

The original documents are located in Box 20, folder “President - Politics (2)” of the Loen and Leppert Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Copyright Notice

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Gerald Ford donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

FILE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 1, 1976

MEETING WITH HOUSE/SENATE WEDNESDAY GROUPS

Thursday, September 2, 1976
8:00-9:00 a.m. (1 hour)
The Cabinet Room

From: Max L. Friedersdorf

M.L.F.

I. PURPOSE

To consult and brief representatives of the House and Senate Wednesday groups regarding the campaign.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS PLAN

A. Background:

1. Members of the House and Senate Wednesday groups have been anxious to make recommendations to the President concerning the campaign effort.
2. Last week when the President was in Vail, numerous Senators and Congressmen expressed the desire for an opportunity to make suggestions to the President.
3. Today's meeting is designed as one of a series (leadership, Steering Committee) to accommodate the various Republican Congressional factions who wish to advise the President.

B. Participants: See TAB A

C. Press Plan: Press Office to announce meeting - White House photographer only.

III. TALKING POINTS

1. We had a very successful convention and after that, a successful campaign planning session in Vail.
2. Some of the officials from the National Committee and the Ford Committee are here today and we can answer your questions.
3. I would first, however, like to hear your ideas. Who would like to speak first?



PARTICIPANTS

The President

SENATE

~~/~~ Mark Hatfield Dick Schweiker
~~/~~ Bob Packwood
~~/~~ Jack Javits

HOUSE

~~/~~ Bill Frenzel
~~/~~ Joel Pritchard
~~/~~ Peggy Heckler
~~/~~ Pete McCloskey
~~/~~ Stew McKinney
~~/~~ Thad Cochran
~~/~~ Ralph Regula

STAFF

~~/~~ Jack Marsh
~~/~~ Dick Cheney
~~/~~ Max Friedersdorf
Jim Cavanaugh
Dave Gergen
~~/~~ Bill Kendall
~~/~~ Charlie Leppert

OTHER

~~/~~ Mary Louise Smith
~~/~~ Rog Morton
~~/~~ Roy Hughes

REGRETS

Sen. Dole
Sen. Stevens
Sen. Stafford
Sen. Pearson
Sen. Taft
Sen. Beall
Sen. Mathias
Sen. Percy
Sen. Case
Sen. Brooke
The Vice President
Jim Baker
Stu Spencer



September 1, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF
THROUGH: CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *CLJ*
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *TL*
SUBJECT: Rep. Jim Martin (R.-N.C.)

Jim has just completed a poll taken in his district (the 9th District of North Carolina) which rates the President's general job performance. The results of this poll indicate a 60% favorable rating of the President.

Jim believes that if the election were held today one could not be assured of the President receiving 60% of the votes. However, he is impressed that this is a favorable indicator of the rising trend of support for the President in North Carolina.

According to Martin, this was a broad telephone poll which took into account statistical errors.



September 1, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF
THROUGH: CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *CLP*
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *TL*
SUBJECT: Rep. Bob Kasten (R.-Wisc.)

Bob strongly believes it is a mistake for the President and the Republican Party to allow the League of Women Voters to participate as organizers of the forthcoming debates. Bob stated that the League of Women Voters have always been active opponents of the President and the Republican Party. He believes this is no time to allow the League to appear to be a non-partisan, public interest group.

Accordingly, Bob urges that the debates be run by such entities as Brookings and AEI.

Bob spoke to me off the floor immediately after visiting with Mel Laird concerning this matter.



September 1, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF
THROUGH: CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *CA*
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *TL*
SUBJECT: Request from
Rep. Ben Gilman (R.-N.Y.)

Ben asked if the President will cut one-minute radio spots which would support re-election bids for GOP Members of Congress.

Ben would like for us to inform him as soon as possible of the decision on this matter.

September 1, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF
THROUGH: CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *CL*
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *KL*
SUBJECT: Request from Rep. Tom
Hagedorn (R.-Minn.)

Tom strongly urges that Senator Dole, as the GOP Vice Presidential candidate, attend a fundraising function in Minnesota for Mr. Jim Anderson. Anderson is the Republican challenger for the 6th Congressional seat presently occupied by Congressman Richard Nolan. Hagedorn believes Dole's appearance in the State would enhance the President's campaign and serve as a great boost for Anderson's efforts to defeat Nolan.

Tom awaits further direction from us on this matter.

September 1, 1976

SEP 3 1976

Dear John:

This is to acknowledge receipt and thank you for your August 31 letter to the President regarding a meeting with the President and executives of the Hearst newspapers.

You may be assured that I will call your letter to the President's immediate attention, and that you will be kept advised of the arrangements for the meeting.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Max L. Friedersdorf
Assistant to the President

The Honorable John J. Rhodes
Minority Leader
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

bcc: w/ inc. to Bill Nicholson for further priority handling.
bcc: w/ inc. to Ron Nessen fyi.
bcc: w/ inc. to Dick Cheney fyi.
bcc: w/ inc. to Jack Marsh fyi.
bcc: w/ inc. to Nancy Kennedy fyi.
bcc: w/ inc. to Charles Leppert fyi. ✓

MLF:JEB:j



JOHN J. RHODES
1st DISTRICT, ARIZONA

9-1

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
2310 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

ALMA A. ALKIRE
RICHARD ROBERTS

DISTRICT OFFICE:
6040 FEDERAL BUILDING
PHOENIX, ARIZONA 85025

ROBERT J. SCANLAN

Office of the Minority Leader
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

H-232, THE CAPITOL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

JOHN J. WILLIAMS
DENNIS J. TAYLOR
J. BRIAN SMITH
CLARA POSEY

August 31, 1976

President Gerald R. Ford
The White House
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. President:

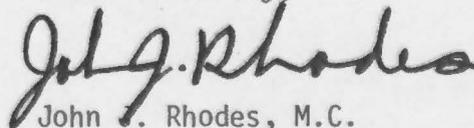
Joseph Kingsbury-Smith delivered the enclosed letter on August 31. As you will notice, Mr. Kingsbury-Smith would like you to attend a dinner.

He informed me that the reason is for the top executives of the Hearst Newspapers to meet with you in a "relaxed atmosphere." It seems that they already have met with Governor Carter and will soon decide which candidate their newspapers will support for the presidency. They may do this as early as September 24, but probably not until the middle of October.

I suggested a White House meeting. Mr. Kingsbury-Smith felt this was not the type of atmosphere his officials would desire - they want it to be a "relaxed atmosphere." I then suggested a dinner on the Sequoia. He thought that would be fine.

So, you may pretty well take your choice as to when and where to meet with these people as long as it is informal. Needless to say, I strongly recommend some such arrangement be made.

Yours sincerely,



John J. Rhodes, M.C.
Minority Leader

JJR/vg



THE HEARST NEWSPAPERS
WASHINGTON HEADQUARTERS
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
TEL. CODE 202 - 298 6920

National Editor

Vice President and Director
The Hearst Corporation

August 31, 1976

The Honorable John J. Rhodes
Minority Leader of the
House of Representatives
2310 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Congressman:

With reference to the matter we discussed when you so kindly consented to receive me today, the Hearst chief executives attending the proposed dinner would be:

Mr. John R. Miller, President and Chief Executive Officer of the Hearst Corporation; and Mrs. Miller.

Mr. Randolph A. Hearst, Chairman of the Board, the Hearst Corporation; and Mrs. Catherine Hearst.

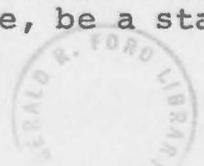
Mr. Frank Massi, Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors; and Mrs. Madeline Massi.

Mr. William Randolph Hearst, Editor-in-Chief of the Hearst Newspapers and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Hearst Corporation Board of Directors, and Mrs. Austine Hearst.

Mr. Frank A. Bennack, Jr., Executive Vice President of the Hearst Corporation and General Manager of the Hearst Newspapers, and Mrs. Luella Bennack.

The dinner would be held in the house that my wife, Eileen, and I occupy in Georgetown. Located at 1416 33rd Street, N.W., the house is owned by and rented from Senator Hatfield. It has a closed in garden extending from front to back on one side and an alley in the rear, thus lending itself to the necessary security measures.

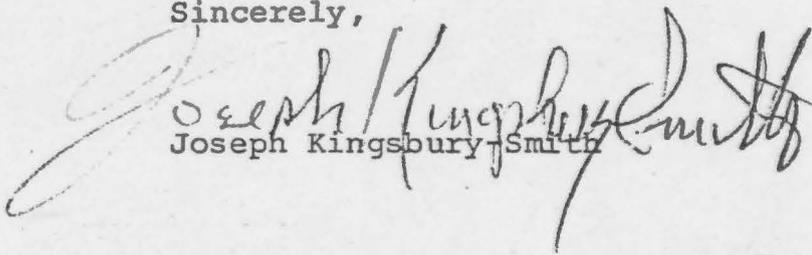
We would hope that Mrs. Rhodes and you would attend the dinner, and anyone that our guests of honor would like to have accompany them. The dinner could, of course, be a stag dinner if that was considered preferable.



