

**The original documents are located in Box 16, folder “Debates” of the Richard B. Cheney Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.**

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FROM: Jack Marsh  
TO: Dick Cheney

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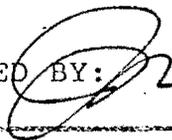
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SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

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October 8

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Dick:

Because of the first paragraph of the attached, please do not circulate this memo to the Press Office and other staff members. However, I think Scowcroft would find the rest of the memo of interest.

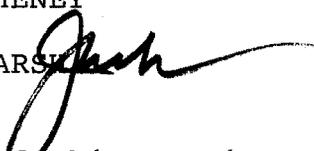


*Jack*  
JACK

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 8, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
THROUGH: DICK CHENEY  
FROM: JACK MARSH 

Congressman Sam Stratton called this morning to pass on the following, off-the-record, not-for-quotation remark by him on the debate. Sam wanted you to know personally that he was not very impressed with Carter's grasp of and statements on defense policy. He wanted this to be kept a very private comment and would not want to be quoted for reasons we both understand.

Secondly, Sam had a very understanding attitude on the East European remark and felt that the problem was occurring because your response was related to a question on the Helsinki Agreement. He felt you were seeking to establish clearly the point that the Helsinki Conference did not change our policy as to the Bloc Countries, but our view is that these are separate, autonomous states, independent of Soviet sovereignty whose aspirations for freedom we have always supported and will continue to support. He further felt that you were indicating that your trip enabled you to meet with the people which confirmed their desire for independence and freedom.

Sam's District has a substantial ethnic representation and he does not feel that the point you were trying to make came across because he received an immediate and contrary reaction which prompted his call.

He recommended a clarification statement that more precisely sets out the view he feels you had sought to express.



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FROM: JACK MARSH

TO: DICK CHENEY

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SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

DELIVER OPENING OF BUSINESS

SENT TO DICK CHENEY  
PER DONNA.

76 OCT 8 AM 9.03



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 7, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JACK MARSH ✓  
DICK CHENEY

FROM:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF

*M.G.*

Senator Ted Stevens (R-ALASKA) personally delivered the attached statement which he recommends the President consider for his summary statement in the final debate.

Stevens said he personally dictated the statement and hoped the President could make use of it.

cc: Mike DuVal

*Send to  
Mike  
jm*



*J. Stearns*

When I became President our nation faced three major problems: there had been a complete erosion of our national will during the Watergate affair, we faced inflation and a serious recession at home, and in the eyes of the world it appeared that the American dream had been shattered.

My job, as I conceived it, was to demonstrate leadership at home and abroad. I had become President as no man had before me--yet, before I became President committees of the Congress controlled by Mr. Carter's party, not mine, had searched through every nook and cranny of my political and personal life and had declared my life free of taint and affirmed that I was a fit person to become Vice President and, if necessary, President.

We have solved the problem of leadership at home. I believe you have restored confidence in the Presidency. We have slowed down the rate of inflation and reversed the ravages of recession. And, despite the allegations of my opponent, the world knows the United States is militarily the most powerful nation today; and, even more important, the world has watched and seen that our system of government and our government itself can survive a shock of earthquake proportions. There is no other democratic government in the world which could have survived the Watergate era without tremendous loss of world prestige.

Now, I have not sought the Presidency to,



2--

fulfill my own ambition, and I seek it now only to continue what we have begun.

Some say I have not won these debates because I have tried to answer the questions and to respond to my opponent while he has continued to say what is on his mind without regard to the questions. It is my feeling that the President of the United States must answer questions. When a newsman wants an answer he doesn't deserve a lecture and, what's more, would not listen to one. When the President of the United States negotiates with Brezhnev or any foreign leader it won't do us any good if the President just preaches a sermon--he's got to demonstrate our principles by the manner in which he negotiates. And, when the President deals with Congress it doesn't do much good to moralize with them; they have to get the message that you are behind the President.

I believe you want for our children and our grandchildren what I want--a decent, honest place to live in freedom, under God, with the assurance that they will be strong enough to lead the world back to belief in the principle that all mankind can and should live the same way. If you do, I need your support now more than ever before.

