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Copies To: ED Meese
Rich Williamson
Tony Dolan
Dave Ferguson
ED Gray

FROM RALPH STANLEY 9/17/80

1. As a Georgia state senator in 1966, Carter voted against a measure aimed at preventing arbitrary layoffs of black teachers in the state. (St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 5/23/76)
2. In 1964, Carter voted for a measure attempting to circumvent the Supreme Court school desegregation ruling. (St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 5/23/76)
3. While serving on the Sumter County School Board, Carter voted to raise salaries of white teachers, but no black teachers. (Wall Street Journal, 3/15/76, p.4)
4. On the school board, Carter voted to open black schools two weeks later than white schools, so black children would have time to pick cotton. (LA Times, 2/11/76)
5. Carter proposed the relocation of a planned black school because of local white residents' objections. (Wall Street Journal, 3/15/76, p.4)
6. As governor, Carter appointed only one black judge to a lower court vacancy, despite the fact that there were 32 vacancies in higher courts. (Atlanta Constitution, 2/17/76, p.11A)
7. Under Carter's administration, the percentage of blacks in the state government increased from 14% to only 15.7%. (Atlanta Constitution, 9/5/76, p.1)

Carter's Record On Civil Rights Not Spotless

By Phil Gailey

Washington Star Staff Writer

In the mid-1960s, when civil rights demonstrators shook segregated life in Sumter County, Ga., a newspaper reporter stopped at a peanut warehouse in Plains to talk to a local white moderate. His name was Jimmy Carter.

Carter led the reporter to the back of the warehouse, away from the front office, and earnestly tried to explain how his effectiveness as a

Analysis

moderate voice in the county depended on his keeping a low profile. Therefore, he wanted to speak off the record.

There were a few white martyrs then, like attorney Warren Forston, whose public stand against racial injustice dried up his law practice and forced him to move out of the county.

But Carter, a genuine Southern moderate in the context of the times, was not among them. He was building a successful peanut warehouse business and planning a political future that he hoped would take him from the state senate to Congress. Publicly siding with Martin Luther King Jr.'s denim-clad marchers was neither good business nor good politics.

His most famous stand during this period came in his church, Plains First Baptist, where Carter stood to oppose a resolution barring blacks from the congregation. Carter argued that no one, including blacks, should be turned away from the church as long as he came with the

See CARTER'S, A-5

Continued From A-3

sincere desire to worship.

It is an episode Carter has repeatedly used in his presidential campaigns to deflect attention from less flattering chapters of his civil rights record.

That record is worth re-examining only because the president has chosen to attack Ronald Reagan for his opposition to the 1964 Civil Rights Act and to insinuate from the pulpit of Martin Luther King Jr.'s Atlanta church that his Republican challenger has injected racist code words into the campaign.

In doing so, Carter has called attention to his own civil rights record, and in the vernacular of South Georgia, it is a sleeping dog that the president would have done well not to disturb.

White House press secretary Jody Powell has said there is no record of Carter's position on the 1964 Civil Rights Act. However, there is a record that shows that Carter supported legislation in the Georgia State Senate to circumvent the intent of the law.

After the U.S. Supreme Court had upheld the act's desegregation aspects, the Georgia Senate like other legislatures across the South, passed a resolution to "exempt" the state from them. Jimmy Carter was one of 24 state senators who voted for the measure, which was largely symbolic, since it could have no practical effect.

Carter stands on solid ground when he takes credit for appointing more blacks, women and Hispanics to federal judgeships and high-level administration jobs than any president in history. And his record as governor of Georgia from 1971 through 1974 was a progressive one.

But when the president attempts to measure Reagan by the standards of the 1960s, he exposes himself to charges of hypocrisy and demagoguery.

It is a fair question to ask what Carter would make of it if Reagan belonged to a segregated church, as Carter did in 1976, or if his Republican opponent endorsed the rights of neighborhood "to maintain their ethnic purity," as Carter did four years ago?