Congressman Rhodes
August 31, 1976
Page (2)

I shall be most grateful for any consideration you may be disposed to give this matter, and I deeply appreciate your kindness in letting me discuss it with you.

Sincerely,


Joseph Kingsbury Smith

JKS/kh



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 31, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK CHENEY

THRU: JACK MARSH
MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM: CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *CLP.*

SUBJECT: Rep. John J. Rhodes

Rep. John Rhodes called for assistance in setting up a meeting with the President and the chief executives of the Hearst Newspapers. The purpose of the meeting is explained in the attached letter of John Rhodes.

Rhodes informed me that the Board of Directors are planning to meet on September 24, at which time they may reach a decision on whom they will support. Rhodes strongly recommends that the President meet with the chief executives around the middle of September but that the President decide the time and place.



WASHINGTON OFFICE
2310 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

ALMA A. ALKIRE
RICHARD ROBERTS

DISTRICT OFFICE:
6040 FEDERAL BUILDING
PHOENIX, ARIZONA 85025

ROBERT J. SCANLAN

Office of the Minority Leader
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

H-232, THE CAPITOL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

JOHN J. WILLIAMS
DENNIS J. TAYLOR
J. BRIAN SMITH
CLARA POSEY

August 31, 1976

President Gerald R. Ford
The White House
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. President:

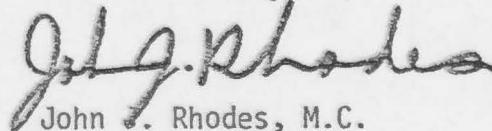
Joseph Kingsbury-Smith delivered the enclosed letter on August 31. As you will notice, Mr. Kingsbury-Smith would like you to attend a dinner.

He informed me that the reason is for the top executives of the Hearst Newspapers to meet with you in a "relaxed atmosphere." It seems that they already have met with Governor Carter and will soon decide which candidate their newspapers will support for the presidency. They may do this as early as September 24, but probably not until the middle of October.

I suggested a White House meeting. Mr. Kingsbury-Smith felt this was not the type of atmosphere his officials would desire - they want it to be a "relaxed atmosphere." I then suggested a dinner on the Sequoia. He thought that would be fine.

So, you may pretty well take your choice as to when and where to meet with these people as long as it is informal. Needless to say, I strongly recommend some such arrangement be made.

Yours sincerely,



John J. Rhodes, M.C.
Minority Leader

JJR/vg



THE HEARST NEWSPAPERS
WASHINGTON HEADQUARTERS
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
TEL. CODE 202 - 238 5929

National Editor

Vice President and Director
The Hearst Corporation

August 31, 1976

The Honorable John J. Rhodes
Minority Leader of the
House of Representatives
2310 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Congressman:

With reference to the matter we discussed when you so kindly consented to receive me today, the Hearst chief executives attending the proposed dinner would be:

Mr. John R. Miller, President and Chief Executive Officer of the Hearst Corporation; and Mrs. Miller.

Mr. Randolph A. Hearst, Chairman of the Board, the Hearst Corporation; and Mrs. Catherine Hearst.

Mr. Frank Massi, Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors; and Mrs. Madeline Massi.

Mr. William Randolph Hearst, Editor-in-Chief of the Hearst Newspapers and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Hearst Corporation Board of Directors, and Mrs. Austine Hearst.

Mr. Frank A. Bennack, Jr., Executive Vice President of the Hearst Corporation and General Manager of the Hearst Newspapers and Mrs. Luella Bennack.

The dinner would be held in the house that my wife, Eileen and I occupy in Georgetown. Located at 1416 33rd Street, N.W., the house is owned by and rented from Senator Hatfield. It has a closed in garden extending from front to back on one side and an alley in the rear, thus lending itself to the necessary security measures.

We would hope that Mrs. Rhodes and you would attend the dinner, and anyone that our guests of honor would like to have accompany them. The dinner could, of course, be a stag dinner if that was considered preferable.



Congressman Rhodes
August 31, 1976
Page (2)

I shall be most grateful for any consideration you
may be disposed to give this matter, and I deeply appreciate
your kindness in letting me discuss it with you.

Sincerely,

Joseph Kingsbury Smith
Joseph Kingsbury Smith

JKS/kh



Notes of Charles Leppert at the meeting of the President with the House and Senate Wednesday Group --

September 2, 1976

Senator Javits - The moderate to liberal wing of the Republican Party believes in trying to structure the election campaign with the result that moderates are brought to actively participate in the campaign. Javits also mentioned that the day care centers bill should not be vetoed.

The day care center bill has in it provisions for centers for the elderly and if these provisions are not adopted the elderly people of the Nation will be required to take a pauper's oath for care at such centers. A pauper's oath is offensive to the elderly and the President should give these provisions his utmost consideration since the elderly are critical to the Presidential campaign in terms of a voting bloc.

Senator Packwood - Addressed one issue -- the day care center bill. Packwood recommends that the President not veto the bill and, if vetoed, the veto will not be sustained. Packwood commended the President for his acceptance speech in Kansas City; termed it excellent, and stated that if the President could do eight or nine more of those types of speeches during the campaign to various organizations he would so recommend, and to let the vice presidential candidate Dole go campaigning and barnstorming around the country. The President mentioned that this could be a format and discussed the negotiations concerning the debates and possible locations for the debates.

Rep. Bill Frenzel - Stated that he and others in the moderate wing of the Republican Party were anxious to get the President elected and very proud of their role and the results that the moderates played in the nomination process.



Frenzel stated the polls showed the President a strong underdog, with much work to be done. He mentioned the Harris poll which says the President is strong in the industrial states and that the moderate group can be of tremendous help to the President where he is the strongest. The moderates want to know where and to whom and to what organizations they can make their input during the Presidential election campaign. Frenzel also stated that there may be an attempt to organize a Presidential speaker's bureau in the House, a research group, and anything else that can be done to help. Frenzel stated that the moderates also wanted to help build a party after the election, and that this group was uniquely qualified to assist the President in getting elected and to get other Republicans elected to office. Frenzel stated that he was not interested in working for a Republican Party which would only be one-third of the elected representatives to the House.

The President then discussed the campaign organization, including the steering committee and the President Ford Committee. The President stated that the conduit for all recommendations should go through Rog Morton. Frenzel concluded by stating that in his judgment the first TV debate between the President and Carter would be the major event of the campaign and strongly recommended that the President be well prepared for the first TV debate.

Rep. Stewart McKinney - Started out by saying that some eyes have popped when he came out and campaigned for the President, but he wanted it understood that this was out of his personal fondness for the President. McKinney has just returned from campaigning in the Northeast and reported that he found no enthusiasm for Jimmy Carter; the people in the Northeast do not trust him, and consider him to be a _____.

McKinney stated that the President needed a positive program in the industrial states and cities. He sees a positive approach to the President in these industrial states and cities. He has not seen such an effort on behalf of a Republican President in his twelve years of elective office except the effort to run away from McGovern. McKinney stated that the Republican Party's power base in the past has always been the Northeast and that the President should consider very seriously a positive approach to the Northeast industrial states and cities.



McKinney further stated that in his campaigning and discussions he found that the union organizers do not like Carter and have stated "My God, first McGovern and now Carter." In conclusion, McKinney stated that he would not get elected without the support of college students and strongly recommends that the President use his son Jack heavily on college campuses during the Presidential campaign.

Senator Schweiker - The Senator pledges his full support to the President and vice presidential nominee Dole. Schweiker stated that the first TV debate would be a most important event of the campaign and that the President should devote all his efforts and time to preparing for the first TV debate. Schweiker met with Senator Dole yesterday and stated to Dole that the moderate wing of the Republican Party is concerned over the direction in which the Party is going but that he recognizes a similar problem exists with regard to the conservative wing of the Party. Schweiker indicated his concern of the need to broaden the base of the Republican Party.

Senator Hatfield - Opened his comments by stating that no one group was going to determine this Presidential election. However, one group was coming into this campaign with significant influence and it is tied in with the religious awakening in the country. That group is the evangelical movement which appears to be closely associated with Jimmy Carter. Hatfield stated that this group has not traditionally been close to politics; have been aloof from it until now. If examined carefully, this group or some of the same individuals were much of the Reagan support across the country. He emphasized that in his judgment the evangelical group was growing in importance and influence as the campaign progresses. Hatfield stated it was important not to let this group defect from the Republican Party to Carter, but stated that the President could not out-Carter Carter in this group. Hatfield stated he thought it was the fastest growing religious group in the country and the Presidential campaign organization needed to be aware of its political strength in the campaign and pointed out that most religious publications are now showing this group for Carter when traditionally they have been with the GOP.