We've spent four and one-half hours in these debates--it's seemed like a long time. But, being President is a 24-hour, 7-day-a-week job for the next



3--

four years. What happens in those four years is up to you. If you want me to continue to work for you, I need your help: I need your vote, and I need you to go to your friends and family and convince them that they must vote. There is no better way to celebrate our Centennial, our two-hundredth birthday as a nation, than to exercise the basic right that millions of Americans before us have died for--the right as free men and women to choose our nation's leader.

If you choose me to do the job, I will do my very best.



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TO: MCFARLANE FOR GEN. SCOWCROFT

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ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS:

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*SENT ONLY TO GEN. SCOWCROFT*

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 7, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO: JACK MARSH  
FROM: JIM CANNON  
SUBJECT: The Debate

To me, President Ford's best assets on defense and foreign affairs are the two elements he mentioned at the end of last night's debate: "experience and results."

I believe that the President, the Vice President and Senator Dole should affirm and emphasize these two elements in the remaining days of the campaign. The fact is that the President has, in his two years, been the leader in an extraordinary set of accomplishments -- in ending the Viet Nam War, in bringing about a truce in the Sinai, in initiating the first resolution of the African problem.

Whatever the perception listeners may have had in the Debate, a rereading of the transcript shows that Carter was irresponsible.

In his opening statement, Carter says "Our country is not strong anymore." Yet it is his Democratic Party which has repeatedly tried to cut the defense budget.

At another point, Carter says "I've never advocated any cut of \$15 billion in our defense budget."

The L.A. Times of March 20, 1976 states\* that Carter said in a Beverly Hills news conference that the Ford defense budget could be reduced by about \$15 billion without sacrificing national security.

What would Carter do that the Ford Administration has not done in defense and foreign policy? He spoke of morality and ending secrecy in negotiations, but that is not a foreign policy.

\* According to RNC Quote Book



Historically, under all administrations the Secretary of State has been an important element of the administration's foreign policy and similarly, the Secretary of Defense has been an important element in defense policy.

If Mr. Carter is truly opposed to secrecy, why does he not now let the American public in on who would be his Secretary of State and his Secretary of Defense.

These two points in particular, are too important to be left to a decision after the election. We know what President Ford would do. The American public has a right to know what Carter would do.

cc: *Lui Cavannah*



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FROM: JACK MARSH

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TO: DICK CHENEY FOR  
THE PRESIDENT

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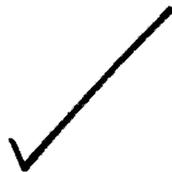
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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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October 7, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: JACK MARSH  
FROM: MAX FRIEDERSDORF *M.F.*  
SUBJECT: Reaction to 2nd Debate

Calls have been received from:

- Senator Cliff Hansen (R-WYO)
- Representative John Rhodes (R-ARIZ)
- Representative Jimmy Quillen (R-TENN)
- Representative Del Latta (R-OHIO)

All expressing strong views that the President came out on top last night.

They requested their assessment be passed along to the President.

*Dex to H*



OCT 7 1976

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 7, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: JACK MARSH  
FROM: MAX FRIEDERSDORF *M.F.*  
SUBJECT: Reaction to 2nd Debate

Representative Bill Dickinson (R-ALA) dictated the following to his staff, who called it in to me:

"My personal opinion, and the majority of the people I talked with is that President Ford did better in the debate with Carter last night than he did two weeks ago. "

"Congratulations on a job well done. Would suggest in the third and final encounter when it can be expected that Carter will go at it no holds barred, that you keep your demeanor but bear in equally hard. I have had two people talk with me this morning who were formerly for 'fuzzie' (their term) Carter who plan to switch on the basis of last night's debate."

*Dex to 11*



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FROM: JIM CAVANAUGH

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TO: TERRY O'DONNELL  
DICK CHENEY

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October 8, 1976  
TO: TERRY O'DONNELL/DICK CHENEY  
FROM: JIM CAVANAUGH

DRAFT  
STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

My response on Wednesday night to a question by Max Frankel of the New York Times regarding the role of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe appears to have created some confusion about the policy of my administration toward Eastern Europe. Let me repeat what I said Wednesday night: "The United States does not concede the countries of Eastern Europe are under the domination of the Soviet Union."

Of course it is true that the peoples of most of those countries are now subjugated to the rule of Communist governments that would not last for five minutes without the support of Soviet arms. But my administration does not accept--and will never accept--the permanence of this subjugation. We are committed to the principle of self-determination for all peoples, and we will do what we can to support self-determination wherever possible.

