) effort over our country's inflation problem by outlining a program of action.

BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED that the Mayor and City Council of the City of Joliet do hereby endorse the WIN program elements and encourage every citizen to do his and her part to whip inflation now by

Conserving energy

Eliminating waste

Improving the quality of work

Increasing productivity

Growing WIN gardens

ADOPTED this 7th day of January, A.D. 1975

Nancy Tallero  
City Clerk

APPROVED this 7th day of January, A.D. 1975

Allen Berlinsky  
Mayor

**CITIZENS' ACTION COMMITTEE, INC.**

- 1. Statement of Purpose**
- 2. Strategy and Programs**
- 3. Budget Requirements**
- 4. The Committee: Organization  
and Membership**

**January 7, 1975**





## STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The Citizens' Action Committee, Inc., is a non-partisan organization created to help mobilize citizen participation in constructive efforts to control inflation and save energy.

These efforts are intended to complement and support concurrent actions -- government as well as private -- to stem recession and restore the economy.

The Committee was conceived in the belief:

- a) that properly encouraged and directed, the American people will once again demonstrate that voluntary initiatives can be more effective than bureaucratic directives;
- b) that to the extent possible, the American people prefer voluntary rather than mandatory constraints;
- c) that the American people want to be a part of the solution and not a part of the problem. They want to be called upon to help. And they will respond.

The Committee was organized at the request of President Ford and he has pledged his continuing endorsement and support. Nonetheless, the Committee's programs stand apart from those of government and the Committee does not speak for the White House. Further, the Committee will neither advocate nor contest local, state or federal legislative or executive actions.

The Committee recognizes, of course, that the problems of energy, inflation and recession (the "three devils," as President Ford has characterized them) cannot be overcome by volunteer and voluntary programs alone. Economic policy, foreign policy and the great variety of timely government actions required to implement policy are plainly essential if ultimate solutions are to be found.



THE CITIZENS' ACTION COMMITTEE, INC.  
WHERE IT'S BEEN. WHERE IT'S GOING.

Plans for the organization of a voluntary, non-partisan citizens' committee were announced at the September 27-28, 1974 White House Conference on Inflation.

On October 12, in a meeting with the Committee, President Ford reaffirmed his desire that voluntary efforts toward citizen mobilization remain non-partisan. He said, "It (the Committee) would be doomed to failure if there is a scintilla of partisanship or if the group seems to be merely a front for the White House." Subsequently, the Committee was incorporated as a not-for-profit organization in the District of Columbia and on December 27, the Internal Revenue Service granted the Committee's application for tax exempt status.

Thus, the Committee is acting entirely on its own initiative in setting priorities and developing programs -- but with the explicit sanction and support of the White House. (The fact that the Committee also enjoys bi-partisan support would be obvious from the composition of its membership.)

In his address to the Business Council on December 11, President Ford said, "The WIN campaign -- a volunteer, non-partisan citizens' effort -- is yet an unexploited success. It has my full support and it deserves yours."

Further underscoring the President's personal support of the citizens' committee concept is the fact that until such time as appropriate funding can be arranged, the Committee's staff is occupying space in the New Executive Office Building in Washington and all of the necessary office support services are presently being supplied by the government. In addition, the White House staff is providing a full-time liaison person to work with the Committee and assure direct, two-way communication with the President and his senior policy advisors as well as with the Departments and Agencies.

## HOW VOLUNTARISM CAN SUCCEED

The initial undertaking of the Committee, symbolized by the WIN button, was introduced and outlined by President Ford in his speech to the Future Farmers of America in Kansas City, October 15. Immediately, the notion of grass roots citizen involvement generated attention and drew enthusiastic response. More than 200,000 people wrote the President and pledged their help. WIN symbols and locally inspired WIN promotions appeared in stores, banks, offices and factories. The nation's largest food chain, A&P, announced a price freeze on 1,000 house label items. Other major food chains -- Acme, Kroger, Giant Foods, Foodtown, Colonial and Pathmark -- also announced significant supportive actions. A number of manufacturers, large and small, pledged to hold the line on prices. Newspapers, radio and television stations developed public service messages to help consumers cope with inflation. Thousands of individually inspired WIN ideas flourished. Regretably though, the Committee's own efforts to develop and implement local action programs addressed to specific goals were outpaced and overwhelmed by the WIN button, the intensive public service advertising and the enormous variety of spontaneous collateral support from organizations, businesses and individuals. Moreover, the public's preoccupation with the November elections, the dramatic worsening of the economy and the lack -- apparent or real -- of national policies to deal with inflation, recession and energy undoubtedly contributed to further diffusion of the initial thrust for concerted voluntary action.

