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November 4, 1975

Philip Buchen, Esq.
Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

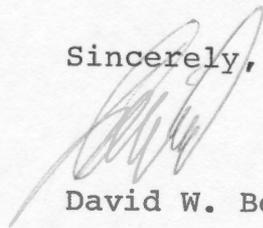
Dear Phil:

Enclosed is a copy of my November strategy paper entitled, "Defusing the Reagan Challenge." I do not necessarily expect that everyone will agree with all of the ideas I present, but hopefully these monthly strategy papers will constitute food for thought.

I will look forward to seeing you during my next visit to Washington.

Best regards.

Sincerely,



David W. Belin

DWB:cs
Encl.



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DWIGHT BROOKE
COUNSEL
LAWRENCE E. POPE
COUNSEL

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As I discussed with you after the completion of the Rockefeller Commission investigation, I am preparing a series of monthly basic strategy papers for 1976. These papers seek to maximize the chances of winning both the Republican nomination and the general election while minimizing strategy conflicts between these two goals.

My November paper is entitled: "Defusing the Reagan Challenge." Tom Stoner, the newly-elected Iowa Republican State Chairman, who was Governor Ray's campaign manager in the last two campaigns, has reviewed this paper. He fully concurs in its conclusions.

I hope that you will find that some of the thoughts and ideas that I have expressed will be helpful to you.

Best regards.

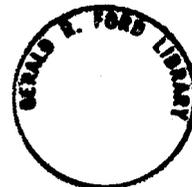
Sincerely,

David W. Belin

DWB:cs

Encl.

c.c. Philip Buchen ✓
c.c. Robert Hartmann
c.c. Donald Rumsfeld
c.c. Richard Chaney



THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT FORD

BASIC STRATEGY PAPER NO. 1 - NOVEMBER, 197~~6~~⁵

David W. Belin

Defusing the Reagan Challenge

From the viewpoint of securing the Republican nomination, the major risk to the President in meeting the challenge of Governor Reagan is not the risk of loss in a particular Republican primary. Rather, the major risk is the ramifications of such a loss.

From the standpoint of winning the November election, the major risk to the President in meeting the Reagan challenge is the risk of losing the Independent vote that is absolutely essential for victory in November.

From the viewpoint of Governor Reagan, the major risk is the loss in any primary where the President does not heavily campaign. This arises from the fact that Reagan will be a full-time candidate.

When we search for a basic strategy that will best resolve these three problems, there is an obvious starting point: The major strength of Gerald Ford is that he is a full-time President. The major weakness arises if he spends too much time in campaigning, which in turn undermines that basic strength.





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Defusing the Reagan Challenge

David W. Belin

BASIC STRATEGY PAPER NO. 1 - NOVEMBER, 1974

THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT FORD

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(As a matter of fact, I believe that in the past several months the President may have spent too much time on the campaign trail, even though in part this has been on behalf of other Republican candidates or fund-raising events. In some respects, this has weakened his overall standing and undermines the basic posture that he must maintain if he is to win both the nomination and the election: The fact that he is first and foremost, a full-time President.)

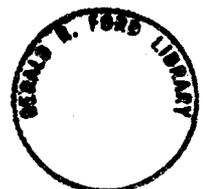
The best possible scenario for Reagan would be to defeat Gerald Ford in a series of primary elections in states where Gerald Ford heavily campaigns.

Therefore, it is obvious that it is not to the benefit of the President to heavily campaign in any state in which the Republican leadership is strongly committed to Governor Reagan.

Yet, the President cannot remain completely aloof from the presidential primaries.

In resolving this conflict, I would like to suggest for consideration the following basic strategy program:

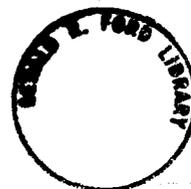
At an appropriate time after the Reagan announcement, and in an appropriate forum, President Ford should candidly state that he will enter every primary.



However, in contrast to Governor Reagan, who is a full-time candidate, President Ford should point out that the President must first and foremost discharge the responsibilities of the Presidency. Accordingly, President Ford will state that he will not be able to devote a lot of time to primary campaigning, and there undoubtedly will be some states where he does no campaigning at all.

The President should then further state that because Governor Reagan will be campaigning full time and because the President will be campaigning on a very part-time basis, Governor Reagan might very well win primary elections in some states and that as a practical matter the President should say that he is going to win some primaries, he is going to lose some primaries, but that ultimately he will win a majority of the votes of the delegates to the Republican National Convention.

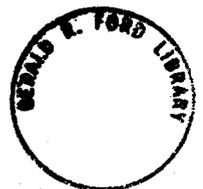
Furthermore, the President should declare that if he loses primaries because he is a full-time President and is therefore unable to campaign extensively in a particular state, so be it. And if that, in turn, results in Governor Reagan's securing the Republican nomination, so be it. The President will not set aside the duties of the office of the Presidency in order to win primary elections.



In addition, the President should publicly state what most pragmatic political experts believe: Regardless of whether or not Governor Reagan wins any primaries, President Ford will be by far the stronger candidate for the Republican Party in a general election, and to nominate Governor Reagan would be a repetition of 1964.

This strategy has several key advantages:

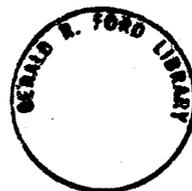
- a. This strategy emphasizes the major underlying strength of President Ford.
- b. This strategy has a basic appeal to the independent voter. This will be further discussed in the December strategy paper.
- c. This strategy affords a rationale in the event the President loses a primary and at the same time puts the burden on Governor Reagan to win primary elections in states where he heavily campaigns.
- d. This strategy puts Governor Reagan in a position of having not much to gain if he wins a primary election but a lot to lose if he does not win. Thus, if Governor Reagan wins New Hampshire when President Ford campaigns only two or three days in New Hampshire, so what. But if Reagan loses New Hampshire under such circumstances, he has indeed lost a great deal.



The success of McGovern in New Hampshire was not necessarily in winning the election. Rather, it was running stronger than it was anticipated that he would run.

e. This strategy leaves open to the President the option of picking and choosing states in which he can more heavily campaign for the primary elections. Obviously, the states will be in areas where he has a favorable chance to win.

In order to consider adopting the foregoing overall strategy, the President must sharply reduce the number of his political trips. Instead of being seen on television screens waving at crowds, President Ford should be seen with leaders of this country and international leaders in Washington--conducting the business of this country. Furthermore, when he campaigns, it should be in his own behalf and not for others, particularly since President Ford has never run for national office in his own right. The real issue is not how much President Ford campaigns, but rather how he campaigns. And the how must include the candid statement that he does not expect to win the nomination by acclamation, that he expects in some places to run well and in some places not to run well.



At all times, the President must remember that he is the President and Ronald Reagan is not. He must stick more to his case--a candid, thoughtful, hard-working, capable President-- a case which will have several other important elements which I will discuss in the December strategy paper.

The overall strategy I suggest for consideration has an additional benefit to the President of timing. Sooner or later, Governor Reagan is going to put his foot in his mouth. And when he does, the best place to take advantage of this is not Manchester or Tallahassee. Rather, the best place is from the White House in Washington. And when this happens, the President can then adjust his schedule to campaign in the right states at the right time and defeat Governor Reagan in those particular primaries with the added advantages of pouncing on the opportunity of a fumble of the ball by Governor Reagan.