The President mentioned that he did have ties to the Calvinist movement in his old Congressional district which are some of the same elements of the evangelical movements. The President further stated that some efforts were being made on his behalf with these evangelical groups through his friends in his old Congressional district.

Rep. Pete McCloskey - Stated that the strident point is that the Christ-like evangelism of Carter is not as strong as the President's quiet faith, and in California the quiet faith and strong character of the President is coming through in favor of the President. McCloskey then pointed out that Carter's evangelism and praising of God is inconsistent with his position to bomb Hanoi. This re-born Christianity must be reckoned with in the campaign, but the doctrine of separation of church and state is still important and fundamental to our concept of government.

He hoped that this would be the last time during this campaign that the President would find it necessary to meet with this wing of the Party and thanked him for taking the time and effort to do it on this occasion and others in the past. McCloskey recommended a positive approach and strong leadership as being most important in the campaign and for the President to show that he is against the abuse of executive powers. He stated that the President should hit Congress for their Congressional abuses and encroachment on executive powers which have jeopardized his Presidential authority and power to act. He felt that the President should posture against the abuse of executive powers as exposed in the Lockheed situation, etc.

McCloskey then asked the President for his support of the moderate to liberal Republican candidates such as Danforth and Chafee. He stated that the two-party system in this country will depend on the philosophical balance that the President takes into this election. McCloskey then made several points on behalf of other Members which included Mark Andrews, Charley Thone, Caldwell Butler, who requested that the President send up a name for the federal judgeship in the western district of Virginia, regardless of whose name it be, and Silvio Conte, who recommends the President do a whistle-stop campaign by train.



McCloskey then stated that the President could make a strong issue out of Vietnam and his efforts for peace from the fact that the Vietnamese appear to be ready to give an accounting of MIAs if the President is ready and willing to admit Vietnam to the United Nations. He felt this issue could be of tremendous benefit to the President. McCloskey says the President should take credit for signing the Sunshine Bill and include those Members who participated in the passage of that legislation.

Next, McCloskey spoke to the Administration's maritime policy and stated that Paul Hall was ready to help but there was a need for a positive maritime program by the President. In conclusion, McCloskey said that many Democrats go along with the President on his reform and reorganization of federal regulatory agencies and their interrelationship with the business community.

Rep. Margaret Heckler - She stated that the convention was exciting and that there was good feedback. The convention left a good taste in people's mouths by showing that the President had taken the initiative and the offensive in the campaign. With regard to the forthcoming debates, she stated it was important for the President to be able to side-step questions and answers in the debate.

Mrs. Heckler then mentioned that on Main Street in Fall River, Massachusetts, in her district, which is overwhelmingly Democratic, that the people distrust Carter and that the labor leaders cannot sell him to the people. She felt that the President's chances in her district are excellent and that if possible she would recommend the President make a campaign swing along the Massachusetts - Hartford, Connecticut - Providence, Rhode Island axis.

Mrs. Heckler then stated that the President could not concede the cities to Carter, that the President needs an urban strategy, that the problems of the cities must be addressed with a positive approach and specific programs. She stated there was a need for an ethnic strategy and that the Republican Party traditionally only thinks to the eastern European ethnics. There is a need to look to the Italians and the southern Europeans, including the Portuguese, during this Presidential campaign.



She then spoke to the influence of the labor machine in the forthcoming campaign. She recommended that the President speak over the heads of labor leaders and to the rank and file of the unions, but not to try to destroy the labor machine but to appeal to the mass of union people who do not generally follow the labor machine.

She said that the President's style of campaign was too quiet; there was a need for him to be more aggressive and that his strong character and personality were his best assets. Mrs. Heckler then strongly recommended that the role of women in the campaign be increased and emphasized a need to bring more women into the campaign. She commended the President on the campaigning ability of Mrs. Ford as his number one asset. She concluded by saying that the campaign requires a positive approach with new strategies to win.

Rep. Thad Cochran - Stated that the President's speech at Yellowstone was excellent and had a positive impact on the people of the Nation. He stated there was a need to be more specific on the President's ten-year program for the national parks and spoke specifically to the Natchez Trail in Mississippi. He felt that the President's statement on national parks shows that the President is sensitive to the needs of the people and this was the kind of new initiative that was appealing.

Cochran then spoke to the forthcoming Presidential campaign in the southern states and said he did not know if the President could carry Mississippi, Georgia, and some of the other southern states. However, for selfish reasons and for the benefit of the Republican Party in the South, he requests the President to continue to emphasize his strong stance that the South is not going to be written off. He felt that the President's strong statements thus far not to write off the South have been effective in reaching the people in the South. He stated if the President could not campaign in the South then the vice presidential nominee Dole should go into the South as Dole is very much liked in the South.



The President then said that Bob Teeter had been taking some polls in the southern states on a state-by-state basis and that the results of those polls looked good in Virginia and Georgia. Cochran concluded by stating that in his own Congressional district, which is traditionally Democratic and black, that he was pleasantly surprised at the support for President Ford.

Rep. Joel Pritchard - Opened by asking the President to ignore the pleas of Senators and Congressmen to campaign in their states or districts and their campaign advice. Pritchard said "you can protect yourself from your enemies, but not your friends." Pritchard then read from a prepared statement on the debates and commented on the preparation, appearance of the President, participation by staff, rehearsal, that the President be rested prior to each debate, that his answers be short and responsive followed by a positive attack, that all work be completed far in advance of each debate, that there be no pressure placed upon the President prior to each debate, that the debate have a theme and that theme be plugged continuously, that the President look at the TV camera, and then to Carter, and not be looking down at notes or away from the camera. Most important was that the President have a commanding presence to show his leadership and that he is in control. Pritchard concluded by reiterating his admonitions on the President protecting himself from his friends versus his enemies.

Rep. Ralph Regula - Said amen to what had previously been said and mentioned that luck has a lot to do with politics. He recommended the President be positive all the way; that he play hard-ball on the economy. Regula stated it was his judgment that the people make up their minds on the basis of the polls, the economy, and their paycheck during the last week of the campaign. He emphasized the need for an up-beat feeling in the President's campaign during the last week. If there is a sense of the people at home being comfortable with the economy, this could be very beneficial to the GOP.



He stated that the President's quality of life theme was a good one, he liked the President's vision of America as he mentioned in his acceptance speech in Kansas City.

Regula recommended that the President kick off his campaign in Grand Rapids, Michigan. The President then asked what about Atlanta? Regula answered stating he preferred Grand Rapids. Regula then recommended that women be used in the campaign and suggested Congressional wives and Cabinet wives go out and speak. He stated that Martha Griffiths, in his judgment, was a good person to head up the Democrats for the President.

He stated that the perception by the people of the integrity of the individual candidate was most important in this year's election. Regula then concluded by stating that the people or electorate generally have a distaste for the bureaucracy and mismanagement of government programs. He said the people want better management of programs, and not the elimination of programs. The people want their money's worth and the President should seize upon this feeling and emphasize his attempts to provide better management of federal programs. Regula also mentioned the Cuyahoga Valley National Recreation Area in Ohio as something the President should take credit for.

Senator Schweiker - Schweiker recommends that the President in the first TV debate take two or three items in the Democratic platform that are an anathema to the South and pin Carter down during the debate to accepting the Party platform. By so doing, Carter will alienate the South, and if Carter did the reverse he would be alienating the northern liberals in the Democratic Party. Either way, a portion of Carter's base would erode and the President would come out looking good. The President should not be too subtle in doing this, as the North looks to Carter to stand by the Democrat Party platform.

Senator Javits - Concluded the meeting by thanking the President for having this group in to meet with him and stated that he would write a note to the President concerning labor support. Javits then asked the President not to forget one issue in the campaign which is peace and stated that the President is the apostle of peace.

Javits then said that the President should keep in mind that the Presidential election will be won or lost not by the campaign in the hustings or the debates, but in the Oval Office. Javits said that the President has asserted Presidential performance as the standard, and that the President's performance in office has been his major accomplishment.



Notes of Charles Leppert at the meeting of the President with the House and Senate Wednesday Group --

September 2, 1976

Senator Javits - The moderate to liberal wing of the Republican Party believes in trying to structure the election campaign with the result that moderates are brought to actively participate in the campaign. Javits also mentioned that the day care centers bill should not be vetoed.