Thus, by year's end, WIN seemed to some to be more a slogan than an effective mobilization of the citizenry.

Nonetheless, it is the contention of the Citizens' Action Committee, Inc., that the claim, "voluntarism won't work" is as unfair as it is untrue. On the contrary, voluntarism hasn't been given a chance.

To dismiss the uniquely American tradition of voluntarism is to ignore the evidence of its effectiveness in serving educational and humanitarian causes all across the nation, year in and year out. Quite obviously, those who dismiss voluntarism overlook one simple fact: that except in instances of imminent national emergency, such as war or natural disaster, or an acknowledged commodity shortage, such as the petroleum embargo of last year, spontaneous public response cannot be sustained without clear goals, forceful leadership and careful organization.

A national, voluntary citizens' effort to save energy, control inflation and help restore the economy can still play a significant role -- perhaps an indispensable role -- in our overall national strategy.

Only two things are needed to rebuild public enthusiasm and merit a large-scale and sustained public commitment:

- 1) Explicit programs and projects which can achieve significant, measurable results; projects which will be perceived as clearly in the public interest and fair to everyone.
- 2) Organizational structures to provide direction, resources and timely focus for worthy programs.

With bi-partisan support and continuing Presidential sanction, the Citizens' Action Committee, Inc., can be the instrument to generate effective citizens' mobilization and action and sustain it for as long as may be necessary.

#### A Blueprint for Action

Plainly, a strategy to achieve effective and sustained voluntary citizen participation throughout the nation depends largely upon the formation of local committees in as many cities as possible.

The major population centers offer the best prospect for significant progress in the shortest possible time. Furthermore, by their example, committees in the large cities will provide credible models which can be replicated in other communities.

With the cooperation of the White House and assistance from organizations represented on the Citizens' Action Committee, Inc., a plan to insure formation of enduring local committees is underway now. By the end of January, it is expected that committees will have been established in at least the 40 largest cities.

Once established and committed to action, the local committees will be encouraged to set their own priorities and develop their own projects and organizational structures. Two reasons argue for this approach.

- 1) Opportunities for timely projects vary so greatly from one city to another. Some of the more obvious reasons: Climatic differences. Energy requirements, resources and patterns of usage. Current economic conditions. Differences in how community leadership is traditionally organized and exercised.
- 2) To induce the most timely and effective programs there is no substitute for maximum possible local autonomy. What counts, in the end, is whether or not a community can establish realistic goals and organize to make measurable progress toward reaching them. There is, therefore, no need to impose a single model on each and every participating community.

#### Staff Support

The function of the Citizens' Action Committee, Inc., in Washington, will be to provide direction, coordination, staff support and resource people for the local committees -- and maintain a continuing umbrella of public service advertising and collateral promotion. The Washington staff would also provide continuing liaison with the White House, the Cabinet

Departments, Agencies and the Congress so as to assure that the action programs which are developed and implemented remain consistent with national policy.

The staff itself, however, would remain small.

Programs of action would be suggested and developed by volunteer "task forces" (or sub-committees) consisting of representatives from business, government, labor and other organizations, and also, private citizens whose expertise would be helpful. Thus, the committee's full-time staff would require only a small cadre of "task force directors." And they, too, would be volunteers in the sense that their services would be contributed by a sponsoring employer.

It is anticipated that the full-time paid staff would consist only of an Executive Director and deputy plus the necessary secretarial and support people.

Presumably, the local committees would also be staffed exclusively by volunteers and would require no funding other than contributed services.

### Prospective Programs

Following is a list and brief description of programs of action already developed or soon to be developed by the Committee's staff and task forces.

#### 1) Energy Conservation

For the present, energy conservation programs are the #1 priority. The objective, overall, is to reduce frivolous, needless consumption of petroleum products, especially gasoline. A variety of action programs in this area have now been developed and will shortly be announced.



2) Food Waste

The objective of these programs will be to reduce the needless waste of food and, also, facilitate long term price restraint with respect to food and food services.

3) Community & Family Gardens

The objective is to encourage and hasten the already developing tendencies of people to grow their own fruits and vegetables. The programs would move in two directions: Community gardens for inner-city and apartment house residents, family gardens for people living in single dwelling units. Emphasis would be on the "how to" of successful gardening as a way to reduce food expenses and as a constructive use of leisure time.