Looking at this strategy from the viewpoint of Governor Reagan, it presents an insurmountable problem: If the Governor wins a particular primary where the President has not heavily campaigned, the President can readily explain that loss, since he did not heavily campaign in that particular state.



On the other hand, if Governor Reagan as a full-time candidate loses a state in which he heavily campaigns, and in which the President did not heavily campaign, how can Governor Reagan explain that loss? The President can seize the opportunity to come forward with one of his basic positions of strength: The Republican Party must nominate a candidate who will have the most appeal to both Republican and Independent voters. If Governor Reagan loses a Republican primary as a full-time candidate, how can he possibly garner the support of the necessary Independent vote that is essential for Republican victory in November?

There is yet an additional overall advantage to the strategy I suggest: It will enable the President to do a better job in office, because he will be devoting more time to that office. As I said at the beginning, the basic strength of Gerald Ford is that he is the President of the United States. Let us never underestimate or undermine that strength in seeking the Republican Presidential nomination in 1976.

Finally, there is one other crucial element in defusing the Reagan challenge: Organization. There is just no substitute for a sound, aggressive, coordinated campaign organization. There are many people who believe that the performance thus far in the



area of campaign organization leaves much to be desired. Time is of the essence.

Initially, the organization must be centered around leading Republicans in each of the fifty states. However, there will have to also be a parallel organization primarily directed for the Independent voter. This will be further developed in the January strategy paper.

In summary, the best way to defuse the Reagan challenge is to combine a sound strategy with first-rate aggressive political organization. The key to the strategy is that Gerald Ford is the President and Ronald Reagan is not the President and that Gerald Ford as President is going to be doing his job and will not be devoting a lot of time to primary campaigning. Therefore, there will be states where he will win and there will be states where he will lose. His goal is not to win the nomination by acclamation, but rather to win a majority of the delegates to the Convention, and that if he wins the nomination he will be far the strongest candidate for the Republican Party in a general election.

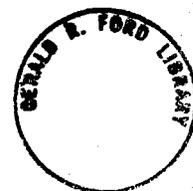
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David W. Belin
2000 Financial Center
Des Moines, Iowa 50309

November 4, 1975



THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT FORD

BASIC STRATEGY PAPER NO. 1 - NOVEMBER, 1975

David W. Belin

Defusing the Reagan Challenge

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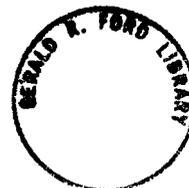
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David W. Belin
2000 Financial Center
Des Moines, Iowa 50309

November 4, 1975

THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT FORD
BASIC STRATEGY PAPER NO. 7 - MAY, 1976

David W. Belin

Winning Electoral Votes:
The Marginal Percentage Differential Analysis

I was tempted in writing this paper to quote excerpts from previous papers going back to November, 1975, because I believe that a substantial part of the problems which the President Ford campaign faces arises from a failure to adopt the strategy discussed in these earlier papers. For instance, I am attaching to this May paper a copy of the November, 1975, strategy paper No. 1, which I believe to be just as valid today as it was when written six months ago.

However, rather than repeating what I have said over the past six months, no matter how relevant it may be today, I want to turn to a matter which has been largely lost in the heat of the primary campaign: A state-by-state electoral vote analysis to see how victory can best be achieved in November.



In analyzing election results, I categorize states into categories, depending upon the margin percentage differential (MPD)--that is, the difference in percentage points between the candidate who won the state and the candidate who lost the state. For instance, in 1968 in Oregon, Nixon got 53% of the vote and Humphrey received 47% of the vote, a margin percentage differential of six percentage points. The switch differential was 3%--in other words, if 3% of the voters had voted Democratic, instead of Republican, there would have been a virtual tie.

A relatively safe margin percentage differential (MPD) is where the difference in percentage is at least 14 points--57-43, or better. A safe/marginal MPD is where the MPD is between 7 and 14 points; a marginal state is where the MPD is less than 7 points where a state can switch from one party to another by a switch of less than 3.5% of the vote.

The most relevant electoral vote analysis is to take a look at the most recent close presidential election, which, of course, was in 1968 where President Nixon had 302 electoral votes, Hubert Humphrey had 191 electoral votes, and George Wallace garnered 45 electoral votes.

When you categorize the results of the 1968 election and put the same states that voted Republican in 1968 into either relatively safe Republican states, marginal/safe, or marginal Republican states, and adjust for changes in the electoral vote because of reapportionment after the 1970 census, and do the same thing with the states that Hubert Humphrey won in 1968, here is what you find, as shown on the following detailed analysis:



David Belin President Ford Strategy Paper No. 7 May, 1976	1968 Election Electoral Votes			1968 MPD (Marginal Percent Age Dif- ferential)	Rela- tively safe Rep.	1976 Electoral Vote Analysis Based on 1968 MPD					1968 Geo. Walla state
	Rep.	Demo.	Wallace			Margi- nally safe Rep.	Margi- nal Rep.	Margi- nal Demo.	Margi- nally safe Demo.	Rela- tively safe Demo.	
ALABAMA			10	47.2							9
ALASKA	3			2.7			3				
ARIZONA	5			19.8	6						
ARKANSAS			6	8.1							6
CALIFORNIA	40			3.1			45				
COLORADO	6			9.2			7				
CONNECTICUT		8		5.2				9			
DELAWARE	3			3.5				3			
FLORIDA	14			9.6		17					
GEORGIA			12	12.4							12
HAWAII		4		21.1						4	
IDAHO	4			26.1	4						
ILLINOIS	26			2.9			26				
INDIANA	13			12.3		13					
IOWA	9			12.2		8					
KANSAS	7			20.1	7						
KENTUCKY	9			6.2			9				
LOUISIANA			10	20.1							10
MAINE		4		12.2					4		
MARYLAND		10		1.7				10			
MASS.		14		30.1						14	
MICHIGAN		21		6.7				21			
MINNESOTA		10		12.5					10		
MISSISSIPPI			7	40.5							7
MISSOURI	12			1.2			12				
MONTANA	4			19	4						
NEBRASKA	5			28	5						
NEVADA	3			8.2		3					
NEW HAMPSHIRE	4			8.2		4					
NEW JERSEY	17			2.1			17				
NEW MEXICO	4			12.1		4					
NEW YORK		43		5.4				41			
NORTH CAROLINA	13			8.2		13					
NORTH DAKOTA	4			17.7	3						
OHIO	26			2.3			25				
OKLAHOMA	8			15.7	7						
OREGON	6			6.0			6				
PENNSYLVANIA		29		3.6				27			
RHODE ISLAND		4		32.2						4	
SOUTH CAROLINA	8			5.8			8				
SOUTH DAKOTA	4			11.3		4					
TENNESSEE	11			3.8			10				
TEXAS		25		1.3				26			
UTAH	4			19.4	4						
VERMONT	3			19.3	3						
VIRGINIA	12			10.9		12					
WASHINGTON		9		2.1				9			
WEST VIRGINIA		7		8.8					6		
WISCONSIN	12			3.6			11				
WYOMING	3			20.3	3						
DIST. OF COL.		3		63.6						3	
TOTAL:	302	191	45		46	85	175	143	20	25	44

Relatively Safe: MPD is at least 14 pts.; Marginal/Safe: MPD is between 7 and 14 pts.; Marginal: MPD is less than 7 pts. A Marginal state can be changed by a

One hundred seventy-five electoral votes are from states that are marginally Republican, and 143 electoral votes are from states that are marginally Democratic. Even more important is the fact that of the marginal Republican states, the overwhelming majority lie out of the South. Of the 175 electoral votes, only 27 come from South or border-South states: Kentucky (9), South Carolina (8) and Tennessee (10). On the other hand, there are states such as California (45), Illinois (26), Missouri (12), New Jersey (17), Ohio (25), Oregon (6), and Wisconsin (11), plus Alaska (3) and Delaware (3) where a switch in less than 2% of the voters would have changed the vote in these states.