As chairman of the Sumter County school board in the early 1960s - his first elected office - Carter presided over a school system that was both separate and unequal. White teachers were paid more than their black counterparts, black students attended class in inferior buildings, go by on used books and equipment, and walked to school while white students rode in buses.

If Carter ever tried to correct the inequality there is no record of it.

Again, as Carter's hometown friends have said he should be judged in the context of the times:

The Political Report

Carter's Rights Record Not Spotless

which is fair enough. However, when judged by that same standard, Carter doesn't fare so well in a review of his 1970 gubernatorial campaign in Georgia.

The racial and political atmosphere in the South had changed significantly by then, opening the way for a new crop of moderate Southern governors, of which Jimmy Carter became one.

But the campaign he waged to reach the governor's office was not one of Carter's proudest moments. It goes down as the state's last gubernatorial campaign in which the race issue was exploited.

In the 1976 presidential campaign, when the issue was raised by reporters, Carter challenged anyone to find "one instance in the 1970 campaign where I ever insinuated anything about race."

The facts, however, are these:

- Carter ever so softly slanted that campaign toward the instincts and predilections of the rural voters who made up the backbone of George Wallace's support.

- He openly courted and won the support of notorious segregationists, such as Roy Harris, the publisher of a hate sheet that devoted itself to "documenting" the animalistic nature and innate inferiority of blacks, regularly called "niggers" in the tabloid's headlines. After meeting privately with Carter, Harris told reporters: "He asked me what I thought he should be doing and I told him to just keep on doing what he was doing."

- On the day before the election, Carter visited an all-white private academy and pledged his support to private schools. "Don't let anybody, including the Atlanta newspapers, mislead you into criticizing private education," he exhorted parents who had pulled their children out of integrated public schools.

- His campaign aides distributed leaflets at a Ku Klux Klan rally showing his opponent being doused with champagne by two black basketball players, although there is no evidence that Carter authorized the action.

After the election Carter met with a group of black leaders and assured them he would be a better governor than he was a candidate. And he was.

In 1973, when Carter was getting ready to announce his decision to hang a portrait of the late Martin Luther King Jr. in the state capitol, he was already laying the groundwork for his presidential campaign. His aides knew that gesture would win him favorable national publicity, but at the same time there was a concern among some of them that Carter not go too far.

For example, his press secretary, Jody Powell, sent Carter a memo urging him to decline an

invitation to participate in King's birthday celebration.

The memo said: "We don't think it would be good politically for you to announce that Dr. King had been selected as one of the persons whose portrait will be hung in the capital, and then following that, you participate as one of the honorary chairmen in the celebration. (There are some people who would classify you as a "King Lover.")"

Carter did not participate.

If the late Clarence Jordan, the Georgia farmer-theologian who founded an integrated Christian farm commune in Carter's home county, were alive, he probably would smile at the sight of his former neighbor preaching the gospel of racial justice from Martin Luther King's old pulpit at the Ebenezer Baptist Church.

Carter took a liking to Jordan's second cousin, a young man named Hamilton, but the president has never set foot on Jordan's Koinonia Farm, less than 10 miles from Plains.

Koinonia became a local symbol of civil rights agitation in the '60s - and remains so to some degree. Its farm products were boycotted, its buildings riddled with the bullets of night-riders and its commune members, mostly white Christian activists, beaten and arrested on the steps of local churches they tried to integrate.

A decade after Jordan's death, Koinonia's work goes on. The focus has shifted from desegregating public facilities to building modest houses to sell to the poor at cost. So far, Koinonia and a partner group called Habitat for Humanity have constructed more than 150 homes for low-income families - including two from shacks on Carter's own farm.

The project relies entirely on private financing, and Koinonia and Habitat officials would like nothing better than to show off their work to a local man who is president of the United States. A presidential visit, with the national publicity it would create, could only aid their fund-raising efforts.

"Carter comes home and walks through Plains and visits Cousin Hugh's antique store, but he has never come around Koinonia," said one of the farm's residents. "I don't think he cares about our work now anymore than he ever did in the past." ate.