4) Productivity

A long term public education program to build understanding of the true meaning of, and the need for, improving productivity. These programs would be coordinated with the work of the National Commission as well as business and academic groups.

5) Consumer Education

The objective of these programs would be to encourage intelligent family budgeting and planning. Also, there are a variety of existing programs -- sponsored by business, government and consumer groups -- which are designed to help Americans learn to buy wisely. The Committee would embrace and, thereby, give added impetus to these efforts.

6) Awards

Incentive awards (and recognition) are essential to a successful volunteer movement. The purpose of these programs will be to establish criteria and devise and administer local and national (Presidential) awards to individuals, groups, organizations and communities which meet or exceed goals established for the various citizens' action programs.

7) Public Awareness

Development and coordination of public service advertising and merchandising campaigns. Assist in arranging tie-ins with local and national advertisers. Media relations.

Additional Programs

Many promising program ideas have been investigated and could be promptly organized. However, until the President has presented his new economic proposals and disclosed his energy policy and the Congress and the public have reacted, it would be unwise for the Committee to proceed beyond its present undertakings. Even so, it is evident that additional programs will be required and the Committee will move promptly once national policy has crystalized to the point where the most promising areas for voluntary action can be identified with certainty.



## BUDGET REQUIREMENTS

(Annual)

### Salaries - p & t

Executive Director	\$ 42,500
Deputy Director	36,000

### 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	30,000

Postage & freight	25,000
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### Office supplies

stationery	5,000
miscellaneous	

Telephone & telegraph	6,000
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Travel/conference	10,000
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Contingent expenses	10,000
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Rent*	-
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Furniture & equipment	-
Professional services	\$ 27,000
Miscellaneous expenses	5,000
Public information	
Advertising Council	135,000
Audio-visual material	25,000
Special events	25,000
Newsletters	10,000
	<hr/>
Total Estimated Annual Budget	\$500,000



CITIZENS' ACTION COMMITTEE, INC.

P. O. BOX 19188

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

Chairperson

Sylvia Porter, columnist

Co-Chairmen

Dr. Frank Stanton, Chairman  
American Red Cross

Carol T. Foreman, Executive Director  
Consumer Federation of America

Leo Perlis, Director of Community Service  
AFL/CIO

William J. Meyer, President  
Central Automatic Sprinkler Company, Inc.

Members

Willis W. Alexander  
Executive Vice President  
American Bankers Association

Mayor Joseph Alioto  
Chairman  
U.S. Conference of Mayors

Charles L. Andes  
President  
Franklin Mint

Arch Booth  
President  
Chamber of Commerce of the  
United States

Ronald Brown  
Executive Director  
National Urban League

John P. Condon  
President  
The National Alliance of Businessmen

Roger Fellows  
4-H  
University of Minnesota

William H. G. France  
Chairman  
National Motor Sports Committee

David L. Hale  
President  
United States Jaycees

James A. Harris  
President  
National Education Association

Members  
(con't)

Mrs. Lillie Herndon  
President  
National Congress of  
Parents and Teachers

Robert P. Keim  
President  
The Advertising Council

Stephen Kelly  
President  
Magazine Publishers' Association

E. Douglas Kenna  
President  
National Association of Manufacturers

Mrs. Carroll E. Miller  
President  
General Federation of Women's  
Clubs

George Myers  
President  
Consumer Federation of America

Ralph Nader  
Private Citizen

Richard E. Ohendalski  
Boy Scouts of America

William A. Raftery  
Executive Vice President  
Motor Equipment Manufacturers  
Association

Governor Calvin Rampton  
Chairman  
National Governors' Conference

George Romney  
Chairman of the Board  
National Center for Voluntary Action

Theodore A. Serrill  
Executive Director  
National Newspaper Association

Stanford Smith  
President  
American Newspaper Publishers  
Association

Stanley Smoot  
President  
National Association of Counties

Vincent T. Wasilewski  
President  
National Association of Broadcasters

Roy Wilkins  
Executive Director  
National Association for the  
Advancement of Colored People

Douglas Woodruff  
President  
National Association of Retired  
Persons



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 27, 1975

Mr. Hartmann:

Ron Nessen brought this by while  
you were at lunch-- in memory  
of the WIN Campaign.