Toward which bloc of states should the Republican Party in 1976 concentrate its attack: The Southern bloc of 27 or the rest of the country with 148?

What about the states that were marginally Democratic that give the Republicans the best opportunities for 1976? Once again, the MPD analysis shows which road the Republican Party must take, for only one of these states (Texas, with 26 electoral votes) could be deemed subject to a Southern strategy and the remaining states, with 117 electoral votes lie outside of the South: Colorado (9); Maryland (10); Michigan (21); New York (41); Pennsylvania (27); and Washington (9).

Of course, assuming that President Ford is the Republican nominee, he will probably carry Michigan, with its 21 electoral votes. If you take those 21 votes as a starting point, add the 46 electoral votes from the relatively safe Republican states, you have a total of 67 of the 270 electoral votes needed for election. Where will the additional 203 electoral votes come from? Of the safe/marginal Republican states, 43 electoral votes are from outside the South and 42 lie in the southern part of the country. If those 43 votes outside of the South are garnered, that leaves a net remaining goal of 160 electoral votes.

Turning to the marginal Republican states, of those 175 electoral votes, only 8 lie in the South (South Carolina) and

19 lie in the border-South states of Kentucky and Tennessee, leaving a net of 148 outside of the South.

If President Ford got all of the marginal Republican states except those from the South or near-South, he would receive 148 additional electoral votes, putting him up to 258, which is just twelve votes shy of the needed 270.

Where can those extra twelve votes come from? Either from those Southern or border-Southern states that are marginal Republican or safe/marginal Republican--and all he needs is one or two of those states--or in the alternative only one or two of the states that are marginally Democratic--such as Pennsylvania.

The facts speak for themselves. The greatest opportunities for Republican victory in 1976 lie in a national strategy, and not in a Southern strategy.

This is particularly true if Jimmy Carter is either a Democratic Presidential or Vice Presidential candidate. Regardless of who the Republican Presidential nominee will be, Jimmy Carter will effectively claim a majority of the Southern electoral votes. Republicans have to recognize this fact as they look toward November. It would be folly for the GOP to

try and attack the heart of Carter's strength. Rather, the GOP should concentrate on the heart of its potential, and that heart is shown on the marginal vote percentage electoral vote analysis: Basically the Midwest, the Northeast, the Rocky Mountain States, and the West.

Furthermore, in looking toward November, the GOP must recognize what has not been recognized enough thus far by the President Ford Committee that it is absolutely essential for victory to preempt the middle of the road.

In poll after poll, the major portion of the electorate--over 80%--categorizes itself either in the middle-of-the-road category or under the categorization of fairly liberal or fairly conservative with the remaining balance (less than 20%) categorizing itself as very liberal or very conservative.

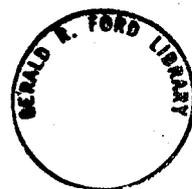
Clearly, the emphasis for rebuilding a political party must be directed toward the pre-emption of the middle-of-the-road electorate. This will act as an umbrella to attract those voters in the center of the political spectrum as well as those somewhat to the left who call themselves fairly liberal and those somewhat to the right who call themselves fairly conservative.

One of the main problems confronting George McGovern in the 1972 presidential race was the fact that his campaign moved away from middle-of-the-road and enabled Republicans to step into the vacuum. The net result was a Republican landslide at the national level.

Unfortunately for the GOP, the landslide did not trickle down to the Senate and the House of Representatives. The basic reason is illustrated by what happened in California in 1968 and 1970 and what happened in South Dakota in 1972.

Before the 1968 elections, California was represented by two senators: Thomas Kuchel, a liberal Republican, and George Murphy, a conservative Republican. Thomas Kuchel had risen to the position of minority whip, the No. 2 position behind the minority floor leader, Senator Dirksen of Illinois.

Despite the fact that Senator Kuchel was an incumbent Republican senator who had risen to a position of power in the United States Senate, the Republican Party in 1968 failed to



renominate Senator Kuchel. There was an intraparty fight with the conservative candidate, Max Rafferty, winning the nomination. In the fall general election, even though Richard Nixon carried California by over 200,000 votes, Max Rafferty lost to Alan Cranston by over 300,000 votes--a spread of better than half a million votes.

Why did the Republican Party of California fail to renominate a proven winner and a national Republican leader? The basic reason was that Republicans in California failed to recognize the necessity of preempting the middle of the road. Instead, they followed the philosophy of nominating someone with the greatest appeal to voters in a Republican primary instead of someone with the greatest appeal to voters in the general election.

The Republican California blunder of 1968 was compounded in 1970 when George Murphy was up for re-election. The middle-of-the-road was pre-empted by John V. Tunney, and in the space of two years two Republican senate seats were converted into two Democratic senate seats.

The problem has been repeated time and time again. For instance, in 1972 the seat of Republican Karl Mundt of South Dakota was at stake. There was one candidate within the Republican primary who sought to pre-empt the middle-of-the-

road: Tom Reardon. He was ignored by Republican leaders primarily because Reardon had been a "dove" on the issue of Vietnam. Thousands of Independent voters shared Reardon's views, but instead of nominating the Republican with the greatest appeal to the total electorate, the Republicans nominated the candidate with the greatest appeal to Republicans. The result was that Democrat James Abourezk won the Senate race in November.

Rebuilding a viable Republican Party after Watergate will be far more difficult than the attempted rebirth after the Democratic landslide of 1964. The major reason for this is that the Republican Party--the Party associated with American business and free enterprise--has consistently violated the most elementary concepts of business success. This fundamental failure is not a new course of action for the GOP to take. On the contrary, it is consistent with the course of action taken by Republican Party leadership over the past 30 years.

Every knowledgeable marketing student, every astute business executive, knows that when a business organization wants to increase its penetration of the market, it looks to areas of potential growth.

In the 1940's and 1950's, it was obvious to any reasonably intelligent political scientist that the areas of population growth in our country were in the urban areas. The areas of population decline were in the rural areas. Yet, consistently throughout the United States, the Republican leadership fought against fair representation for urban areas in state legislatures.

More and more people living in cities and suburban areas became frustrated with the unfairness of their lack of representation in government. These citizens turned against the party in power that was denying them an equal voice in government and went with the opposition, which in almost every two-party state turned out to be the Democratic Party.

The net result is typified by what took place in the Midwest-- the place of birth of the Republican Party and its traditional heartland. The statistics are overwhelming and are vividly illustrated in the contrast between the Eisenhower landslide of 1952 and the Nixon landslide of 1972.

Here are the facts: In 1953 there were 9 Republican and 3 Democratic governors in the Midwest. In 1973, these statistics were reversed: 4 Republican and 8 Democratic governors.