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Memorandum

To: Tony Dolan

Re: Carter and Racism

Date: September 17, 1980

From: Larry Seidler

When Jimmy Carter sought the governorship of Georgia in 1970 he was to succeed Lester Maddox, the avowed segregationist who was barred from succeeding himself as governor by law. In fact, Maddox was to run and serve as Lieutenant Governor with Carter.

Carter's first priority as a candidate was to alter the liberal image that he had built from his record as a state senator.

In 1970 Carter intended to campaign, "as a local Georgia conservative Democrat . . . I'm basically a redneck." (Lasky, Jimmy Carter, page 74) Carter vigorously denied that he had ever said that the U.S. Supreme Court decisions on school integration were "morally and legally correct." (Id.)

In fact, in 1970 Carter praised Lester Maddox as being "the very essence of what the Democratic party stands for. He has compassion for the ordinary man." Carter was "very proud to be part of a party that is great enough to have men like Governor Maddox heading it up in Georgia." (Lasky, p. 213)

Carter was even more adamant in his respect for Maddox after he won the primary election in 1970 when he said of Maddox, "I am proud to be on the ticket with

him. Despite reports we have heard, there has never been any difference between us in the primary." (Lasky, p.94) Carter went on to say that as governor of Georgia, Maddox had brought a "high standard of forthright expression and personal honesty to the governor's office." (Lasky 94)

Although courting the favor of the then incumbent governor Lester Maddox was important to Carter in 1970, the endorsement which would be of most value to him was that of Alabama governor George Wallace. Carter sought to ride on Wallace's coat tails and get the votes of Wallace's supporters in Georgia.

Carter did this by repeatedly criticizing his opponent's refusal to let Wallace speak in any state owned facilities in Georgia. Instead, Carter promised that he would invite Wallace to speak in Georgia. (Lasky 78)

Carter's 1970 gubernatorial campaign had other overtones of racism. For example, he distributed a photograph of his opponent and a black athlete celebrating a championship victory.

Carter's use of Wallace did not end after the 1970 gubernatorial election. When Wallace reopened a school that had been closed by a court to achieve integration, Carter praised Wallace's defiance of the court and said that President Nixon should thank Wallace "for his timely assistance" and get on with the job of "translating speeches and campaign promises into concrete action." (Lasky 108)

In 1972 Carter fulfilled his campaign promise of inviting Wallace to speak in Georgia--in fact, Wallace

was to address the Georgia General Assembly. Carter introduced Wallace as " a personal friend whose voice is being heard throughout the country." (Lasky,p. 110)

Wallace claims that he made a pact with Carter in 1972 in which Carter promised to endorse his candidacy at the Democratic National Convention if Wallace had 300 delegates. (Lasky, p. 133)

As it became clear that McGovern would win the nomination, Carter said, "Wallace can be a positive force in shaping the platform and selecting the nominee and can have a tremendous effect if he remains within the party." (Lasky, p. 127)

But in fact, when it came time to make a decision at the convention, Carter nominated Henry Jackson for president.

Later in 1972 Carter met with Wallace to try to figure out some way to divorce state and local democratic candidates from the doomed McGovern ticket.

Carter received a letter from Mrs. Lena Mae Dempsey criticizing him for his failure to endorse Wallace at the convention. His answer is the attached xerox. (Lasky, p. 131)

he said that Senator Russell had Jackson in the next presidential admired Jackson because of his A tough anti-Communist, Jack-nore appeal in the South than the fact that McGovern had the convention time rolled around Jimmy Carter stood up in the vast nominate Henry Jackson for

ed by these developments than ed to believe that Carter would is. Not only that but, according sed to second his nomination at , Carter reneged on his prom- r denied.

ears to bolster Wallace's claim of the Alabamian noted Carter's appreciation Day in Red Level, er does not deny, but his press years later that the Governor's nds for Wallace's medical ex- ation attempt six weeks before. noted—local press accounts, the ated—in Powell's words—that as in no way an endorsement of ely for the purpose of joining recovery."