Gail

To Baroody  
and Block

1/28/75  
done  
nm

PTA

# — WHIP INFLATION NOW!

A 16 Saturday, Jan. 25, 1975 THE WASHINGTON POST



**PUNISHED FOR OVERCHARGING**—Ugandan businessmen are flogged, reportedly on orders

of President Idi Amin after they were rounded up and accused of overcharging customers and

hoarding goods. The floggings were said to have been carried out last week near Kampala.

Associated Press



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

1/31

To: MR. ROBERT HARTMANN

From:

Robert A. Kelly  
(Press office)

F.Y.I.



*Bob*

*Send to W/N*

(RTH said send to Ed Block)

*done mm*

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 31, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK KROLIK (WIN COMMITTEE)  
FROM: BOB KELLY (PRESS OFFICE)  
SUBJECT: ENERGY CONSERVATION EDUCATION MATERIALS  
PRODUCED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

As promised, here is the listing, by your task forces and by Federal agencies, of available Energy Conservation Education materials.

Also enclosing each agency's field office list.

We understand that you will augment the Government's effort to encourage energy conservation by making your local Citizen's Action Committees aware of the existence of these education materials, as well as similar data and programs available from private sector sources.

cc: Jerry Warren ✓  
Margita White ✓



*RTW*  
*2*

Dr. Oddvin Lokken  
30 E. 37th Street  
New York, N. Y. 10016

*WIN*  
*File*

Dear Dr. Lokken:

When we talked on the phone recently, I promised to send you the material relating to the Citizens Action Committee.

I have attached our basic "kit", which is being sent to individuals in 40 cities in order that they can form local Committees, enlist the support of the Mayors of those cities, and get their programs underway.

The Number One priority of these committees is energy conservation. You recognized very well the need for the nation to focus on its energy problems. Your idea was for the creation of new energy sources, and certainly that must be the long-range answer to our independence from foreign influence. Many policy questions are involved in creating the massive investments needed for solving the problem in this fashion, and they are being intensively studied both within government and in the private sector.

We believe the short-term need is to conserve the energy we've got, and that is why we are attempting to create a national movement to restrain our use of fuel, to reduce the waste in our society, and to improve the productivity of our workers and our corporations.

The Citizens Action Committee is not funded by the government. With the exception of myself, on loan from the White House staff during the transitional period when private funding will be obtained, the small staff is made up of volunteers.

The Committee is a non-profit, tax-exempt corporation, Dr. Lokken, and if you could see your way clear to supporting its efforts with a check as generous as the one you sent along to Mr. Hartmann, it would be greatly appreciated.



I am returning your check with our sincere thanks. I hope that we will hear from you again.

Sincerely,

Richard Kroll  
White House Liaison with  
Citizens Action Committee, Inc.



bcc: Mr. Hartmann

TO: WILLIAM BAROODY, JR.

FROM: EDWARD M. BLOCK

*EW 2/4/75*

*WIN  
File*

The attached memorandum suggests what must be done promptly to assure an effective and enduring Citizens' Action Committee.

If you agree, I shall need your help:

1. A new Chairman, acceptable to you and your colleagues, must be recruited immediately. Among the names suggested by our Search Committee (Messrs. Kenna, Perlis, Block) and/or Miss Porter, Mrs. Miller, Dr. Stanton and Mr. Sheehan, are the following:

- ✓ Peter G. Peterson, chairman, Lehman Bros.
- C. Jackson Grayson, dean, SMU School of Business.
- ✓ J. Paul Austin, chairman, Coca-Cola, or  
Donald Kehoe, president, Coca-Cola - USA.
- Prof. Tom McCall, Oregon State U. (former Governor).
- Gen. Lauris Norstad, chairman, Exec. Comm.,  
Owens-Corning Fiberglass, Inc.
- A. W. Clausen, president, Bank of America.
- Newton K. Minow, partner, Sidley & Austin.
- Arthur C. Nielsen, president, A. C. Nielsen Co., Inc.
- ✓ Gordon Metcalf, former CEO, Sears, Roebuck, Inc.

*Bill Britten - SC Planning*

Can you arrange a contact, or be of help in arranging a contact, with one of these prospects? Preferences?

2. Any chairman of the stature we seek will want to meet with President Ford and receive assurance that the Committee's work will continue to receive White House sanction and support. Can we count upon the President to do so?

I'd like to discuss these matters with you at your earliest convenience, including how you can be of help in arranging a contact with the prospective Chairman.