The day care center bill has in it provisions for centers for the elderly and if these provisions are not adopted the elderly people of the Nation will be required to take a pauper's oath for care at such centers. A pauper's oath is offensive to the elderly and the President should give these provisions his utmost consideration since the elderly are critical to the Presidential campaign in terms of a voting bloc.

Senator Packwood - Addressed one issue -- the day care center bill. Packwood recommends that the President not veto the bill and, if vetoed, the veto will not be sustained. Packwood commended the President for his acceptance speech in Kansas City; termed it excellent, and stated that if the President could do eight or nine more of those types of speeches during the campaign to various organizations he would so recommend, and to let the vice presidential candidate Dole go campaigning and barnstorming around the country. The President mentioned that this could be a format and discussed the negotiations concerning the debates and possible locations for the debates.

Rep. Bill Frenzel - Stated that he and others in the moderate wing of the Republican Party were anxious to get the President elected and very proud of their role and the results that the moderates played in the nomination process.



Frenzel stated the polls showed the President a strong underdog, with much work to be done. He mentioned the Harris poll which says the President is strong in the industrial states and that the moderate group can be of tremendous help to the President where he is the strongest. The moderates want to know where and to whom and to what organizations they can make their input during the Presidential election campaign. Frenzel also stated that there may be an attempt to organize a Presidential speaker's bureau in the House, a research group, and anything else that can be done to help. Frenzel stated that the moderates also wanted to help build a party after the election, and that this group was uniquely qualified to assist the President in getting elected and to get other Republicans elected to office. Frenzel stated that he was not interested in working for a Republican Party which would only be one-third of the elected representatives to the House.

The President then discussed the campaign organization, including the steering committee and the President Ford Committee. The President stated that the conduit for all recommendations should go through Rog Morton. Frenzel concluded by stating that in his judgment the first TV debate between the President and Carter would be the major event of the campaign and strongly recommended that the President be well prepared for the first TV debate.

Rep. Stewart McKinney - Started out by saying that some eyes have popped when he came out and campaigned for the President, but he wanted it understood that this was out of his personal fondness for the President. McKinney has just returned from campaigning in the Northeast and reported that he found no enthusiasm for Jimmy Carter; the people in the Northeast do not trust him, and consider him to be a _____.

McKinney stated that the President needed a positive program in the industrial states and cities. He sees a positive approach to the President in these industrial states and cities. He has not seen such an effort on behalf of a Republican President in his twelve years of elective office except the effort to run away from McGovern. McKinney stated that the Republican Party's power base in the past has always been the Northeast and that the President should consider very seriously a positive approach to the Northeast industrial states and cities.



McKinney further stated that in his campaigning and discussions he found that the union organizers do not like Carter and have stated "My God, first McGovern and now Carter." In conclusion, McKinney stated that he would not get elected without the support of college students and strongly recommends that the President use his son Jack heavily on college campuses during the Presidential campaign.

Senator Schweiker - The Senator pledges his full support to the President and vice presidential nominee Dole. Schweiker stated that the first TV debate would be a most important event of the campaign and that the President should devote all his efforts and time to preparing for the first TV debate. Schweiker met with Senator Dole yesterday and stated to Dole that the moderate wing of the Republican Party is concerned over the direction in which the Party is going but that he recognizes a similar problem exists with regard to the conservative wing of the Party. Schweiker indicated his concern of the need to broaden the base of the Republican Party.

Senator Hatfield - Opened his comments by stating that no one group was going to determine this Presidential election. However, one group was coming into this campaign with significant influence and it is tied in with the religious awakening in the country. That group is the evangelical movement which appears to be closely associated with Jimmy Carter. Hatfield stated that this group has not traditionally been close to politics; have been aloof from it until now. If examined carefully, this group or some of the same individuals were much of the Reagan support across the country. He emphasized that in his judgment the evangelical group was growing in importance and influence as the campaign progresses. Hatfield stated it was important not to let this group defect from the Republican Party to Carter, but stated that the President could not out-Carter Carter in this group. Hatfield stated he thought it was the fastest growing religious group in the country and the Presidential campaign organization needed to be aware of its political strength in the campaign and pointed out that most religious publications are now showing this group for Carter when traditionally they have been with the GOP.



The President mentioned that he did have ties to the Calvinist movement in his old Congressional district which are some of the same elements of the evangelical movements. The President further stated that some efforts were being made on his behalf with these evangelical groups through his friends in his old Congressional district.

Rep. Pete McCloskey - Stated that the strident point is that the Christ-like evangelism of Carter is not as strong as the President's quiet faith, and in California the quiet faith and strong character of the President is coming through in favor of the President. McCloskey then pointed out that Carter's evangelism and praising of God is inconsistent with his position to bomb Hanoi. This re-born Christianity must be reckoned with in the campaign, but the doctrine of separation of church and state is still important and fundamental to our concept of government.

He hoped that this would be the last time during this campaign that the President would find it necessary to meet with this wing of the Party and thanked him for taking the time and effort to do it on this occasion and others in the past. McCloskey recommended a positive approach and strong leadership as being most important in the campaign and for the President to show that he is against the abuse of executive powers. He stated that the President should hit Congress for their Congressional abuses and encroachment on executive powers which have jeopardized his Presidential authority and power to act. He felt that the President should posture against the abuse of executive powers as exposed in the Lockheed situation, etc.

McCloskey then asked the President for his support of the moderate to liberal Republican candidates such as Danforth and Chafee. He stated that the two-party system in this country will depend on the philosophical balance that the President takes into this election. McCloskey then made several points on behalf of other Members which included Mark Andrews, Charley Thone, Caldwell Butler, who requested that the President send up a name for the federal judgeship in the western district of Virginia, regardless of whose name it be, and Silvio Conte, who recommends the President do a whistle-stop campaign by train.



McCloskey then stated that the President could make a strong issue out of Vietnam and his efforts for peace from the fact that the Vietnamese appear to be ready to give an accounting of MIAs if the President is ready and willing to admit Vietnam to the United Nations. He felt this issue could be of tremendous benefit to the President. McCloskey says the President should take credit for signing the Sunshine Bill and include those Members who participated in the passage of that legislation.

Next, McCloskey spoke to the Administration's maritime policy and stated that Paul Hall was ready to help but there was a need for a positive maritime program by the President. In conclusion, McCloskey said that many Democrats go along with the President on his reform and reorganization of federal regulatory agencies and their inter-relationship with the business community.

Rep. Margaret Heckler - She stated that the convention was exciting and that there was good feedback. The convention left a good taste in people's mouths by showing that the President had taken the initiative and the offensive in the campaign. With regard to the forthcoming debates, she stated it was important for the President to be able to side-step questions and answers in the debate.

Mrs. Heckler then mentioned that on Main Street in Fall River, Massachusetts, in her district, which is overwhelmingly Democratic, that the people distrust Carter and that the labor leaders cannot sell him to the people. She felt that the President's chances in her district are excellent and that if possible she would recommend the President make a campaign swing along the Massachusetts - Hartford, Connecticut - Providence, Rhode Island axis.

Mrs. Heckler then stated that the President could not concede the cities to Carter, that the President needs an urban strategy, that the problems of the cities must be addressed with a positive approach and specific programs. She stated there was a need for an ethnic strategy and that the Republican Party traditionally only thinks to the eastern European ethnics. There is a need to look to the Italians and the southern Europeans, including the Portuguese, during this Presidential campaign.



She then spoke to the influence of the labor machine in the forthcoming campaign. She recommended that the President speak over the heads of labor leaders and to the rank and file of the unions, but not to try to destroy the labor machine but to appeal to the mass of union people who do not generally follow the labor machine.

She said that the President's style of campaign was too quiet; there was a need for him to be more aggressive and that his strong character and personality were his best assets. Mrs. Heckler then strongly recommended that the role of women in the campaign be increased and emphasized a need to bring more women into the campaign. She commended the President on the campaigning ability of Mrs. Ford as his number one asset. She concluded by saying that the campaign requires a positive approach with new strategies to win.

Rep. Thad Cochran - Stated that the President's speech at Yellowstone was excellent and had a positive impact on the people of the Nation. He stated there was a need to be more specific on the President's ten-year program for the national parks and spoke specifically to the Natchez Trail in Mississippi. He felt that the President's statement on national parks shows that the President is sensitive to the needs of the people and this was the kind of new initiative that was appealing.

Cochran then spoke to the forthcoming Presidential campaign in the southern states and said he did not know if the President could carry Mississippi, Georgia, and some of the other southern states. However, for selfish reasons and for the benefit of the Republican Party in the South, he requests the President to continue to emphasize his strong stance that the South is not going to be written off. He felt that the President's strong statements thus far not to write off the South have been effective in reaching the people in the South. He stated if the President could not campaign in the South then the vice presidential nominee Dole should go into the South as Dole is very much liked in the South.