I can understand that confusion resulted from my remark that "I don't believe that the Poles consider themselves dominated by the Soviet Union." The distinction that I was trying to make was between the physical fact of the presence of the Soviet army in Poland, and acceptance in the hearts and minds of the Polish people of this physical fact.

Of course the Soviet troops are there. Of course the present government of Poland depends on the support of these troops.

But I do not believe for an instant that the Polish people have resigned themselves to perpetuation of this state of affairs. Neither have I. Neither have any of the friends of Poland--or the friends of Hungary, or the friends of Czechoslovakia, or the friends of any of the other subjugated nations--in the United States.

Within the scope of current world realities, there are limits to what we can do. But the point that I was trying to make on Wednesday night is that the United States, so long as I am president, will never acquiesce to the permanence of Soviet domination in Eastern Europe.



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 22, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: L. WILLIAM SEIDMAN *LWS*  
SUBJECT: The Tax Reform Issue in the Debates

On Tuesday evening (September 21), I appeared on the Robert MacNeil program with Joseph Pechman, one of Governor Carter's chief economic advisers to discuss the subject of tax policy. Pechman had spent most of the day in Plains with Carter and Charles Schultze, former Johnson Budget Director, and Lawrence Klein.

In attempting, with some difficulty, to explain Carter's median income statement and his position on tax reform, Pechman argued that what Carter really meant was that he would raise taxes on higher income taxpayers by closing loopholes. This would provide the revenues for reducing taxes on middle and lower income taxpayers. He refused to attempt to specify what the line was dividing higher and middle income taxpayers although he did say that the use of the term median income was figurative rather than literal.

He also stated that Governor Carter was in favor of tax simplification, as was Secretary Simon, but that you were not in favor of tax simplification -- or at least not interested in it. He pressed for what the Ford Tax Reform Program consisted of. I responded as follows:

The President's tax reform program consists of three important elements.

First, the President believes that the best kind of tax reform is tax reduction. He believes that Americans currently pay excessive taxes, particularly middle and low income Americans, and has proposed an additional \$10 billion tax reduction coupled with restraint on the level of Federal spending.

Second, the President's tax program includes proposals to reform the tax system in order to encourage increased investment and job creation. He has proposed and continues to support special tax benefits in the form of accelerated depreciation for new plants and equipment in areas of high unemployment, reducing



the maximum corporate tax rate of 46 percent, broadening stock ownership through incentives for low and middle income Americans, and integrating the corporate and personal income taxes thereby eliminating the present burden of double taxation of dividends.

Third, the President believes that we should move toward a simplified and more equitable tax code. Last January, the President requested the Secretary of the Treasury to study the potential for restructuring and simplifying the present tax code. The Treasury study is well underway. It involves an examination of our present tax code aimed at making it simpler, more fair and more economically efficient. It is scheduled to report to the President in December.

The President already has made some significant movement toward a simpler and more equitable tax code with his estate tax proposals that are largely embodied in the Tax Reform Act of 1976. The estate tax provisions have both simplified and made much more equitable our system of estate taxation.

I then observed that Governor Carter has said that he is in favor of tax simplification, but he has provided none of the details. He has merely said that it will take him at least a year, assuming he is elected President, to develop a plan. The President, while not committing himself to anything until he has seen the details, already has a major study effort underway. In that sense, the President is at least a year ahead of Governor Carter.



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FROM: Jack Marsh  
TO: Dick Cheney

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 6, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK CHENEY

FROM:

JACK MARSH

The attached might be helpful for the debate this evening.





HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

SAMUEL S. STRATTON  
NEW YORK

October 1, 1976

Dear Mr. President:

I want to thank you so much for your thoughtfulness in sending along to me a ceremonial pen used in the signing of the Defense Department Appropriation Act for 1977.

You were very nice to invite me to be on hand, but the schedule here in these past couple of weeks, as you probably are aware, has been extremely hectic.