Meantime, I am going forward with plans to "reassess" the Committee's role and goals as I was directed to do by Miss Porter. As you know, the sub-committee (Mr. Perlis, Mr. Kenna and Mrs. Miller) want to invite all members of the Committee to participate in this process rather than delegate the task to a special panel.



President Ford, in his State of the Union message and in his television address to the American people, has made clear his determination to take prompt, decisive measures to deal with the recession and with the many problems which derive from our shortage of domestic energy supplies. And Congress, while not in agreement with all of the President's proposals, has nonetheless, also made clear its intention to take legislative action to deal with these matters.

Plainly, national priorities have shifted dramatically since the Citizens' Action Committee was organized last Fall.

Under these circumstances, it would seem we are compelled to undertake a review of our charter.

From the outset, the concept of a voluntary citizens action movement was never intended to be other than one component of a larger strategy. Its purpose was, and is, to encourage voluntary activities in harmony with whatever other kinds of measures may be necessary to assure sound economic policy.

Recovery from recession is now national priority #1. But that does not mean the public must choose between voluntarism, on the one hand, and government control, on the other. Nor does it mean that short term measures to stimulate the economy must preempt a longer range effort to encourage conservation and protect the earnings and savings of Americans against further inflationary erosion.

There is, therefore, no reason to believe that voluntarism has been rendered irrelevant by recent events (as some may contend). On the contrary, the President's own assessment is the correct one:

Voluntary programs must supplement and complement government measures. The two go hand in hand.

Of course, the ultimate rationale for citizen participation is that it is fundamental to governance in a democratic society.

No programs, be they government mandated or otherwise, can succeed for long without the willing cooperation of the public. Furthermore, the depth of public awareness and understanding which is so essential to successful voluntary programs also serves to strengthen the mandate which government must have to legitimize its own actions.



The question, therefore, is not whether voluntarism should be abandoned. Rather, given the certainty of new public policy now being fashioned by President Ford and the Congress, it is the extent to which this Committee, and the charter which gives it sanction, may now require reappraisal and, if need be, redirection.

In brief, here is a proposed plan for assuring the continuity of a strong and useful Committee -- preceded by statements summarizing some of the underlying assumptions.

- The Citizens' Action Committee is in a kind of limbo, needlessly handicapped for lack of staff and resources.
- "Whip Inflation Now" struck a responsive chord last Fall -- but it's now out of tune with the times. Worse, it has been seized upon by critics and used in pejorative ways to symbolize an absence of decisive leadership by the Administration.
- WIN and Citizens' Action Committee is one and the same in the minds of most people. This makes it more difficult to rally leadership, organize effective programs and raise money to sustain a staff.
- The concept of voluntarism has been shoved into the background, a consequence of deepening recession and, now, policy debates with respect to appropriate governmental measures necessary to stimulate the economy and deal with energy matters.
- It seems apparent the public needs no further convincing that the goals President Ford has enunciated must somehow be achieved. Hence, the mood of the country suggests that Americans are willing to accept -- and participate in -- actions supportive of these goals.

In view of these changed conditions, the following recommendations are made:

1. The Citizens' Action Committee charter be broadened to include voluntary activities which may be useful in a context of any possible combination of economic problems -- for example, recession as well as inflation and energy. (This can be explored in connection with the "reassessment" authorized by Miss Porter on January 18th.)

2. WIN should be de-emphasized because it is no longer an appropriate acronym for the Committee's work.

3. Immediately expand the membership of the Committee to include additional leadership people of national stature.

4. Elect a successor Chairman who can enlarge the staff, devote time to spokespersonship and travel, and play an active role in the further development of programs. Miss Porter would become Chairman of the Executive Committee, where her ideas and policy direction will continue to be invaluable.

5. The new Chairman would select a new Executive Director. Mr. Block, who must return to his Company March 1, 1975, would continue to serve during February and would be available after March 1, for reasonable consultation.