In 1953, there were 19 Republican and 5 Democratic senators from the Midwest. In 1973, after the 1972 elections, these statistics were again reversed: 9 Republican and 15 Democratic senators.

In the House of Representatives, there was a similar trend: 85 Republican and 44 Democratic representatives from the Midwest in 1953 after the 1952 Eisenhower landslide; 71 Republican and 51 Democratic representatives in 1973 after the 1972 Nixon landslide. (The difference in total arises because of reapportionment changes.)

The lack of foresight on the part of the Republican Party continued throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Perhaps the most vivid illustration of this occurred after the Nixon-Agnew victory in 1968, when there were increasing pressures to bring youth into the political system. It was not a question of whether or not the voting age would be reduced to 18--rather, the question was when this would take place--1970 or 1972.

It is a basic doctrine of business to look to potential expanding markets. Any businessman looking at the electorate would have readily seen that youth, and in particular high school and college youth approaching their first election, was the most obvious area of political party growth. This fact was compounded by the disenchantment of youth with the Vietnam policies of the Johnson administration.



Yet, this fundamental practical business concept was not only totally ignored, but Spiro Agnew took exactly the opposite course. He attacked the very group that offered the greatest opportunity for increasing Republican votes, and succeeded beyond the wildest dreams of any Democratic politician. Agnew succeeded in alienating the next generation of voters, so far as the Republican Party was concerned.

Statistics now show that the Republican Party comprises less than 25% of the total electorate. And when these statistics are broken down into age groups, the penetration of the Republican Party with the younger voter is less than 15%. From a long-range standpoint, nothing could have been worse for the Republican Party.

More important, from a long-range standpoint, nothing could have been worse for the future of our political system in America, for that system is predicated on the concept of a strong two-party system.

1976 is a crossroads year for the Republican Party. A Democratic victory in the Presidential election could spell the end of the GOP as an effective national party. On the other hand, a Republican victory could spell the beginning for a

true Republican revival, with strong and capable leadership from the top as the starting point. Hand in hand with this must be an overall open, pragmatic and sensitive approach to the many problems facing our country today--a modern political philosophy which has as its frame of reference the preemption of the middle-of-the-road in American politics.

How long will Republican Party workers continue to ignore the fact that the crucial issue is who can win in November--not who is philosophically the closest to the relatively small percentage of voters who cast their ballots in a Republican primary battle?

Once again, we can analogize to what a sound businessman would do when his company wanted to expand its penetration of market acceptance. One approach would be for the president of the company to turn to the sales force and ask the sales force what it thinks the market needs or wants. A far better approach, however, would be for the sales force to actually go into the market, test it, and find out what the potential customers need and want.

Unfortunately, the Republican Party traditionally seems to ignore the business approach to political problems--while at the same time relying on business for a major portion of financial and other support.

Perhaps the Republicans could follow this course if they had the luxury of being the majority party. However, the irrefutable trend has been the other way. As a matter of fact, the Republican Party is now not even number two--really, it is number three behind the Democrats and Independents.

The January 7, 1974, of U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT quoted a recent Sindlinger survey giving the following breakdown "of how people of voting age regard themselves politically: Independents - 36.1%; Democrats - 34.5%; Republicans - 18.9%; No interest - 10.5%."

In the face of statistics such as these, the Republicans who want to win must look beyond the confines of Republican voters. In order to do this, they must support and encourage attractive Republicans of high capability to campaign for national office. These candidates must be individuals who will be able to pre-empt the middle-of-the-road--the umbrella which is the key to political success in this country.

No one is more aware of this than President Ford. In 1974, he campaigned for Paul McCloskey--one of the most out-spoken critics of the Nixon administration. McCloskey was in a battle for survival in a Republican primary in his Congressional district in California. Most political experts agree that it was the help of the then Vice President Ford which led to McCloskey's primary victory.

Just as President Ford has recognized the need for Republicans to nominate candidates who can win in November, regular Party leaders and workers must also adopt this same philosophy.

There has to be room in the GOP for both the Barry Goldwaters and the Paul McCloskeys. And above all, if the Republican Party is to survive, there has to be the kind of leadership in the GOP that President Ford has shown in his willingness to support candidates in different areas of the Republican political spectrum.

1976 is the crossroads for the Republican Party. One of the roads leads to a Southern strategy. The other road leads to a national strategy.

An analysis of electoral votes on the basis of marginal percentage differential shows clearly which of the two roads the GOP should take, if it wants to win in November. However, the Republican Party has not been noted in recent years for its ability to understand and exercise sound practical political judgment.

Hopefully, for those Americans interested in the revitalization of the GOP, and for those Americans interested in a strong two-

party system, Republican leadership will demonstrate better judgment in 1976 than it has in recent years.

Finally, there must be one added ingredient which has thus far been absent in the President Ford Campaign: The ingredient of confidence and idealism and hope and vision that an outstanding national leader can give.

The primary campaign has been talking about defense and Panama and detente. What about the hopes and aspirations of human beings for peace?

There is a lot that can be said--and a lot that must be said if President Ford is to win the nomination and win in November. He will have one last major opportunity to come forward as an outstanding national leader with breadth and vision: The Bicentennial speech on July 4, 1976.

I have discussed this in recent strategy papers, and I will go into greater detail in the strategy paper for June.

David W. Belin
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May 5, 1976

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June 18, 1976

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DWIGHT BROOKE
COUNSEL
LAWRENCE E. POPE
COUNSEL

Mr. Robert Hartmann
Counselor to the President
The White House
- Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Bob:

Pursuant to your request, I am enclosing a copy of my June strategy paper, which is in the form of a preliminary draft of the "Bicentennial Speech."

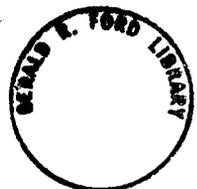
Best regards.

Sincerely,

David W. Belin

DWB:cs

c.c. Ron Nessen
c.c. Richard Chaney
c.c. Philip Buchen



THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT FORD
BASIC STRATEGY PAPER NO. 8 - JUNE, 1976

David W. Belin

"The Bicentennial Speech" --
Thoughts and Ideas for a Preliminary Draft

Two hundred years ago, a nation of free men and women was conceived in liberty and dedicated to secure liberty and justice for all.

The cradle of our birth was our Declaration of Independence, whose stirring majesty declared for all the world to hear:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness.

"That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed....

"...and for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."



These words were forged in the crucible of our War for Independence. The ideals and principles for which these words stand represent the greatness of our nation's past, our present, and our future. They will be as true for the next 200 and the next 2,000 years, and more.

But words, alone, are not enough. There must be deeds. And deeds there have been. The most important occurred in 1787, when the people of this young nation established our Constitution to "...secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

This was followed by the adoption of the Bill of Rights, which guaranteed the freedom of every American citizen and established the framework within which this nation grew and prospered across an entire continent. America opened its gates to people from all nations and of all races, creeds and colors. The beacon of liberty and justice for all drew millions to our shores. We were the noblest experiment in the history of mankind, and we succeeded beyond all expectations.

Out of diversity, there was union. Out of despair, there was hope.

Through freedom and productivity, we achieved the highest standard of living the world has ever known. The United States has stood as a leader among all nations of the world.