The President then said that Bob Teeter had been taking some polls in the southern states on a state-by-state basis and that the results of those polls looked good in Virginia and Georgia. Cochran concluded by stating that in his own Congressional district, which is traditionally Democratic and black, that he was pleasantly surprised at the support for President Ford.

Rep. Joel Pritchard - Opened by asking the President to ignore the pleas of Senators and Congressmen to campaign in their states or districts and their campaign advice. Pritchard said "you can protect yourself from your enemies, but not your friends." Pritchard then read from a prepared statement on the debates and commented on the preparation, appearance of the President, participation by staff, rehearsal, that the President be rested prior to each debate, that his answers be short and responsive followed by a positive attack, that all work be completed far in advance of each debate, that there be no pressure placed upon the President prior to each debate, that the debate have a theme and that theme be plugged continuously, that the President look at the TV camera, and then to Carter, and not be looking down at notes or away from the camera. Most important was that the President have a commanding presence to show his leadership and that he is in control. Pritchard concluded by reiterating his admonitions on the President protecting himself from his friends versus his enemies.

Rep. Ralph Regula - Said amen to what had previously been said and mentioned that luck has a lot to do with politics. He recommended the President be positive all the way; that he play hard-ball on the economy. Regula stated it was his judgment that the people make up their minds on the basis of the polls, the economy, and their paycheck during the last week of the campaign. He emphasized the need for an up-beat feeling in the President's campaign during the last week. If there is a sense of the people at home being comfortable with the economy, this could be very beneficial to the GOP.



He stated that the President's quality of life theme was a good one, he liked the President's vision of America as he mentioned in his acceptance speech in Kansas City.

Regula recommended that the President kick off his campaign in Grand Rapids, Michigan. The President then asked what about Atlanta? Regula answered stating he preferred Grand Rapids. Regula then recommended that women be used in the campaign and suggested Congressional wives and Cabinet wives go out and speak. He stated that Martha Griffiths, in his judgment, was a good person to head up the Democrats for the President.

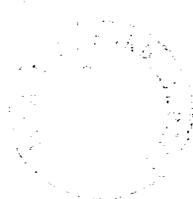
He stated that the perception by the people of the integrity of the individual candidate was most important in this year's election. Regula then concluded by stating that the people or electorate generally have a distaste for the bureaucracy and mismanagement of government programs. He said the people want better management of programs, and not the elimination of programs. The people want their money's worth and the President should seize upon this feeling and emphasize his attempts to provide better management of federal programs. Regula also mentioned the Cuyahoga Valley National Recreation Area in Ohio as something the President should take credit for.

Senator Schweiker - Schweiker recommends that the President in the first TV debate take two or three items in the Democratic platform that are an anathema to the South and pin Carter down during the debate to accepting the Party platform. By so doing, Carter will alienate the South, and if Carter did the reverse he would be alienating the northern liberals in the Democratic Party. Either way, a portion of Carter's base would erode and the President would come out looking good. The President should not be too subtle in doing this, as the North looks to Carter to stand by the Democrat Party platform.

Senator Javits - Concluded the meeting by thanking the President for having this group in to meet with him and stated that he would write a note to the President concerning labor support. Javits then asked the President not to forget one issue in the campaign which is peace and stated that the President is the apostle of peace.



Javits then said that the President should keep in mind that the Presidential election will be won or lost not by the campaign in the hustings or the debates, but in the Oval Office. Javits said that the President has asserted Presidential performance as the standard, and that the President's performance in office has been his major accomplishment.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SEP 7 1976

~~CL~~
~~AR~~
~~TC~~

September 7, 1976



MEMORANDUM FOR:

BILL NICHOLSON

FROM:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF *M. B.*

SUBJECT:

Congressional Photo Opportunity

Incumbent Republican Members of Congress wish to schedule a session to be photographed with the President for campaign purposes.

As you know, we did this for challengers prior to Kansas City, but delayed the incumbents to post-convention.

cc: Jack Marsh
Charlie Leppert



September 10, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DOUGLAS J. SMITH

FROM:

CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *CLJ*

This is in response to your request for the names of Members pursuant to my memo of August 25, 1976 (copies attached).

The names suggested are as follows:

Rep. W. S. (Bill) Stuckey (D. - Ga.)
Rep. Robert L. F. Sikes (D. - Fla.)
Rep. Dawson Mathis (D. - Ga.)
Rep. Joe D. Waggoner, Jr. (D. - La.)
Rep. Edward F. Hebert (D. - La.)
Rep. Phil M. Landrum (D. - Ga.)

In addition, attached is a list of Members of Congress who are retiring, etc., some of whom should be contacted to assist in the Ford-Dole effort.

cc: Dick Cheney
John Andrews
Jack Marsh
Max Friedersdorf



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 2, 1976

SEP 2 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHARLES LEPPERT, JR.

FROM: DOUGLAS J. SMITH *DJS*

Per your memo attached we think it important we get a list of the Congressmen right away. Can you help us?

*Harriet
Loggins
Zanderson*



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 25, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BOB HARTMANN

THRU:

JACK MARSH
MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM:

CHARLES LEPPERT, JR.

SUBJECT:

'76 Campaign

Joe Bartlett asked me to inform you that a number of Congressmen from southern states have expressed to him their agreement with the Ford-Dole ticket and their strong, passionate opposition to the Carter-Mondale ticket.

Joe stated that some of these Members stated that they could not live with the Carter-Mondale ticket. Joe felt that somebody in the Ford-Dole campaign organization should touch base with such Members.

M.B.

CLJ



RETIREES

- Sen. Paul Fannin (B-Ariz)
- Sen. Hiram Fong (B-Haw)
- Sen. Phillip Hart (D-Mich)
- Sen. Roman Hruska (B-Neb)
- Sen. John Pastore (D-RI)
- Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont)
- Sen. Hugh Scott (B-Pa)
- Sen. Stuart Symington (D-Mo)
- Rep. Carl Albert (D-Okla)
- Rep. Edward Blester (B-Pa)
- Rep. Dominick V. Daniels (D-NJ)
- Rep. Thomas L. Downing (D-Va)
- Rep. Edwin Eshleman (B-Pa)
- Rep. Joe L. Ewins (D-Tenn)
- Rep. Gilbert Gude (B-Md)
- Rep. James Haley (D-Fla)
- Rep. F. Edward Hebert (D-La)
- Rep. Wayne Hays (D-Ohio)
- Rep. David Henderson (D-NC)
- Rep. Floyd V. Hicks (D-Wash)
- Rep. William Hungate (D-Mo)
- Rep. Edward Hutchinson (B-Mich)
- Rep. John Jarman (B-Okla)
- Rep. Robert E. Jones (D-Ala)
- Rep. Joseph E. Karth (D-Minn)
- Rep. Phil Landrum (D-Ga)
- Rep. Wilbur D. Mills (D-Ark)
- Rep. Thomas Morgan (D-Pa)
- Rep. Charles Mosher (B-Ohio)
- Rep. William Randall (D-Mo)
- Rep. Tom Bees (D-Calif)
- Rep. Herman Schneebell (B-Pa)
- Rep. Robert G. Stephens Jr. (D-Ga)
- Rep. W. S. "Bill" Stuckey (D-Ga)
- Rep. Leonor E. Sullivan (D-Mo)
- Rep. Roy A. Taylor (D-NC)

DEATHS

- Rep. Jerry Pettis (B-Calif) — (seat filled by Rep. Shirley Pettis, B-Calif)
- Rep. John Kluczynski (D-Ill) — (seat filled by Rep. John Fary, D-Ill)
- Rep. Wright Patman (D-Tex)† — seat filled by Rep. Sam B. Hall, Jr. (D-Tex)
- Rep. Torbert Macdonald (D-Mass)† Special election, Nov. 2
- Rep. William Barrett (D-Pa) Special election, Nov. 2

- Rep. Jerry Litton (D-Mo)† after winning Senate nomination
- Announced retiree

BESIGNATIONS

- Rep. Richard Fulton (D-Tenn) — to become mayor of Nashville (seat filled by Clifford Allen, D-Tenn)
- Rep. Robert Casey (D-Tex) — to become a Federal Maritime Commissioner (seat filled by Ron Paul, B-Tex)
- Rep. James F. Hastings (B-NY) — to become a lobbyist (seat filled by Stanley N. Lundine, D-NY)