February 4, 1975

MILLS, Ms. Karin Mahlberg

**February 5, 1975**

**Dear Ms. Mills:**

**Thank you for your letter of January 17. It was very thoughtful of you to enclose a copy of the special WIN issue of your publication.**

**I know how grateful the President is for Benton & Bowles' invaluable assistance, and I certainly share his gratitude. In spite of some rough times, I believe WIN has made all Americans more conscious of the critical role voluntary cooperation can and must play in the conservation of our energy and stabilization of the economy. Benton & Bowles, Inc. can indeed feel proud of its contributions to the WIN effort.**

**With my appreciation and warm best wishes,**

**Sincerely,**

**Robert T. Hartmann  
Counsellor to the President**

**Ms. Karin Mahlberg Mills  
Public Relations Associate  
Benton & Bowles, Inc.  
909 Third Avenue  
New York, New York 10022**

**RLE:JH:RLEmgs**



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

TO: Roland Elliott

FROM: PAUL THEIS

*pls prepare reply  
for Robert Hartmann  
Thanks*

DATE: 1/28

TO: Jim H -

For Hartmann

sig -

R

Roland L. Elliott



Benton & Bowles, Inc. 909 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022/758-6200

*RTB*  
*[Signature]*

*EM*  
*and White thanks*  
*me for my rig! PMA*

January 17, 1975

Mr. Robert T. Hartmann  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Hartmann:

Benton & Bowles, Inc. was proud to play a role in the formulation of the President's WIN anti-inflation program, and considered it a great honor to work with you during its initial stages.

As editor of the agency's employee publication, I wanted to send you the latest issue, which tells the WIN story from our own point of view.

I sincerely hope that you will be pleased with the article.

Cordially,

*Karin M. Mills*

Karin Mahlberg Mills  
Public Relations Associate

KMM:sa  
Enc.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 24th

*Return*  
*done*  
*2/27/75*  
*mm*

**TO:** ROBERT HARTMANN  
**FROM:** WILLIAM J. BAROODY, JR.

- FOR YOUR INFORMATION
- FOR APPROPRIATE ACTION
- FOR YOUR COMMENTS/  
RECOMMENDATIONS

*W*



CITIZENS' ACTION COMMITTEE, INC.  
P. O. Box 19188  
Washington, D. C. 20036  
202/456-6466

February 11, 1975

TO: WILLIAM J. BARODY, JR.

FROM: EDWARD M. BLOCK *EmB*

The Illinois Childrens Home and Aid Society has scheduled its annual fund raising function, May 3rd.

I have been asked whether President Ford would autograph a WIN button to be raffled off at the affair. Would he?

*sure*  
*Why ask me? you*  
*are our WIN godfather?*  
*RTA*



4/15

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Bill Baroody -  
The President is  
still uncertain  
who is the real  
father of WIN  
But I know  
it's your orphan  
BP for Action  
RHA

Rob H

Have you checked  
the WIN Committee  
members?  
WE should.

Sent  
4/17/75  
g.





4:00 p.m. April 21, 1975

Mr. Hartmann:

Sylvia Porter called.

Re: the Citizens Action Committee. She wanted you to know that Gov. McCall of Colorado has consented to head up the Citizens Action Committee and lead it in a private capacity. He wrote a letter to the Vice President and Dick Kurlic at CAC has a copy of it. She believes that he has the leadership qualities, the organizational abilities, impecable record, interest in conservation and the integrity to head this up.

The numbers of people who the committee now represents is between 50-60 million. She said that the Energy Administration has found that they have to appeal to the CAC when groups such as the Girl Scouts, the 4-H Clubs, etc. appeal to the FEA for information on what they can do to help. Sylvia Porter said that they can get money from the FEA and McCall says that he can raise private funds.

She also wanted you to know (discreetly, of course) that the troublemaker, Carol Forenson is gone.

Sylvia Porter said that she is not the organizer that the Committee needs and she would like some guidance from you on what should be done-- let it fade into nothingness or continue it, perhaps with Gov. McCall. She said that McCall will be in town on Friday and she would like to be able to give him word one way or another.

today: 212-682-6504

tomorrow between 9:00 a.m. and 12:00 p.m.: 212-AL 46522

Gail

*copy to  
Baroody  
4/24/75  
gail*



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 22, 1975

Mr. Hartmann:

Here is the letter from Bob McCall to the Vice President re: the Citizens Action Committee that Sylvia Porter spoke with you about. Both notes are attached.

Gail

4/22/75

*I tried to reach her but  
there was no answer at  
the numbers she gave me.*

*Gail*

College of  
Liberal Arts



Corvallis, Oregon 97331 (503) 754-2511

April 9, 1975

The Honorable Nelson Rockefeller  
Vice President  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Nelson:

I've received letters in the last few days from some of the nation's most solid citizens regarding my possible appointment as chairman of the Citizens' Action Committee, one that is soon to become the Citizens' Action Committee for Energy Conservation.