said was this: "Although Carter orsing Wallace, he emphasized bama Governor has taken in his d nomination." Furthermore, it at the rally were not for medical ntial campaign.

his is that neither a tape nor a available to the Georgia State story, as was customary. This eches the Governor "made to ral Georgia, or places like that,"

according to one of the archivists. Obviously what Carter had been saying to so-called redneck audiences was not something he wanted enshrined in official records in Atlanta. Frank Daniel, a veteran archivist who traditionally prepared a volume of the complete public statements of Georgia Governors, told *Harper's* in 1976 that his efforts to compile the Carter volume had been "blocked by [Carter's] people. . . . They've only sent me the speeches they want to include."

One embarrassing document was sent to the archives. It was a letter to Mrs. Lena Mae Dempsey, who had written to the Governor complaining that he should have endorsed Wallace instead of Jackson at the Democratic Convention. The letter, dated August 4, 1972, read:

Dear Mrs. Dempsey:

I have never had anything but the highest praise for Governor Wallace. My support for Senator Jackson was based upon a personal request from our late Senator Richard Russell shortly before his death. I think you will find that Senator Jackson, Governor Wallace, and I are in close agreement on most issues.

Let me ask you to consider one other factor before I close. There are times when two men working toward the same end can accomplish more if they are not completely tied together. I think you will find that Governor Wallace understands that.

Please let me know when I can be of service to you or your children in Atlanta. I hope I have been able to give you a slightly better impression of me.

Sincerely,
Jimmy Carter

When the text of the letter was dug up by Steve Brill and published in *Harper's* nearly four years later, Jody Powell responded as follows:

The letter to Mrs. Dempsey was written by a staffer, never seen by Governor Carter, and did not accurately express his views. Several hundred letters each day often

were answered from the Governor's office by staffers; inevitably, a few of these staff responses were not exactly what the Governor would have written. Had the writer of the article asked, he would have been told of the three-letter-initial code used to identify staff letters.

The unfortunate choice of words by one staffer in one letter is hardly a test of the national leadership ability or the personal integrity of the Governor. . . .

It turned out Powell was right. In view of Carter's future plans, it was indeed "the unfortunate choice of words by one staffer." What Powell's response did not go on to say, however, was that the "staffer" who wrote the letter was none other than Jody Powell himself. And today Powell sits close to the Oval Office, speaking to the world in President Carter's name. But, "unfortunate" or not, Powell's 1972 choice of words pretty much reflected his boss' then high regard for George Wallace, a regard which led Carter prior to the national convention to recommend a Humphrey-Wallace ticket as being acceptable to the South.

Of course, in 1976, while seeking the presidency, Carter banished all past thoughts about Wallace from his mind and indeed sought to banish them from the historic record. He went around saying, "I never supported Wallace and never would." Wallace, bound to a wheelchair because of wounds suffered in the attempted assassination, but still feisty, called Carter a liar. That he was hurt by Carter's efforts to expunge the record was obvious to Elizabeth Drew, who interviewed the Alabamian for *The New Yorker*. And Wallace, in a Howard Johnson motel room in High Point, North Carolina, sought to set the record straight. Among other things, he recalled how Carter, in his 1970 race for the governorship, had kept invoking Wallace's name to his rural Georgian audiences. "He went all over Georgia saying, 'I'll invite Wallace to speak in this state.' Do you know that? He made a big issue of it. If you go around and use a man's name in an emphatic fashion—'I'll *invite* him to come to this state'—Now, if you're not for him when you say that, you're *misleading* people, aren't you?"

Also during the 1976 campaign, Carter vehemently denied that he had pledged to endorse Wallace's 1972 candidacy if he came to the convention with at least 300 delegates. As it turned out,

Civil Rights

p176 "My mother knew no color line. Her black friends were just as welcome in her home as her white friends, a fact that shocked some people, sometimes ^{even} my father, who was very conventional in his views on race.