RUNNING FOR SENATE

- Rep. Bella Abzug (D-NY)
- Rep. John B. Conlan (B-Ariz)
- Rep. Marvin Esch (B-Mich)*
- Rep. William Green (D-Pa)*
- Rep. John Heinz III (B-Pa)*
- Rep. Spark Matsunaga (D-Hawaii)
- Rep. John McCollister (B-Neb)*
- Rep. John Melcher (D-Mont)*
- Rep. Patsy Mink (D-Hawaii)
- Rep. Peter Poyser (B-NY)
- Rep. Donald Riegle, Jr. (D-Mich)*
- Rep. Paul Sarbanes (D-Md)*
- Rep. Alan Steelman (B-Tex)*
- Rep. Sam Steiger (B-Ariz) Nominated

RUNNING FOR GOVERNOR

- Rep. Pierre DuPont (B-DeI)

DEFEATED IN PRIMARY

- Rep. Ray Madden (D-Ind)
- Rep. Andrew Hinshaw (B-Calif)
- Rep. Otto Passman (D-La)

DEFEATED PRIMARY FOR OTHER OFFICE

- Rep. Alphonzo Bell (B-Calif) for Senate
- Rep. Phil Hayes (D-Ind) for Senate
- Rep. Ken Hechler (D-WVa) for Governor
- Rep. James O'Hara (D-Mich) for Senate
- Rep. James Stanton (D-Ohio) for Senate
- Rep. James Symington (D-Mo) for Senate



September 15, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: SUSAN PORTER

THROUGH: MAX FRIEDERSDORF
CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *CLJ.*

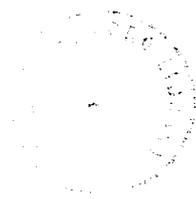
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *T.L.*

SUBJECT: Request from Rep. Alan
Steelman (R.-Texas)

As indicated in my August 26th memo to you, Congressman Steelman is running for the Senate seat now occupied by Senator Bentsen of Texas.

Since a representative of the First Family was not able to participate in the September 16th fund-raising event in Dallas, Texas, Steelman would be most appreciative if Mrs. Ford or one of the Ford children could be a part of a major fund-raising event in Houston, Texas on September 28th.

The Congressman asked that you contact him or Mr. Marvin Collins as you pursue this matter further. Both Steelman and Collins can be reached through the Congressman's office here in Washington at 225-2231.



September 20, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK CHENEY

THRU: JACK MARSH
MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM: CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *CLJ.*

SUBJECT: CBS "60 Minutes"

The minority staff of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee called to inform me that the TV crew et al. from CBS "60 Minutes" have been interviewing Members and staff of that Committee concerning Governor Carter's connections with maritime unions.

It appears that "60 Minutes" is planning a show on Carter and his maritime connections approximately three weeks before the election to show Carter's close association with Jesse Calhoon, President of MEBA (Maritime Engineers). They have evidence that MEBA has contributed more funds to the Carter campaign than any other union, that an issue paper prepared for Carter by Calhoon cites maritime problems such as the cargo preference bill, closing-of federal and state maritime academies, and that future training of maritime personnel be done at union-sponsored schools and that the resolution of these problems would be extremely beneficial to Calhoon's MEBA.

Another issue that will be brought out is the financial contributions by maritime unions to the Members of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee and the correlation of the contributions to the passage of maritime legislation. The evidence here tends to show heavy contributions to the Democrats with only a few Republican Members involved.



I am told that Dick Clark of the "60 Minutes" staff has sufficient evidence to connect Governor Carter to the maritime union contributions and his formulation of maritime policy.

I am further advised that the Maritime Engineers (MEBA) have refused all "60 Minutes" requests for interviews.



September 22, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF
THROUGH: CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *CLJ.*
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *TL.*
SUBJECT: Presidential Speech
Suggestions from
Rep. Jack Edwards (R.-Ala.)

As we discussed, when Jack arrived at the DOD Appropriations signing ceremony, he handed me notes suggesting speech material for the President's appearances in Mobile, Alabama. The following are the transcribed notes:

Now there has been some criticism of my vetoes. Well let me tell you, until we can get more men in Congress like Jack Edwards, Bill Dickinson, and John Buchanan, who will stop sending me these wild, big-spending, budget-busting bills, I'm going to have to keep on vetoing legislation.

Until the people of this country send Jack and Bill and John some help in Congress, they are going to have to continue to try to hold the line and I'm going to have to continue to refuse to sign bad bills.

The thing that really disturbs me is the thought of Jimmy Carter in the White House with the Democratically-controlled Congress.

They would make the Great Society look like a Sunday School picnic.



File

September 24, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF
FROM: JOE JENCKES
SUBJECT: The First Debate -- Senate Reactions

Following are the reactions of selected Senators to the President's performance during the First Ford/Carter Debate (September 23, 1976). These reactions were received between 9:00 a.m. and 11:00 a.m. this morning.

GRIFFIN

1. "The President's closing statement was not a "ten strike." It should have been. It tended to be generally rambling and not well organized which was unfortunate in light of the advance notice of this golden opportunity."
2. "Generally, the President was ahead throughout the debate -- particularly in the first 20 minutes which is most important. That is when the President won the debate."
3. "In preparing for the next debate, carefully make a list of telling points that should be made regardless of what the questions are. The questions asked tend to be general and broad enough to allow a lot of flexibility so long as the question is answered."
4. "Either candidate would have scored a lot of points last night if he had injected just a little humor somewhere in the proceedings -- particularly after the sound breakdown. Both were stiff and unreal in reacting to this situation."
5. "DON'T let down or be too confident about the next debate. Carter will work harder and will be better organized. The President will be expected to do better on defense and foreign policy -- that offers great opportunity for Carter to pull an upset."



H. SCOTT

"The President had a definite edge. I thought Carter misquoted his record as Governor and the President scored points on Carter regarding Carter's veto record. Carter made mistake in referring to the depression of the '40's."

The Senator also stated that he did not believe that the President made the best use of time in his closing. Could have been prepared in advance. Should have been more forceful. The Senator feels that Carter beat the President on the closing. The President had no "specific vision of future."

BAKER

"The President won on points. No knock-out for either side. The general format favors the President. The President's closing statement was not as good as other parts of debate."

CURTIS

"It's clear that the President won the debate. I'm glad that it wasn't a real debate because in true debate the participants get involved in minutiae. The format being used allows the President to say what he wants to the American people."

STEVENS

The Senator watched the debate with his children who are of college age. They felt the President had the edge. His daughter said she "liked" the President.

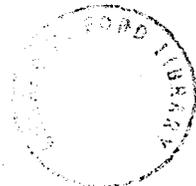
The Senator felt the President came over with a Father image. In addition, the Senator believes that the President should not always be positioned on the right-hand side of the screen. The left side is more dominant. We read and look from left to right.

The Senator felt that the President was superior on substance. He also suggested that the President look at the camera instead of the questioner and that the President not wear a vest in one of the future debates. Believes that too many statistics were used by both participants last night. Said Carter's sentences were too long and rambling.



GOLDWATER

"The President was a clear winner. The President did a wonderful job. I think the President made Carter look irresponsible and totally lacking in a knowledge of government. The President should have lambasted Carter a little more. It is essential that the President continue to put the heat on the failures of Congress."



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 24, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM:

CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *Clg.*

SUBJECT:

The First Debate -
House Reactions

Attached are the reactions of Members of the House of Representatives to the First Debate between the President and his opponent on September 23, 1976.



Bob Michel - Thought the President did very well. The Peoria paper called 74 people in a survey -- 54 responded. Sixteen people thought the President won the debate - 12 people thought Carter won - and 26 people felt it was a draw. Michel says this survey indicates that there is still a big undecided vote out in this neck of the woods. Michel was glad to see that the President finally got some national press on his program for tax reductions, holding the line on government spending, and the use of the veto. People talking to Michel said they were with the President on these points and there was no need for the President to apologize for his position on tax reductions, government spending, and the use of the veto. Said Carter rambled at first and picked up momentum in his summation. Overall he was very happy and pleased with the President's performance.

Barber Conable - Thought debate went all right, but not thrilled by either performance. The President came off better than Carter. The President did well not to press harder on the issues than he did because the issues are with the President and he thought the President's general posture on the issues was a good one. Thought the President's summation was poor and cliché. Carter comes across as too glib and does not come across as well as the President. Suggests that the President work on his summation more. Says the President emerged as Gerald Ford and that is the right way to do it and not be somebody that he is not. He thought the President's statistical countering was good but somewhat dull. Says it appears that the general public and newspaper reaction is that the President clearly won. Says if Gerald Ford continues to be Gerald Ford he will continue to close the gap and can win this election with the issues in the President's favor.

