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TO: WILLIAM BAROODY, JR.

FROM: EDWARD M. BLOCK

*Em 2/4/75*

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.

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.



The Citizens' Action Committee in 1975 and Beyond

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



February 26, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: JERRY JONES

FROM: JACK MARSH

I would appreciate your putting into the staffing system for comments the attached memorandum from Bill Baroody to the President concerning the Citizen's Action Committee (WIN).

Thanks.




THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 21, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

VIA: JACK MARSH

FROM: WILLIAM J. BAROODY, JR. 

The Citizens' Action Committee (WIN), now a not-for-profit corporation chartered in the District of Columbia, has scheduled its next meeting for Saturday, March 8.

In truth, this is really a do or die meeting.

The Committee may very well elect to vote itself out of business, although such is not the predisposition of its membership. The rationale, nonetheless, would be: The WIN phase of its program is now completed; recession has now supplanted inflation as the country's most urgent economic problem; energy policy has now become a matter to be determined by the Administration and Congress and voluntarism appears not to be a major consideration.

Or, on the other hand, the Committee may elect to continue in business, focusing its effort, as it has for the past two months, on developing carefully organized programs to be carried out by local citizens groups in the 40 largest cities.

How the Committee decides to proceed will likely depend upon two things:

1. The outcome of a reevaluation of the role and goals of the Committee in the light of changed economic circumstances. The reevaluation will be undertaken by members of the Committee, assisted by staff, in group meetings to be held in Washington, February 28, and March 1. Recommendations developed in these meetings will be presented to the full Committee on March 8.
2. The extent to which the President and the White House may be prepared to continue providing



sanction and support, including direct assistance in seeking new leadership and in providing additional interim staff support. Mrs. Porter has already announced her intention to step aside as Chairman and accept a new position as chairman of the executive committee. Realistically, a new Committee Chairman, of suitable stature, cannot be recruited except by invitation of the President.

(Also, Mr. Block, who has been serving as Executive Director on a volunteer basis, must return to his company and a successor will have to be found. The Committee may also ask some assistance from my office in solving this problem.)

In view of these considerations, it is important that I have guidance from you before proceeding with any further commitments in your name.

My recommendation is that you authorize me to talk to a prospective new Chairman to succeed Mrs. Porter.

Following is a list of prospects chosen by the Committee with a view to fund raising as well as leadership ability:

William N. Batten, Chairman, J.C. Penney Co., Inc.  
Pete Peterson, Chairman of the Board, Lehman Brothers  
C. Jackson Grayson, Dean, SMU School of Business  
J. Paul Austin, Chairman, Coca-Cola, Inc.  
Prof. Tom McCall, Oregon State University  
A. W. Clausen, President, Bank of America

This, of course, by no means exhausts the possibilities. John DeButts of AT&T feels that Batten of J. C. Penney could be persuaded to take over and would be willing to help persuade him.

In support of my recommendation that we assist the Committee, I am attaching the following materials:

- (1) Status report and assessment of future prospects as supplied by the Committee's staff.
- (2) Binder of materials furnished local citizens' action groups, now in formation.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Other \_\_\_\_\_





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- I. Status Report
- II. Future Prospects
- III. Staff Memorandum

February 21, 1975





A Status Report On The Citizens' Action Committee, Inc.

FOR 1975 AND BEYOND, A NEW APPROACH TO CITIZEN MOBILIZATION

Early last December, the Committee turned its efforts toward developing and organizing explicit programs to be carried out at the local level by citizens' action groups. This new direction is intended to supplant random and uncoordinated activity, however well intentioned, with substantive, objective oriented programs directed by established local leadership.

The concept is simple.

First, "task forces" of expert resource people from the private sector and from the government are brought together to explore areas in which voluntarism could have a significant and constructive impact on energy consumption, inflation control and, to the extent possible, economic recovery as well.

Secondly, as the "task forces" identify and define promising opportunities, additional resource persons are invited to contribute ideas and a program of action, suitable for local implementation, is formulated. The recommended program is organized in final form by a "volunteer" loaned from industry or recruited by the Committee staff or the "task force" itself.

Finally, each program, as it is ready, would be exported to local citizens' action groups to be implemented -- subject to adaptation to local circumstances. The local groups would also be encouraged to develop voluntary programs of their own, in line with the national Committee's overall objectives.

Ideally, each "action program" would meet the following tests: Achieve a definable goal. Produce significant results. Be measurable in empirical terms. Include appropriate awards and incentives. Be perceived as fair to all and responsive to real needs. Be supportive of national policy.

To date, "task forces" have developed -- or have under development -- a variety of programs in the following categories:



Reduction of needless gasoline usage. Encouragement of energy saving techniques by industrial, commercial and residential users. Encouragement of family and community gardening. Productivity and work improvement. Reduction of food waste. Education of consumers to shop and buy wisely. Increase public awareness of the need to conserve -- and how to conserve.

Inasmuch as the programs are intended to be directed and implemented locally, an effort is currently underway to organize local citizens' groups.

Recognizing that the major population centers represent the greatest potential for significant results, the Committee is concentrating its effort on the 40 largest cities.

Again, the concept is simple.

Seven organizations represented on the national Committee have agreed to spearhead the local effort: AFL-CIO (through the Central Labor Councils); U.S. Chamber of Commerce; Federated Womens Clubs; National Urban League; American Bankers Association; Jaycees; National Newspaper Association.

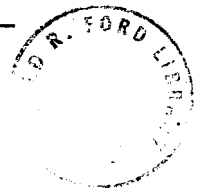
By prior agreement of the working committee at the national level, one organization assumes the role of "initiator" in each city. The local representative of that organization calls a meeting of the representatives of all seven. This group then becomes the nucleus of a working committee to:

- (a) Seek the participation of other appropriate organizations and people to form a local group.
- (b) Seek official saction from the mayor and/or other government agencies.