As you are aware, the bill which you signed into law was much closer to your original budget requests than any of us had the courage to hope some nine months ago. I am sure that your persistence and determined support of a strong national defense, plus the hard lobbying work of Don Rumsfeld, contributed greatly to bringing about this dramatic change from what had occurred with the fiscal '76 legislation.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON



072225

Per your telephone instruction, the attached was sent to Mr. Cheney. Mr. Cheney's whereabouts were unclear, but the Com Ctr said they could reach him within three hours.

Glenn Caspell

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FROM: Jack Marsh  
TO: Dick Cheney  
(Los Angeles)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 7, 1976

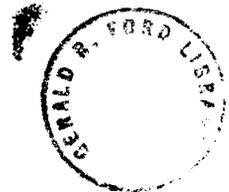
MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK CHENEY

FROM: JACK MARSH

Senator Buckley called today to express concern about statements regarding East and Central Europe in the debate. He advises that ethnic groups in New York are upset and requests further statement of clarification on US policy.

We had sent him the clarification statement given at USC but he had not seen it. There may still be some question as to whether he feels it is adequate and will have to report further on this point.

Senator Bob Taft has also called on behalf of himself and Mayor Perk to express similar concerns on the Central Europe matter. I believe he tried to reach the presidential party on the West Coast on this subject.



*To Mike*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 8, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JACK MARSH

FROM:

MILT MITLER *Milt*

Jack, 100 law students at George Washington were polled on the last debate and came up with the following responses:

- On the win/lost factor, it was close but with a slight edge to Carter although on dissemination of facts and information the President got the votes.
- The greatest mistake made by the President was to remain on the defensive throughout.
- The President should answer Carter's allegations and fabrications. But, he should answer them quickly and decisively and then move to a positive position.
- When the President enters the stage and settles behind the podium, he should immediately write on his pad "Watch the Red Light", "Take the Offensive" and "Smile and Change Voice"!
- The President should take notes and read them.
- The President does not need to keep talking without a pause. Pausing would give him the time to consider what he is to say next - to muster his thoughts.
- Carter's cynicism will lose him support in the long run.



*60-102-100-100  
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 21, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: JACK MARSH  
SUBJECT: Debate Transcripts

I have gone over both of the transcripts on the interviews and feel the responses were quite good. The second transcript seemed better than the first.

I offer the following comments for your consideration:

1. Two and a half years as President -- Rather than use two and a half years, which puts your service well back into the Nixon period when you were Vice President, I would suggest you use "over two years."
2. Southern Africa -- On page four of the transcript, you make reference to our efforts in Southern Africa. Although I applaud these efforts, I question how much hope or promise of success you should attach to them in order that you not be held hostage to events in Africa should something go wrong between now and the election.
3. A Republican President and a Democratic Congress -- This is a favorite Democratic ploy and one that I suspect will come up. One of the answers that you allude to in a later transcript is the checks and balances system which is good. You can also point out that ours is an executive system of government by design rather than the parliamentary system and those who would insist on a President and a Congress of the same party would be insisting on a substantial change in the governmental structure which has served us so well.



Additionally, I think it is well to not leave the impression in the public mind that the last two years we have had government by stalemate which the question indicates. On the contrary, the normal business of government has gone on. The Congress has passed legislation which you have requested and in the areas where you and the Congress have had differences, in the total scheme of things are not that many, but they are significant and critical because they represent a basic difference of approach as to how this country should be run. They have been opposing views as to economic approaches and they have been opposing views as to whether we rely more on the Federal system or we try to delegate more responsibility to States, localities and individuals.

4. The use of the veto -- You should seek to avoid the negative aspects of the veto and point out that it is a Constitutional tool used to shape legislation, and its exercise occurs in many ways:
  - a. The threat of veto during the Committee process or during debate on the Floor in order to affect changes.
  - b. Rejection of legislation and resubmission without objectionable features.
  - c. Rejection of legislation that is not in the best interests of the country.

The veto is used prudently and on a selective basis to draft legislation that you deem is not in the best interests of the country, or which needs to be changed in order to become so.

5. Budget deficit -- This is a troublesome question and I think you can offset it in several ways one of which you did:
  - a. Much of the deficit occurs because of programs the Congress has enacted and you are bound by law to carry forward.
  - b. The deficit is down from the preceeding year.



- c. There's light at the end of the tunnel and you see a balanced budget by 1979 if the country will give you the opportunity to continue on the course we are on.

cc: Dick Cheney  
Mike Duval