Sam Devine - President should look at the camera and not at the person asking the question when he responds - direct his eyes at the camera. Says President lacks the killer instinct and missed three or four opportunities to really give it to Carter. For example, when Carter said that the tax structure is a mess, full of loopholes for the wealthy and rich people of this country - the President should have hit Carter for taking full advantage of these loopholes in his own personal income tax returns. Felt the President



took one hour and ten minutes to hit the Democratic-controlled Congress which wrote the tax laws and created other economic problems.

Guy Vander Jagt - Felt he was not the proper person to respond because of his bias and prejudice toward the President. Incensed that Carter does not know what he is talking about regarding taxes and tax structure. Felt the President totally overpowered Carter on the tax issue but feels that his reaction is not shared by others. Says all Carter has done on the tax issue is learn a few words and that's all. Talked to people back in his district and they felt the President did well.

Al Quie - Felt President was clearly the winner in the first part of the debate and this was good first impression. Felt that the viewing public got the impression that the President knew his job and where he was going and where he wanted to go. Said Carter at first was ill at ease, rambled, and didn't know where he was going. Quie says that then Carter picked up steam as the debate went on. Quie felt the President should have hit the Democrat-controlled Congress much earlier, specifically on the energy question. Felt that the President did not show enough sympathy for the poor and unemployed. President should have stated what he had done and his programs for the poor and unemployed and how the Democrat-controlled Congress has thwarted his efforts. Feels the President should take a lot more credit than he does on education issues. Says President did OK and that Carter started out fuzzy and is going to have to stay on that track.

John Murtha - President should look more at the camera and not the panel asking the questions. He felt the President showed confidence, mastery of the issues, and displayed leadership with confidence. He felt the cut-off or technical difficulties was very bad and made everything uncomfortable. The President in the debate established himself as able to run the government but he didn't think the debate changed any minds. He felt that the debate showed that Carter has a problem with the issues and that the President is doing the best job under some difficult circumstances. He felt the President had the edge and destroyed Carter's credibility when he spoke of the increase in jobs in state government when Carter was governor of Georgia. He felt



Carter was more sincere in his closing statement and more interested in people. He felt an important point from the debate was that the President did not have to defend himself on a whole range of issues and Carter will have a difficult time explaining how he is going to cut defense spending in his district. Murtha feels that this was the toughest one of the debates since it involved the economy and domestic issues. He says from here on out it's downhill for Carter because he does not think he will be able to match the President on foreign policy. Murtha said that Carter looked at the camera and his final statement was very good.



Rep. Bill Armstrong - Thought that the debate went reasonably well. Strong point in the President's favor was that Carter came out clearly as the candidate advocating big spending, big programs and more big government. He felt the President's image was that of a leader trying to reduce the size of Government and reduce taxes.

He felt the President missed an opportunity early in the debates to come out swinging against the Congress. By the time this issue was raised, he felt that most of the audience had tuned out the debate.

Because of the recent publicity in PLAYBOY, he felt that Carter went into the debate as the underdog. He feels, therefore, that the debate helped Carter too as he was able to hold his own.

Rep. Marjorie Holt - Carter did better than she had hoped he would. However, the President clearly came out more forcefully and more as a leader. She would have liked to have seen the President hit harder on the issues - be more on the offensive.

Rep. John Wydler - The President won! Carter was not clear on any issues. He never answered any of the difficult questions. The President came across as a leader who knew what he wanted to say and said it. He was very pleased that the President made a statement that he would sign the tax bill.

He felt that the hardest question that the President had to respond to was the question on the pardon. He would like to suggest in the future the President emphasize the difference between granting a blanket pardon and a pardon granted on an individual basis on merit. He should explain how he agonized over the Nixon pardon and how it too was judged on its merits and in retrospect history has shown that he was correct.

Rep. Silvio Conte - He felt that the President should have been more aggressive. On the subject of tax loopholes, he said that the President should have brought out the fact that Carter took advantage of those loopholes.

Congressman Conte said that the President let Carter get away with using the time to talk politics, making statements which were irrelevant to the questions. He said he didn't think the debate made that much difference.



Jim Quillen - Believes that the President did a tremendous job and came out far ahead of Carter in the debate.

Al Cederberg - Noted that he viewed the debate with Mrs. Ford in the White House and that he talked to the President following the event last night. Suggests that the President should be more aggressive and "rougher" on Carter. Stated the issue of the debate was clear -- Carter waffling around the Democratic platform, in essence calling for increased taxes along with increased federal expenditures -- the President projecting his programs which would reduce taxes and reduce federal spending.

Jack Edwards - Thought Carter and the President did a good job of putting the Democratic and Republican philosophies of government in perspective. Believes the President should have emphasized more that it is Congress who has failed in allowing a tax reduction/spending ceiling and an overall energy policy. Noted that he believed Carter did a better job of working into his answers political rhetorical comments. Stated that overall public contacts made to him expressed a very good feeling with the President's appearance.

Bill Whitehurst - Felt that until the conclusion the President definitely had the upper hand in the debate. Commended the President for exposing Governor Carter's record in Georgia. On balance, feels the President came across better, however, suggests that he become more aggressive in his delivery and attacks on Carter.

Clarence Brown - Believes the President did a good job, but the debate seemed dull and there was no real audience-holding power. Thinks many errors of fact were made by Carter as he addressed economic issues. Therefore, Bud suggests that the minority staff of the Joint Economic Committee review the transcript of the debate and issue a press release pointing out the errors in fact as advocated by Carter. Overall, it was his feeling the President came out on the positive side.



Bill Young - Saw the debate as being a "draw" between Carter and the President. It appeared that Carter was more relaxed and confident, but the President walked all over Carter on substance. Because the economy is the President's most vulnerable issue and Carter was not able to win this debate, believes the President is sitting in a very favorable position for the remainder of the debates as well as the campaign.

Joe Waggoner - Was returning to Louisiana while the debate was being aired on TV and therefore was only able to hear about 45 minutes of the debate on radio. What he heard definitely was in the President's favor. It was his opinion that Carter manifested the fact that he doesn't have a grasp of our tax laws, the importance of a free enterprise system, and our current economic situation. Suggests that in forthcoming debates the President may want to follow Carter's answers by simply stating "Governor Carter didn't answer the question" and then proceed to give specific details as to why. Again, thought the President handled himself very well but stated that in listening to the debate on radio the President's speech often seemed broken.

Sonny Montgomery - The President was forceful and in charge. Believes that in the next several days Ford will be described as being the clear winner. However, the President's closing statement was not as good as Carter's. However, Carter gave his standard political speech used daily on the campaign trail.



Rep. Albert Johnson - Thought the President did very well. Was impressed with the debates and was quite enthusiastic with the way he thought the President got through to the people tagging the Democrats as big spenders.

As far as criticism goes, he felt the President could have been more forceful in his closing remarks. He was very pleased with the AP poll that came out last night after the debate.

Rep. Harold Runnels - Thought the President did real well but please stop looking at questioners and look at the camera.

Encourages the President to keep hitting Carter on the Georgia issues - increased employees, increases in bonded indebtedness, increases in budget, etc.



Rep. Bill Dickinson - He thinks the President did a good job. Carter does a better job of glossing over things - making them simple and not bothering with facts.

Discrepancy with the figures being used. If the President is right, he should nail Carter with it.

The President's appearance was good. However, the President should smile a little more, but smile naturally, not like Carter. The President projects well.

Carter took a few cheap shots. He does not know whether it is a plus or minus for the President with the viewers

The President should talk about how the Democrats are running against their own platform and he should carp on this. What the Democrats are trying to do is "walk away and disavow their child. It is their little bastard they are having to work with."

Rep. Del Clawson - The President was good, but look at the camera.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 24, 1976

Five

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM:

CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *Clg.*

SUBJECT:

The First Debate -
House Reactions

Attached are the reactions of Members of the House of Representatives to the First Debate between the President and his opponent on September 23, 1976.



Bob Michel - Thought the President did very well. The Peoria paper called 74 people in a survey -- 54 responded. Sixteen people thought the President won the debate - 12 people thought Carter won - and 26 people felt it was a draw. Michel says this survey indicates that there is still a big undecided vote out in this neck of the woods. Michel was glad to see that the President finally got some national press on his program for tax reductions, holding the line on government spending, and the use of the veto. People talking to Michel said they were with the President on these points and there was no need for the President to apologize for his position on tax reductions, government spending, and the use of the veto. Said Carter rambled at first and picked up momentum in his summation. Overall he was very happy and pleased with the President's performance.