422 I always felt that southern people even in those days were searching for some way to get past the racial question, even though publicly they weren't ready to accept the rulings of the Supreme Court or HRW or civil rights laws or the integration of churches. They were looking for a few people in the South — perhaps like myself — who were in a position of influence to speak fearfully. There was not that vicious reaction against us that might otherwise have been there. I think southern people were ready for it.

240 I have long advocated eliminating discrimination against blacks, other minorities, and women.

104-105 he left out the name of Martin Luther King as a great American when speaking to all white audiences

105 when he was governor of Georgia he suggested that legislature pass a resolution calling on Congress to address the burning

105 issue through amendment, purportedly
to award a boycott of Georgia schools

135 Black Voter Concerns

Why should blacks vote for Cate
A. My record speaks for itself. When I was
governor of Georgia every act that I
performed was designed for those who
need the services of govt. the most, &
black or white & . . .

588-589 refusal to join Plain, Ga. branch
of White Citizens Council

|||| Re: Mr. Church's Discrimination

" I think my best approach is
to try to stay within the church and to
try to change some of the attitudes which
I abhor. Now if it was a country club,
I would have to quit. In fact, I have
no membership in any country clubs or
any other private clubs that
discriminate on account of race. But
this is not my church, it's God's little
church. And I can't quit my life
time worship and habit and commitment
because of a remnant of discrimination which
has been alleviated a great deal in
the last ten years. I hope it will

||||

be eliminated completely in the next few weeks. I can't speak for church membership. But I'll do all I can within the church to eliminate that last vestige of racial discrimination.

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Lorby

78 1970 gubernatorial race he blamed his opponent Carl Sanders for reforming Henry Wallace from speaking in Georgia

79 Lester Maddox didn't trust Carter as his successor in 1970

Carter, "I am proud to be on the ticket with him. Despite reports we have heard there has never been any difference between us in the primary.

Carter announced that Maddox had brought a "high standard of thoughtful expression and personal honesty to the governor's office"

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Then in September 71 he urged Georgia parents & public officials to protest Supreme Ct rulings on forced busing

1972
p 140

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1972 met with Wallace to try to figure out a way to save Democratic state local candidates from McGovern's debt promise for support at convention

in 1974 Carter had to be persuaded to work against Lester Maddox's bid to regain governorship of Georgia
the anti Maddox effort was an attempt to create a progressive, liberal "New South" image for Carter

216-217 ethnic party

207 re The Boston Globe in 1976 after ^{long} ^{Mass.} ^{primary}
1976 "That's my favorite newspaper and Lester Maddox is my favorite politician."

207 fundraising letter to Demo in Florida for 1976 primary

"Please help us win a victory in Florida and allow the Democratic Party to choose its presidential candidate in an arena free of demagoguery. . . I need your help now to end once and for all the threat Wallace represents to our country"

& whereas in 1970 Carter had clung to Wallace's coat tails

213

omitted Martin King reference in Florida

omitted his opposition to forced busing to black audiences

\$ Maddox in 1970

Carter said he was

"very proud to be part of a party that is great enough to have men like Governor Maddox heading it up in Georgia.

Later Carter said praised Maddox as being "the very essence of what the Democratic party stands for. He has common sense for the ordinary man."

Carter sought ways to link himself with Wallace by telling his ^(w) friend Griffin that he would let Wallace speak in Ga.

2

110

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4 Wallace can be a positive force in shaping the platform and selecting the ~~new~~ nominee & can have a tremendous positive effect if he stays within the party."

131 letter to women praising Wallace
1972 8/4/72

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In 1970

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* he vigorously denied that he had ever said that the USSC decisions on school integration were "morally & legally correct"

133 Wallace claims he made a pact with Carter in '72 to have Carter endorse his candidacy if Wallace had 300 delegates & Wallace had 400 but Carter didn't
he nominated Jackson