But great as our accomplishments have been in the past, we cannot rest on our laurels. We must look at the present, we must look to the future, and, in the words of the Preamble of our Constitution, to our "posterity".

The independence that we achieved in 1776 was only a foreshadowing of all of the emancipations that were to follow. There was the abolition of slavery in the United States; the liberation of the countries of Europe from the tyranny of the kings; the liberation of our sister states in Latin American from the tyranny of colonization; and the establishment of independent democratic nations in Asia and in Africa.

Yet, we recognize that our freedom will not be complete until all mankind enjoys that same freedom, when tyranny will be vanquished, when right will conquer might, when all governments will rest upon the consent of the governed, and when all mankind will be brothers and sisters.

In order to reach these goals, we must constantly appreciate the liberty and freedom upon which our nation was founded, But we must also recognize that in order to maintain these cherished qualities, we must be strong and at the same time we must be sensitive to the needs, the hopes and the aspirations of our fellow citizens.

The standards of achievement cannot be measured in selfish luxuries or material possessions that excite the envy of our neighbors. Rather, the American adventure, the American dream depends upon the recognition of the moral values of our Judeo-Christian heritage that inspired the founding of our nation.

United and together, we must work to overcome and prevent wars so that the peoples of the world can live in peace and can cease spending so much of our material resources on instruments of destruction.

United and together, we must work productively to overcome poverty and inequality so that all the people of our land will have an opportunity to reach their full potential and live by the words of the Declaration of Independence: "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness."

United and together, we must work to overcome intolerance among the peoples of all lands so that the American dream of liberty and justice for all can become the realization of all mankind.

We can achieve all of these goals, and more, if we are willing to work together with the same motivation, the same idealism, and the same willingness to sacrifice that our forefathers did 200 years ago.

Although this Day of Independence is our national holiday, it is yet in a broader sense an anniversary for the entire world. America has led the way for the preservation of liberty for all mankind, and the celebration of the 200th anniversary of our freedom is in a sense a celebration for the world.

Therefore, in recognition of what we have achieved over the past two centuries, in recognition of our leadership among free nations, and in recognition of the fact that we are a symbol of hope for future generations, I call upon the Congress of the United States in a gesture of American unity and purpose to appropriate Two Hundred Million Dollars for food from America to be given to impoverished peoples in every corner of the world so that all mankind can share in the celebration of our Bicentennial.

The spirit of a free people united together and sharing their bountiful harvest with the poor and hungry of all races, all creeds, and all colors, is the true spirit of the United States of America. We are a nation that after two world wars in this century has helped relieve famine, even among our former enemies. We are a nation that believes in deeds, and not just words. We are a nation that believes there is nothing more important than our freedom and that lives by the words which were first written 200 years ago:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed...."

And just as our forefathers did 200 years ago, so today, and always, for the preservation of the principles of our Declaration of Independence, let us say together, "With a firm reliance on

the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each our our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

May it always be so in our great United States of America.

David W. Belin
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June 18, 1976.

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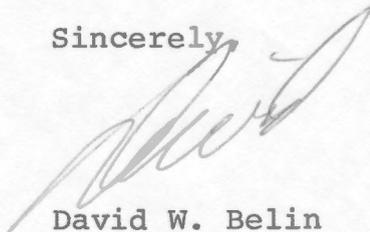
Philip Buchen, Esq.
Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Phil:

I thought you would like to see a copy of the most recent monthly strategy paper for the President--the selection of a Vice Presidential running mate.

Best regards.

Sincerely,



David W. Belin

DWB:cs
Encl.



THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT FORD

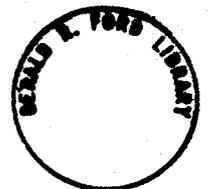
BASIC STRATEGY PAPER NO. 9 - JULY, 1976

David W. Belin

Choosing the Republican Vice Presidential Candidate

The two most important considerations in choosing the Republican Vice Presidential candidate are obvious: (1) The election of someone with overall ability, experience and integrity necessary in the event the Vice President would step into the position of the Presidency; (2) the selection of a candidate who would be able to contribute most to the election of the Republican Presidential candidate at a time when public confidence in Washington in general and Congress in particular is at an all-time low. Jimmy Carter has capitalized on this anti-Washington national mood in winning the nomination of his Party and will undoubtedly continue this strategy in the fall campaign.

This paper discusses the six people most often mentioned as the Republican Vice Presidential running mate with President Ford: Nelson Rockefeller, Robert Ray, Ronald Reagan, Howard Baker, Elliot Richardson and John Connally. The major strengths and weaknesses of each candidate are analyzed in the frame of reference of a Carter-Mondale ticket.



The Wall Street Journal states that Carter is confident of winning the old Democratic "Solid South" (Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina) plus the border Southern states of Kentucky, Tennessee and West Virginia plus the heavily Democratic states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Hawaii, plus Minnesota (Mondale) for a total of 111 of the 270 electoral votes needed for election.

The Wall Street Journal also reports Carter forces as seeing Republican victory likely in Arizona, Idaho, Kansas, Utah, Vermont and Wyoming with 27 electoral votes. To this should be added Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota and Oklahoma, all of which were strong Republican states in the most recent analogous election (1968) which would add 19 electoral votes, or a total of 46 electoral votes which are relatively safe Republican votes.

This means that the battle for victory in November will depend upon the following key swing states with their respective electoral votes:

Alaska	3
California	45
Colorado	7
Connecticut	9
Delaware	3
Florida	17

Illinois	26
Indiana	13
Iowa	8
Maine	4
Maryland	10
Michigan	21
Missouri	12
Nevada	3
New Hampshire	4
New Jersey	17
New Mexico	4
New York	41
North Carolina	13
Ohio	25
Oregon	6
Pennsylvania	27
South Dakota	4
Texas	26
Virginia	12
Washington	9
Wisconsin	11

The basic strength of Carter is in the South. The basic weakness of Carter is in the Midwest and Northeast. Every successful politician knows that when you want to win elections, you concentrate in the areas of the opponent's weaknesses and not in the opponent's strengths.

For purposes of this discussion, I will assume that all of the people named as potential Republican Presidential running mates are qualified to be President. The question then becomes, at a time of a general anti-Washington national public mood, which candidate would best help exploit the weakness of the Carter-Mondale ticket and also build strength for the Republican ticket?

A. Vice President Nelson Rockefeller

The person that ranks first among all candidates is Nelson Rockefeller, for four basic reasons:

1. He is the most qualified person to be Vice President of the United States because of his overall background, ability and experience, which includes having served as Vice President these past two years and also having served as Governor of the State of New York for four terms. The fact that President Ford picked Nelson Rockefeller to be Vice President is ample testimony to his qualifications.

2. He is a superb campaigner and knows how to win elections in a swing state. His four gubernatorial election victories in New York are ample testimony to this.

3. Vice President Rockefeller is not in any way associated with Richard Nixon and, therefore, is removed from the problems of Watergate. This is particularly important in light of the fact that Democrats are raising the pardon issue and the whole spectrum of Watergate.

4. Nelson Rockefeller would add the necessary ingredient of philosophical balance which is essential in order to attract the Independent swing vote in the Northeast, in the Midwest, and the other swing states.