The entreaties -- and that's what they are -- would go to a person's head, so positive are they in tone. So I've been pondering a response. And then here comes your letter, making further pondering unnecessary because -- and I'm reading this into your letter -- the Administration is firmly fixed behind energy conservation.

Let me say, Mr. Vice President (and what a great sense of fulfillment it is to be able to address you in that fashion)... let me say that if I have read into your letter something that's not there, be the first to disabuse me.

I'm saying -- hoping -- that the Administration is solidly behind energy conservation because, in my own view, the only way we're going to get a relatively fast infusion of "new" energy into our economy is by making better use of the energy already available to us. I am sometimes even intense on this point. Continental shelf drilling, oil from Alaska, nuclear power, dredging coal out of the Western states' energy breadbasket -- all those take time the country doesn't have. We can give ourselves more lead time only through conservation.

Excuse the lecture; you didn't need that, I know. But I needed to say it as sort of a preface to my going for the brass ring on behalf of the Citizens' Action Committee for Energy Conservation.

You know how I wear my heart on my sleeve and my brain on my shoulder. The only reason I've gotten a reputation as a "good politician" is that I've always said what I think. It hasn't always turned out well, but I don't know anyone who would want a politician to be otherwise.

The Honorable Nelson Rockefeller

April 9, 1975

Page Two

That's enough preface. Please let me summarize what I intended to say: I'll take the job if the Administration is firmly behind conservation, both publicly and financially, and if the Administration will direct the prime energy-related agencies to accept this new creature as an equal, as a helper, and possibly even as a coordinator of energy conservation moves.

As quickly as I can, here's what would be required to give the Citizens' Action Committee the clout it needs and, not so incidentally, the remuneration Tom McCall needs (because I'd have to give up both a job and a pension to be able to serve you):

My appointment as chairman of the Citizens' Action Committee for Energy Conservation should be announced by the President. The Committee, not I alone, needs that visibility. I will take the responsibility (with Sylvia Porter's help, which I'm sure she'll give) for explaining the transformation from WIN to Energy Conservation. Naturally, the President will take the heat at first; all I'm saying is that Ms. Porter and I will share it. Speaking for myself, I can do it somewhat gleefully, because energy conservation is a marvelous extension of Whip Inflation Now.

The revitalization, transformation, or whatever word fits, of the Citizens' Action Committee should include a statement by the Administration that this Committee will have the full cooperation of the Energy Resources Council, the Federal Energy Administration, the Energy Resources and Development Administration, and, to the extent possible, of our representatives to the international energy agency. This, of course, is just a herd of words. If I have Presidential portfolio, the words can be translated to action, and the cooperation will come because we'll all be on the President's team. If the President says that energy conservation is absolutely necessary, explains why, and outlines the coordinated way of achieving his goals, citizens will get the message, and follow the President.

The Administration should cut through the barriers and implement as soon as possible the energy conservation pilot program created by the Federal Energy Administration, which has Region 10, the Pacific Northwest minus Alaska, as the kickoff point. This is rather far under what usually comes to your attention, but it's vital. It's a system for finding out where one region is now, for pushing energy conservation, for monitoring the results and then applying the program nationwide. The proposal to do this comes



The Honorable Nelson Rockefeller  
April 9, 1975  
Page Three

from Robert G. (Bob) Davis, my former executive assistant and a man you know, and from the Institute for Applied Energetics, of which I am president. I have, however, severed the Institute, even though it's a nonprofit corporation, from the project. That decision stands regardless of whether I take on the chairmanship of the Citizens' Action Committee. And it's all open to whatever inspection the public might like to make. I back the effort, though, because it's necessary, and because the FEA has assembled the people to make it work, now.

Finally, the Administration should put at the disposal of the Citizens' Action Committee about \$250,000 for its operations from "as soon as possible" to the end of the fiscal year, June 30, 1976. This would provide for a three-member office in Washington, an assistant for me in Oregon, and compensation to me of \$200 per day worked, but not to exceed \$2,400 per month. In addition, for the travel expected of me, I'd ask for transportation, food and lodging costs, plus a small expense allowance. I pledge, though, to do what I can to raise money from the private sector to help lower the government's contribution.

It would be my intention to retain on the Washington staff the present director of the Citizens' Action Committee, Richard Krolik, and his secretary, and to add to that staff an energy conservation/economics expert.