Barber Conable - Thought debate went all right, but not thrilled by either performance. The President came off better than Carter. The President did well not to press harder on the issues than he did because the issues are with the President and he thought the President's general posture on the issues was a good one. Thought the President's summation was poor and cliché. Carter comes across as too glib and does not come across as well as the President. Suggests that the President work on his summation more. Says the President emerged as Gerald Ford and that is the right way to do it and not be somebody that he is not. He thought the President's statistical countering was good but somewhat dull. Says it appears that the general public and newspaper reaction is that the President clearly won. Says if Gerald Ford continues to be Gerald Ford he will continue to close the gap and can win this election with the issues in the President's favor.

Sam Devine - President should look at the camera and not at the person asking the question when he responds - direct his eyes at the camera. Says President lacks the killer instinct and missed three or four opportunities to really give it to Carter. For example, when Carter said that the tax structure is a mess, full of loopholes for the wealthy and rich people of this country - the President should have hit Carter for taking full advantage of these loopholes in his own personal income tax returns. Felt the President



took one hour and ten minutes to hit the Democratic-controlled Congress which wrote the tax laws and created other economic problems.

Guy Vander Jagt - Felt he was not the proper person to respond because of his bias and prejudice toward the President. Incensed that Carter does not know what he is talking about regarding taxes and tax structure. Felt the President totally overpowered Carter on the tax issue but feels that his reaction is not shared by others. Says all Carter has done on the tax issue is learn a few words and that's all. Talked to people back in his district and they felt the President did well.

Al Quie - Felt President was clearly the winner in the first part of the debate and this was good first impression. Felt that the viewing public got the impression that the President knew his job and where he was going and where he wanted to go. Said Carter at first was ill at ease, rambled, and didn't know where he was going. Quie says that then Carter picked up steam as the debate went on. Quie felt the President should have hit the Democrat-controlled Congress much earlier, specifically on the energy question. Felt that the President did not show enough sympathy for the poor and unemployed. President should have stated what he had done and his programs for the poor and unemployed and how the Democrat-controlled Congress has thwarted his efforts. Feels the President should take a lot more credit than he does on education issues. Says President did OK and that Carter started out fuzzy and is going to have to stay on that track.

John Murtha - President should look more at the camera and not the panel asking the questions. He felt the President showed confidence, mastery of the issues, and displayed leadership with confidence. He felt the cut-off or technical difficulties was very bad and made everything uncomfortable. The President in the debate established himself as able to run the government but he didn't think the debate changed any minds. He felt that the debate showed that Carter has a problem with the issues and that the President is doing the best job under some difficult circumstances. He felt the President had the edge and destroyed Carter's credibility when he spoke of the increase in jobs in state government when Carter was governor of Georgia. He felt



Carter was more sincere in his closing statement and more interested in people. He felt an important point from the debate was that the President did not have to defend himself on a whole range of issues and Carter will have a difficult time explaining how he is going to cut defense spending in his district. Murtha feels that this was the toughest one of the debates since it involved the economy and domestic issues. He says from here on out it's downhill for Carter because he does not think he will be able to match the President on foreign policy. Murtha said that Carter looked at the camera and his final statement was very good.



Rep. Bill Armstrong - Thought that the debate went reasonably well. Strong point in the President's favor was that Carter came out clearly as the candidate advocating big spending, big programs and more big government. He felt the President's image was that of a leader trying to reduce the size of Government and reduce taxes.

He felt the President missed an opportunity early in the debates to come out swinging against the Congress. By the time this issue was raised, he felt that most of the audience had tuned out the debate.

Because of the recent publicity in PLAYBOY, he felt that Carter went into the debate as the underdog. He feels, therefore, that the debate helped Carter too as he was able to hold his own.

Rep. Marjorie Holt - Carter did better than she had hoped he would. However, the President clearly came out more forcefully and more as a leader. She would have liked to have seen the President hit harder on the issues - be more on the offensive.

Rep. John Wydler - The President won! Carter was not clear on any issues. He never answered any of the difficult questions. The President came across as a leader who knew what he wanted to say and said it. He was very pleased that the President made a statement that he would sign the tax bill.

He felt that the hardest question that the President had to respond to was the question on the pardon. He would like to suggest in the future the President emphasize the difference between granting a blanket pardon and a pardon granted on an individual basis on merit. He should explain how he agonized over the Nixon pardon and how it too was judged on its merits and in retrospect history has shown that he was correct.

Rep. Silvio Conte - He felt that the President should have been more aggressive. On the subject of tax loopholes, he said that the President should have brought out the fact that Carter took advantage of those loopholes.

Congressman Conte said that the President let Carter get away with using the time to talk politics, making statements which were irrelevant to the questions. He said he didn't think the debate made that much difference.



Jim Quillen - Believes that the President did a tremendous job and came out far ahead of Carter in the debate.

Al Cederberg - Noted that he viewed the debate with Mrs. Ford in the White House and that he talked to the President following the event last night. Suggests that the President should be more aggressive and "rougher" on Carter. Stated the issue of the debate was clear -- Carter waffling around the Democratic platform, in essence calling for increased taxes along with increased federal expenditures -- the President projecting his programs which would reduce taxes and reduce federal spending.

Jack Edwards - Thought Carter and the President did a good job of putting the Democratic and Republican philosophies of government in perspective. Believes the President should have emphasized more that it is Congress who has failed in allowing a tax reduction/spending ceiling and an overall energy policy. Noted that he believed Carter did a better job of working into his answers political rhetorical comments. Stated that overall public contacts made to him expressed a very good feeling with the President's appearance.

Bill Whitehurst - Felt that until the conclusion the President definitely had the upper hand in the debate. Commended the President for exposing Governor Carter's record in Georgia. On balance, feels the President came across better, however, suggests that he become more aggressive in his delivery and attacks on Carter.

Clarence Brown - Believes the President did a good job, but the debate seemed dull and there was no real audience-holding power. Thinks many errors of fact were made by Carter as he addressed economic issues. Therefore, Bud suggests that the minority staff of the Joint Economic Committee review the transcript of the debate and issue a press release pointing out the errors in fact as advocated by Carter. Overall, it was his feeling the President came out on the positive side.



Bill Young - Saw the debate as being a "draw" between Carter and the President. It appeared that Carter was more relaxed and confident, but the President walked all over Carter on substance. Because the economy is the President's most vulnerable issue and Carter was not able to win this debate, believes the President is sitting in a very favorable position for the remainder of the debates as well as the campaign.

Joe Waggoner - Was returning to Louisiana while the debate was being aired on TV and therefore was only able to hear about 45 minutes of the debate on radio. What he heard definitely was in the President's favor. It was his opinion that Carter manifested the fact that he doesn't have a grasp of our tax laws, the importance of a free enterprise system, and our current economic situation. Suggests that in forthcoming debates the President may want to follow Carter's answers by simply stating "Governor Carter didn't answer the question" and then proceed to give specific details as to why. Again, thought the President handled himself very well but stated that in listening to the debate on radio the President's speech often seemed broken.

Sonny Montgomery - The President was forceful and in charge. Believes that in the next several days Ford will be described as being the clear winner. However, the President's closing statement was not as good as Carter's. However, Carter gave his standard political speech used daily on the campaign trail.



Rep. Albert Johnson - Thought the President did very well. Was impressed with the debates and was quite enthusiastic with the way he thought the President got through to the people tagging the Democrats as big spenders.

As far as criticism goes, he felt the President could have been more forceful in his closing remarks. He was very pleased with the AP poll that came out last night after the debate.

Rep. Harold Runnels - Thought the President did real well but please stop looking at questioners and look at the camera.

Encourages the President to keep hitting Carter on the Georgia issues - increased employees, increases in bonded indebtedness, increases in budget, etc.



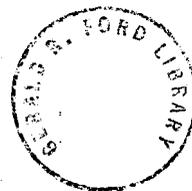
September 24, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF
FROM: CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *CLJ.*
SUBJECT: Rep. Jack Kemp (R. - N.Y.)

Congressman Kemp's office called to inform us that on Sunday, October 10, the Federation of Italian-American Societies, including all western New York, will have a dinner-dance in Buffalo as part of their Columbus Day celebration.

They believe it would good politically both for the President and the Congressman with the Italian vote if Mrs. Ford would make a brief appearance since she is planning to be in Buffalo on that day.

Mr. Lou Rotterman of Rep. Kemp's office (225-5265) has the details concerning this event.



September 30, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF
THROUGH: CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *CLJ*
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *TL*
SUBJECT: Rep. Stu McKinney (R.-Conn.)

Stu stated that a recent poll taken in the State of Connecticut showed the President with 45% support, Carter with 38% support, and the remainder undecided.



September 30, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF
THROUGH: CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *CL.*
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *T.L.*
SUBJECT: Rep. Jim Jeffords (R.-Vt.)

In a conversation with Jim, he stated that a poll taken within his congressional district and released last Friday showed that the President had 49% support to 29% support for Carter. This poll was conducted before the Presidential debate.