It has been argued that Nelson Rockefeller will not win much support in the South. There are two basic fallacies with such an argument: (1) No matter who the Vice Presidential candidate is, the Republican Party is not going to do well in the South, with their first native son running for President. Any so-called Southern strategy is doomed to failure and, furthermore, flies in the face of the political axiom that you do not concentrate your efforts in the areas of your opponent's greatest strengths. (2) In any event, the ability of Nelson Rockefeller to help to win electoral votes in key swing states such as New York (41), Pennsylvania (27), and New Jersey (17) more than offsets any potential weakness he might have so far as the South is concerned.

The basic disadvantage of Nelson Rockefeller is that he is part of the Washington establishment. This leaves the Republican ticket open to the Carter attack against big government in Washington. However, the foregoing advantages of Vice President Rockefeller and particularly the fact that he has already served as Vice President on the whole outweigh this basic disadvantage.

B. Governor Robert D. Ray

Next to Nelson Rockefeller, the person who would add most to the national Republican ticket is Governor Ray of Iowa. Five key strengths stand out in discussing Governor Ray:

1. Bob Ray is not saddled with any burdens of Washington and public lack of confidence in Washington in general and Congress in particular. With Jimmy Carter running a counter-Washington campaign, if Vice President Rockefeller is not selected then it would be almost suicidal for the Republican Party to have both people on the national ticket be part of the Washington establishment. Because of Governor Ray's position as Chairman of the National Governors Conference, he would be able to capitalize on the anti-Washington feeling in the country, particularly if President Ford runs a Harry Truman-type campaign against the Democratic-controlled Congress.

2. Bob Ray has a phenomenal approval rating from the public. The most recent statewide Iowa poll showed 82% favorable, 10% undecided, and only 8% unfavorable. In large part, this is a result of a record of absolute integrity, unblemished by any taint of improper contributions or conflicts of interest, coupled with an outstanding record of achievement and administrative experience including four terms in office with a state budget surplus of more than \$200 million and with no tax increases during that period--Republican fiscal integrity at its best.

3. Bob Ray has outstanding capabilities and demonstrated judgment in knowing how to win elections. Bob Ray has been more successful in statewide election campaigns in a "swing" state than any other Republican in the country. There are more registered Democrats than Republicans in Iowa. Yet, in the post-Watergate 1974 election with Democratic victories across the country, Bob Ray was reelected to a fourth term with nearly 60% of the vote in a state that elected a Democratic Senator and five out of six Democratic Congressmen. One of the greatest needs for the President Ford Committee is expertise in how to run successful election campaigns, and no one in this country has demonstrated more expertise in this area than Governor Ray.

4. As Chairman of the National Governors Conference, as Chairman of the Platform Committee, as a person whom one of the leading political writers, David Broder, calls a man qualified to be President, Bob Ray commands the respect of those who know him best. He is young (47) and vigorous and is blessed with a fine family. Picking a fresh face who is thought of to be highly qualified for the job could very much enhance the overall stature of President Ford.



5. Bob Ray offers political balance to a national ticket. His overall views represent the middle-of-the-road--moderate Republican whose support is necessary to win in November. Bob Ray also has been extremely sensitive to the needs of cities and could be of substantial help in winning the Independent vote in the Northeastern part of the country. At the same time, Bob Ray's record of achievement and traditional Republican fiscal responsibility coupled with his integrity would have strong appeal among the Independent voters of the small states who have been more traditionally Republican.

He also would buttress a crucial area of Republican unrest--the Midwestern farmers and cattlemen who are still unhappy with the administration's grain embargo and the meat imports problem.

The crucial need for philosophical balance is evidenced by Carter's selection of Mondale. Furthermore, since Governor Ray is known as a conservative in fiscal matters and is in the middle-of-the-road of the political spectrum, his selection as a running mate by President Ford would not run into the kind of outcry from conservatives that has greeted the announcement by Governor Reagan that the liberal Senator Schweiker would be a running mate for Governor Reagan, were he to get the nomination. (No other comments will be made concerning Senator Schweiker.)

Bob Ray would offer particular help in winning the moderate Republican-Independent vote in the Midwest with agricultural votes as well as Independent urban votes in states such as Illinois (26), Indiana (13), Iowa (8), Michigan (21), Missouri (12), Ohio (25) and Wisconsin (11). This represents 126 electoral votes and the selection of Mondale as the Democratic Vice Presidential candidate was in part motivated because of a desire to appeal to the Midwest.

The criticism most often levied against Governor Ray is that he does not provide enough "geographic" balance to the ticket. To be sure, he does not offer the geographic balance of any of the other candidates. However, the contribution that Governor Ray would make in providing a middle-of-the-road philosophical balance and also in helping overcome the unhappiness in the crucial Midwestern farm vote as a result of the grain embargo far outweighs the old-style politician's view of the need for geographic balance. (In addition, there are hundreds of thousands of transplanted and retired Iowans living in California where Bob Ray could be particularly helpful.)

In any event, the old-style concerns of geographic "balance" are insignificant when compared to the national anti-Washington mood and the need to have someone on the national Republican ticket who is not connected with Washington.

C. Governor Ronald Reagan

Ronald Reagan has several distinct advantages which must be given consideration:

1. First and foremost is his tremendous ability on the television screen. Governor Reagan is second to none in this area.

2. As a Vice Presidential candidate, Ronald Reagan would be certain to keep the Party together so far as his own supporters are concerned. However, there could be a very substantial offset of loss of moderate Republican support in the large industrial states, such as New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Ohio. Naming Governor Reagan as a Vice Presidential running mate to replace Nelson Rockefeller could result in a great revolt among moderate Republicans in crucial states in the Northeast and Midwest where moderate Republicans have been elected to statewide office.

3. Ronald Reagan should make a major contribution towards winning Texas and California. He will not have much added contribution on the smaller Rocky Mountain states that will go Republican, anyway, nor will he be able to make any substantial dent in the hold of Jimmy Carter on the South.

4. Ronald Reagan is not part of the Washington establishment, and this should be a plus in this 1976 campaign. However, he is not a young face to balance the youth in the Carter-Mondale ticket.

There are several disadvantages involved in having Governor Reagan as a running mate, in addition to the lack of philosophical balance and a possible moderate Republican revolt. For instance, there could be great embarrassment if the Democrats use the President Ford Committee commercial which was used in the California primary depicting Ronald Reagan as too "trigger happy". Another major disadvantage is that selecting Governor Reagan in 1976, after a hotly contested primary campaign, would not be accepted by the American people the way there was acceptance of President Johnson when he was selected by John Kennedy. There is an entirely different American public mood today which is demonstrated in the lack of confidence the public has in Congress as well as in the national leadership.

Finally, there would be a credibility problem in having Governor Reagan on the ticket after he has stated so unequivocally in past weeks that under no circumstances would he accept the Vice Presidential slot on the ticket.

D. Senator Howard Baker

Howard Baker would bring to the Republican ticket an opportunity to win Tennessee and possibly Kentucky. He is also relatively young and a successful campaigner. On the other hand, although his base is in the South, he would not be able to overcome the hold of Carter on the other Southern states and thus would add relatively little to the ticket so far as the crucial swing states of the Midwest and Northeast are concerned.

A major disadvantage of Baker is that he is part of the Washington establishment. Moreover, he is a United States Senator and this would cut down the effectiveness of the Republican national ticket to campaign against the Democratic-controlled Congress the way President Truman successfully did in 1948 when he ran against the Republican-controlled Eightieth Congress. Selecting a Senator as a running mate could undermine one of the greatest advantages that President Ford might have in the 1976 Presidential campaign.