It also is my intention to invite all the present members of the Citizens' Action Committee to stay with the effort, and to seek their guidance. I've received letters from four committee members urging me to take the job. Sylvia Porter's remark stands higher than I do, all 6-foot-5 of me: "I join enthusiastically with my colleagues in urging you to take my place and lead this important work...Unless you want me to, I do not plan to resign from the Committee. I also am, and always have been, deeply committed to the concept of voluntary action by the American public to achieve desirable national goals. But I too know that it is time for me to turn over the No. 1 spot..."

Magnificent lady.

In return for the Administration's public blessing and support of the Committee, I'll promise:

To be the Administration surrogate for energy conservation, documenting my way, and never dodging;

The Honorable Nelson Rockefeller  
April 9, 1975  
Page Four

To report my findings; the results of Committee activity for better or worse; public and private sector successes and failures and so on, to whatever office the President designates;


To present to the Administration both a program budget and a financial budget, showing what the Committee hopes to accomplish, when, and how;

To have the Committee, through its staff, act -- if you like -- as the agency that fields and responds to the public's energy conservation ideas. I give you my assurance, though, that no letter, no idea, will be short-stopped; agencies responsible by law for energy conservation -- and that includes the Office of the President -- will receive copies of the letters and the Citizens' Action Committee response. I bring this up partly because I think it necessary for people to have a place where they can get a sympathetic hearing, but mostly because it's absolutely essential for the Committee to have an opportunity to enlist in the cause those citizens who are so "with it" that they'll take the time to write.

I also will, if requested, assist the Federal Energy Administration in working with the regional governors' associations and the National Governors' Conference to help explain Administration policy, and strive to win gubernatorial support for a strong energy conservation program. Because I've been one of their number, I think I could well serve the President in that arena, provided, again, I had Presidential portfolio, and provided that the FEA would want my help.

You'll note I'm sending a copy of this to Dick Krolik, who'd most properly identified as White House Liaison to the Citizens' Action Committee, and to the others besides you who've asked that I take on this job. I'd like to be able to say that there's nothing political in sending the copies, but that wouldn't wash, not with one who's as astute as you. So I guess it is political; I'm sending copies to people you and I both know are Very Important People, hoping they'll use their muscle to get you to agree to all the philosophy and conditions I've laid out. That's what I meant by saying I'm going for the brass ring. It sounds presumptuous, but I know I can do the job.

This letter is long primarily because of the conditions I attach to my acceptance of the job. Those conditions have to be there, though. You and I both remember the personal "Pearl Harbor" John Love suffered.



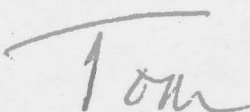
The Honorable Nelson Rockefeller  
April 9, 1975  
Page Five

So it's incumbent on both of us to know the rules. You, the people who have written to me, the people they've gotten into Winning against Inflation, the brilliant down-home economist Sylvia Porter, and I -- we also know the stakes.

If you have to turn me down, Mr. Vice President, I'll understand. And it won't mar our friendship one whit.

You can come to Oregon; you ought to come to Oregon, a state that proved it loves you. Whenever you come, and wherever you go, let me be there. A pat on the back is okay for politicians; but friends? They shake hands, and hug, and rejoice at seeing each other again. Let me see you.

Warmest wishes,



Tom McCall

cc: Sylvia Porter  
Field Newspaper Syndicate  
30 East 42nd Street  
New York, N.Y. 10017

Elvis J. Stahr, President  
National Audubon Society  
950 Third Avenue  
New York, N.Y.

Clarence Mitchell, Director  
Washington Bureau, NAACP  
Suite 410 - Woodward Building  
733 15th Street N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20005

Frank Stanton, Chairman  
The American National Red Cross  
National Headquarters  
Washington, D.C. 20006

✓ Richard Krolik  
Citizens' Action Committee, Inc.  
P.O. Box 19188  
Washington, D.C. 20036



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 28, 1975

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: JIM LYNN  
FROM: JERRY H. JONES  
SUBJECT: Summary of Attached  
WIN Decision Paper

Your memorandum to the President of May 9 on the above subject has been reviewed and option 2 -- as an acceptable alternative, same as 1, but suspend requirement where local employment exceeds 7% -- was approved.

Please follow-up with the appropriate action.

Thank you.

cc: Don Rumsfeld  
Phil Buchen  
Jim Cannon  
Jack Marsh  
Max Friedersdorf  
~~Bob Hartmann~~  
Bill Baroody  
Alan Greenspan  
Bill Seidman