This organizational plan has been moving forward for the past three weeks and it is expected that local committees will have been set up in all 40 cities within the next month. (A progress report meeting, in Washington, is scheduled for March 12.) In addition to the 40 cities, local committees exist in a number of communities. In fact, the prototype was established -- entirely through local initiative -- in Montgomery County, Alabama.

While admittedly somewhat tedious, this approach to organizing nevertheless offers the best prospect for timely programs tailored to local needs, solid local leadership and follow through and, of course, endorsement and participation by appropriate governmental leaders and agencies.

(A complete set of the materials furnished the local organizing groups is included in the attached binder.)





## CAN THE CITIZENS' ACTION COMMITTEE SUCCEED?

Governor Calvin Rampton, Utah, a member of the Committee, recently observed that, "voluntarism ought to be a cornerstone of any energy policy." And when asked if the Citizens' Action Committee should continue to function, he said: "All of the objectives this Committee stands for must somehow be achieved. I know of no other organization so totally committed to these goals and I know of no other organization that's in any better position to achieve them. I believe the Committee should continue."

Governor Rampton no doubt expresses the feeling of most members of the Committee.

Even so, what the Committee needs now is not faith -- but good works.

The Committee's full time staff consists of Mr. Block, Mr. Krolik, Miss Ransone, a paid employee, and Mr. Block's son, Mark, who is working without compensation. A stenographer is on loan from the C&P Telephone Company and a stenographer is on loan from the Department of Commerce. Four volunteers contribute their services on a part time basis. Some office supplies, postage and printing has been contributed by friends, the remainder by the White House. The staff continues to be housed in the New Executive Office Building. (A number of government employees are detailed to handle the WIN mail, but this project is now virtually completed and the people will return to their Departments and agencies.)

As yet, the Committee has no operating budget and no organized fund raising is underway. Unsolicited contributions total about \$13,000 and members of the Committee have contributed another \$1,350 in cash.

Quite obviously, the Citizens' Action Committee is woefully ill equipped to lead a citizens mobilization. Moreover, the present staff has neither the time nor the expertise to comprehensively explore, develop and organize all of the voluntary programs which readily suggest themselves.

Leadership is also lacking.

Members of the original Committee -- all but one of whom continue to serve -- were, for the most part, selected because of the constituencies they represent rather than for their capacity to commit time, talent, money and other resources. At the outset of the WIN effort, perhaps this shortcoming was not so important. Now it is an enormous handicap.



This is not to say the Committee's members are reluctant to become involved. On the contrary, all have helped when asked. Some have contributed selflessly: Dr. Frank Stanton (American Red Cross). Leo Perlis (AFL-CIO). William H.G. France (National Motor Sports Committee). Willis W. Alexander (American Bankers Association). Mrs. Carroll E. Miller (General Federation of Womens Clubs). Ronald Brown (National Urban League). The U.S. Chamber of Commerce. The Jaycees. And, of course, Sylvia Porter has continued to be a conscientious Chairperson. As a consequence, much has been accomplished, especially with respect to the development of an approach to voluntarism which can sustain a coherent movement for years to come.

The new concept of program formulation is rational and realistic. The new concept of locally autonomous groups, affiliated with a national Committee working in partnership with government, can in time take hold and flourish.

The fact is, though, the present Committee cannot supply all of the required resources. It must therefore be augmented with people who can. What's needed now is fresh, top-level leadership, additional staff and sufficient operating funds.

With appropriate White House assistance in recruiting new leadership, the Committee can readily surmount its handicaps. And with new leadership, the Committee can regain its momentum and lead the way toward constructive voluntarism -- in harmony with national economic policy.

Without such help, what will become of the Committee?

It is perhaps unwise to prejudge the outcome of the Committee's forthcoming re-evaluation of its role and goals. Nonetheless, several possibilities seem obvious:

1. Given the prevailing mood of the members, the Committee may elect to carry on as best it can, unlikely to succeed but unwilling to quit.

2. The Committee may seek government funding for program development and implementation.

3. The Committee may take the graceful way out. One possibility is to set a deadline for establishment of local citizens' groups and completion of programs now under development. This would provide a target date for dissolving the Committee at the national level, leaving it to the White House,



Cabinet Departments and Agencies to provide liaison and staff support for surviving local groups. The logic of this proposition may have appeal: Many of the "action programs," especially those which relate to energy conservation, stem from recommendations originally developed by FEA, Commerce, DOT and various private sector groups which have existing relationships with these agencies. Similarly, many other "action programs" relate directly to the interests of governmental agencies and citizen advisory groups already associated with them.

The Committee, having now supplanted its single theme (WIN) with a variety of discrete programs, could make a compelling case for transferring its function to government.

What the Committee would prefer, of course, is:

- (A) Direct assistance from the White House in obtaining new leadership.
- (B) Continuing sanction and support from the White House, Cabinet Departments, Agencies and key administration spokesmen.
- (C) Additional interim staff support until such time as adequate permanent funding can be obtained. (With so many programs going on stream and fledgling local groups asking guidance and support, the Committee's present staff cannot handle the load.

The Committee continues to want to carry out its mandate.

The Committee continues to believe voluntarism is essential to sound economic policy.

Recent press accounts which purport to assess the Committee's frustrations are greatly distorted and/or overstated. A more accurate characterization would be to suggest that many members of the group do feel they are personally "on the hook" to fulfill a commitment which is all but impossible to fulfill under present circumstances. Nonetheless, with the exception of one member (who resigned), recriminations have neither been expressed nor implied -- publicly or otherwise. Rather, what the group still seeks is a formula for success.







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