Finally, there is a problem concerning Gulf Oil money that was delivered for the Baker campaign. Although there have been explanations given for this, William Safire among others has noted that this could be devastating and in any event is an area of potential problems to try and explain in a heated Presidential campaign. This is particularly true with the issues



of Watergate, Richard Nixon and the pardon looming in the background of the Democratic campaign. Gulf Oil coupled with the anti-Washington mood of the public constitute two big strikes against Senator Baker.

E. Secretary of Commerce Elliot Richardson

Elliot Richardson has two major advantages:

1. He would offset in large part the campaign of the Democrats against Watergate.
2. He would also make a major contribution in the industrial Northeastern states, in attracting the Independent voter.

The major disadvantages of Elliot Richardson are that he has been part of the Washington establishment for many years, including the Nixon administration years, and he also has had no experience in recent years in winning statewide elections. (These are the same disadvantages faced by William Simon who is also campaigning for the Vice Presidency.)

Other disadvantages include the fact that Secretary Richardson would do little as far as the agricultural vote is concerned in the Midwest, and the Republican Party has some major problems in this area which Mondale undoubtedly will attack. Also, at a time when the Carter-Mondale ticket is appealing to the masses in a Populist manner, the appearance and bearing of Secretary Richardson may seem too elitist in character for many voters.

F. Governor John Connally

Last, and least desirable, is John Connally, although his name is better known than either Governor Ray, Senator Baker or Secretary Richardson. Perhaps the major disadvantage of John Connally is that he is too closely associated with the Nixon years. Even though he was acquitted of criminal charges, he is certainly not "Mr. Clean". Furthermore, to many Republicans, as well as Independents, he is too opportunistic. He would be able to make a contribution in winning Texas and possibly help in Tennessee or Kentucky, but he would have little value so far as the Midwest and the larger industrial states of the East are concerned.

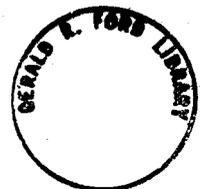
Although many people believe John Connally to be extremely capable, he has ties to big oil which could greatly undermine an effective campaign at a time when the average American has little sympathy for the oil companies. In addition, there are many Americans who still have an unfair, but still nevertheless existing, distaste for Texas as a result of the administration of Lyndon Johnson. A Texan as a running mate for the President would undoubtedly be looked upon with favor in Texas but not in many other places in the country, particularly when that Texan has been part of the Washington establishment in the Nixon cabinet.

One cannot underscore the potential risks of having the whole Watergate issue be painted across a Republican Presidential campaign with Governor Connally and his milk fund and other Nixon-associated problems as a part of that national Republican ticket.

In summary, the most important thing to understand in determining who should be the Republican Vice Presidential candidate is that we are living at a time of great distrust on the part of the public in Washington in general and Congress in particular. Jimmy Carter has capitalized on this mistrust. He has selected Senator Mondale to provide the necessary ingredient of philosophical balance for his ticket. Therefore, it is imperative for the Republican Party to consider as a Vice Presidential candidate someone who will be able to provide that philosophical balance, just as it is vital for the Republican Party to consider the general anti-Washington mood if the Vice Presidential running mate is someone other than Vice President Rockefeller who already has two years experience in office.

Finally, the Republican Party must recognize the fact that the strength of Jimmy Carter is in the South and one of the worst mistakes the Republican Party could make would be to abandon the traditional political principle that you do not try and attack a candidate in his areas of major strength.

For the reasons outlined, Nelson Rockefeller is the first choice. However, if he is not selected, then the choice should be Governor Robert Ray, assuming he is willing to undertake the commitment to run for Vice President. Governor Ray has the least negatives among all of the candidates, and he has the plusses described in this paper, the most important of which is the fact that he is not saddled with any burdens of Washington, he has a phenomenal approval rating from the public, philosophical balance for the ticket and a demonstrated outstanding ability in knowing how to campaign and win elections. In addition, he would have a direct appeal in helping overcome unhappiness in crucial Midwestern farm vote areas. For the reasons outlined, Governor Ray would be better than Governor



Reagan, and these three candidates are far ahead of the last three: Senator Baker, Secretary Richardson and John Connally.

July 28, 1976

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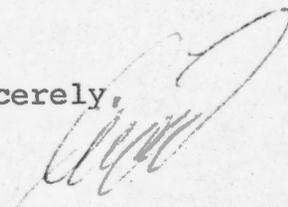
The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed is a copy of my basic strategy paper No. 10 for August
entitled, "The Five Keys to Victory in November."

Best regards.

Sincerely,


David W. Belin

DWB:cs

Encl.

c.c. Richard Cheney
c.c. Robert Hartmann
c.c. Ron Nessen
c.c. Philip Buchen

P.S. I know your time is precious, particularly as you look forward
to the nomination in Kansas City, but I would urge you to read
this entire paper before making your Vice Presidential selection.

THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT FORD

BASIC STRATEGY PAPER NO. 10 - AUGUST, 1976

David W. Belin

The Five Keys to Victory in November

The hour is late. We are far behind in the polls. But victory can be achieved in November if we recognize five essential ingredients: (1) The record of President Ford in restoring trust and confidence in government, the maintenance of peace, control of inflation, and ever-increasing prosperity. Together with the emphasis on the President's performance, there must be an expression of the President's goals, plans, hopes and aspirations for the Nation in his first four-year term. (2) The abysmal performance of the Democratic-controlled 94th Congress. (3) The Democratic Party Platform which promises more taxes, more inflation, and more big government. (4) The tremendous emotional and psychological opportunities in this campaign, which are elements that Republican candidates consistently fail to recognize. (5) The selection of the proper Vice Presidential running mate to integrate with the previous four items and capitalize on overall opportunities.

Let us discuss each of these items briefly.

1. The record of President Ford. Basically, President Ford must run on his record. And it is a record that he can be proud of. The restoration of trust and confidence in government, the maintenance of peace, the bringing of inflation under control, and the development of ever-increasing prosperity. (And I think it is important to use the "ever-increasing" adjective so that we do not fall in the box of saying that prosperity is already here but many people do not realize it yet.)

There is one factor that should be emphasized. I think it is fair to say that if there were not peace, then it would be understandable for the Democrats to attack the foreign policy of this country. But how can the Democrats attack foreign policy when there are no American troops engaged in fighting anywhere in the world.

At the same time, I think we can assert that if there were still double-digit inflation, if the Gross National Product were falling, then it might be appropriate to attack the President's domestic policies. But the fact remains that the great majority of the people in this country are gaining an ever-increasing confidence in the economy.

This will be further discussed as a part of the overall emotional opportunities.

2. In addition, the campaign should capitalize on running against the record of the 94th Congress the way Truman ran against the record of the 80th Congress in 1948. There is the fact of Congressional inaction in energy. There is Congressional inaction in tax reform. There is Congressional inaction in welfare reform. There is Congressional inaction in a host of other areas. The attacks on Congress should be in a frame of reference of positive programs that the President has put forth so this does not appear to be an entirely negative approach.

At the same time, the attacks on Congress should be accompanied with compassion for the common citizen. I discussed this earlier in the December paper and the need for the Republican Party to recognize its lack of perception in this area.

The attacks on Congress should also be accompanied by the use of what John Rhoades calls one of the best-kept secrets of the century: The fact that the Democrats have controlled Congress for 36 of the past 40 years.

Finally, the attacks on Congress should be accompanied with an attack on the promises of the Democratic candidate (as opposed to the candidate himself, for I think we should avoid personal attack). Carter promises lots of reorganizations of government. But the Democrats have been in control of Congress for most of the past 40 years and have failed to reorganize Congress.

The public does not hold Congress in high esteem, and we can capitalize on this public perception.

3. In addition, there should be an attack on the Democratic Party Platform. It promises three things: More taxes, more inflation and more big government. There has to be constant reemphasis of this.

This should be accompanied by a financial analysis of what the Democrats promise--between \$150 billion and \$200 billion of added government programs which will mean tremendous increases in taxes as well as tremendous increases of inflation and more and more bureaucracy in Washington. This is a natural Republican issue.

4. Emotional and voter psychology opportunities. As a part of our logical and objective and positive statement of issues, there should be a liberal sprinkling (but not over-

done) of the fact that we are the underdog. The polls show that we are behind. Perhaps we will not win, but we have the story to tell to the people, and we are going to tell that story to the people.

Everyone roots for the underdog. Truman was able to get the people rooting for him because he was an underdog. We should be able to follow the same course.

With this as a foundation, we then enter the last few days of the campaign and add two basic ingredients of emotion: The natural feeling on the part of a human being not to knife another person in the back, and the natural apprehension of the human being for the unknown.

There is a natural tendency not to want to knife a person in the back--particularly when that person has done a decent job. I think this psychological element is particularly applicable to the entire country in the last few days of the campaign. The voter should understand that the President has been working tremendously hard--and has succeeded on the very jobs that were thought to be key when he first assumed office. The country wanted him to bring peace. He did this. The country wanted to bring inflation under control. He did this. The country wanted to have increased prosperity. The President did this. The

country wanted to have a restoration of trust and confidence in government. The President did this.

After having accomplished all of these tremendous challenges that faced him when the President assumed office, is it fair to knife the President in the back and throw him out of office?

I think that there are tremendous television opportunities that should be saved for the last few days of the campaign when there are opportunities to sway a tremendous amount of undecided voters.

These opportunities also fit into the other aspects of the tremendous psychological opportunities that can be capitalized on in the last week of the campaign--and in particular the very natural psychological fear of the average voter of the unknown.

"When you walk into the voting booth and are ready to mark an X or pull a lever for one candidate, remember that you know what you have with President Ford. He is a man who has restored trust in government. He has brought peace to our land. He has brought ever-increasing prosperity to our land. He has brought inflation under control.

"Before you cast your ballot, think twice and think whether or not you want to change from a man that you know--a man who has performed everything that was asked of him--to a man you do not know--a man who gives many promises, who says one thing one week and another thing another week, and who has engaged in personal attacks on the President, even though he first said he would not.

"When you cast your ballot, do you want to give up what you now have for the promises of an unknown future?"

These are not the precise words that should be used, but this is the basic concept that must be gotten across. And it should be saved for the last week of the campaign because that is when it is applicable, just prior to the time the person goes to the ballot box. At that time, it will also be too late for Mr. Carter to reply.

To put it another way, a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush, and the voter has experienced this time and time again. He will have a natural apprehension of what he cannot foresee. And these natural apprehensions, coupled with the sense of fairness of not kicking a person in the back, coupled

with the emotional use of the underdog elements, offer tremendous psychological opportunities--opportunities that must be captured if we are to win in November.

We Republicans have a great ability to present logical arguments. We have a great ability to present negative arguments. But we have an inability to put an entire campaign of logical arguments together with the seasoning of natural emotions which are part of the character of the average American voter.

5. The Vice Presidential candidate. In order to capitalize fully on this overall strategy, it is essential that the running mate who is selected is the best person to capitalize on this overall strategy. The following are the primary criteria which must be considered:

a. The candidate should be someone who is not part of the Washington establishment in general and who is not part of Congress in particular. Jimmy Carter is running a anti-Washington campaign, and the Republican ticket must have someone on that ticket (assuming Nelson Rockefeller is not selected because of his ability and experience) who can counter the anti-Washington Carter campaign and the anti-Washington general mood. In particular,



the person should be able to capitalize on the opportunities to run against the record of the 94th Congress.

b. The person should have no connection with the administration of Richard Nixon or Watergate and should have no "skeletons" in his closet from such things as milk fund money, oil lobbies money, etc.

c. The person should be philosophically in the middle of the road to balance the ticket philosophically and to help heal the wounds of the Republican Party where so many middle-of-the-road--moderate Republicans are unhappy with the course of the primary campaign which has been dominated by the more conservative elements of the Party.

d. The Vice Presidential candidate must have demonstrated experience in successful state-wide election campaigns. A national Presidential campaign is no place for on-the-job training, and it would be foolhardy to bring someone into the picture who has not really demonstrated on more than one occasion that he is capable of winning state-wide elections in swing states. Election expertise is something that is very sorely needed at this time.

e. The Vice Presidential candidate should be someone who in many ways would be the least controversial and would take away the least from the President.

f. In order to capitalize on the emotional psychology we have discussed, the Vice Presidential candidate should come across as a very nice, decent, genuine, human being--someone whom the voter can identify with, and someone who on television will be sincere when he talks about the fact that it is not fair to kick the President in the back after what the President has done and when he talks about the fact that when the voter walks into the voting booth and is ready to cast his ballot, he should think twice before he makes a decision whether or not to keep what he has or try something new and unknown.

From the viewpoint of this overall strategy, I believe that for many reasons, Governor Ray of Iowa would be far and away the best choice for Vice President. Like many others being mentioned, he offers a philosophical balance of being from the middle of the road. Like many others being mentioned, he has no connections with the Nixon-Watergate years in Washington nor does he have any connections with milk fund money or oil lobby.

money, etc. Like some others being mentioned, he is not part of the Washington establishment. But when you want someone who meets these criteria and also has the demonstrated expertise of winning elections in a swing state--most vividly in 1974 in the post-Watergate election where he obtained nearly 60% of the vote at a time when five out of six Democratic Congressional candidates were winning and the Democratic senator was being elected and in face of the best-financed Democratic gubernatorial campaign in history--and when you add to all of this the fact that in a fourth term, Governor Ray enjoys an 82% approval rating from the public with only 8% unfavorable (and 10% undecided), then you have a rare combination.

Who better would there be to ask a voter, is it fair to turn your back on a President who has brought peace to our land, ever-increasing prosperity to our land, inflation under control, and credibility to government?

And who better would there be to ask a voter, when you cast your ballot, do you want to give up what you now have for the promises of a unknown future? The person asking these questions must be a person who has demonstrated his capacity to communicate

with the average citizen of this country. I know of no better evidence than four successive election wins in a swing state and 82% favorable support from a cross-section of the American public.

But the key is that the selection of the Vice Presidential candidate must be made with particular reference to the kind of strategy that will be needed to win in November. This strategy must have a combination in logical arguments and a combination of identification with the natural psychology of the voter.

We have the arguments. And we can put together the right kind of a campaign to capitalize on these arguments and capitalize on the underlying psychological advantages that we have.

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August 6, 1976