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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

file
8/27

Don-

Brown

Problems

Organization of White House staff unclear: lines are not drawn between the Nessen-Gergen operation itself, and that operation in terms of Baroody's office and Hartman's office. This weakness is showing up nearly everywhere one turns. Problems are falling into the cracks as a result

Issues

Statements requests

Organizations traditionally have requested either the White House or the Committee to produce statements on matters of policy of interest. Those are being badly handled since they are getting caught between Nessen and Hartman. I understand that we are missing deadlines all over the country. Only recently, I pushed to have more of the Departments brought in to work on those which, again, is traditional. This should have been decided and in place a long time ago.

Speakers:

It must be decided now who is running the speakers program -- the PFC or the White House. One person and one person only should be the chief contact between the Cabinet and sub-Cabinet. As it stands ~~now~~ now, too much time is passing for decisions to be made. We need to strengthen this whole area. We don't even know for sure if we are tying in to all the forums because we haven't found out what the forums are! Who are the good speakers for what kinds of forums? Wives?

Mailings

Clearly the RNC is the only organization with the mechanism in place to do mailings. We need to ask: are the mechanisms good, what audiences can we reach. Along those lines, we ~~h~~ should have identified our key issues to hit where. As far as I can tell, people have been asking the questions but not making the decisions.

Targets

Have we really analyzed what areas we must carry. Are decisions re speakers and mailings being reached on that basis. I have seen a ~~target list~~ of cities. While all are good media forums, we need to decide now that we are hitting them for that and not because we expect to win in those cities. We will not win in the big cities for the most part -- we'll lose and we must realize it. We need to plan more forums on the byways -- areas which are regional, close to the cities but not identified with those cities. Reason: put 6 speakers in Chicago, polls will come out saying we're behind in Chicago and look at what we're doing. Answer: hit Peoria instead. The

Chicago media will come to Peoria to cover the speech. Hit the Chicago media spots on the way in or out.

Issues

We should have already decided those issues where we can win and where we cannot -- economy -yes. abortion - no win situation ; era - forget it; foreign policy -yes; farm policy - yes; tax reform - yes; unemployment 0- maybe; and so on. We must narrow the list and hit it damn hard. This has not been done that I can tell. We can also accomplish a lot by the use of polls, even acknowledging that they are not notably accurate. At least we should be able to pick up the soft spots. As much as anything, our actions on this level should be a matter of how much time we have. For specific areas, we can brief speakers on special problems areas which must be addressed if possible. This mechanism does seem to be in place.

The decision mechanism

Singling out any one problem area which causes the chief difficulty appears difficult, but I would place my finger on the lack of who can make quick decisions. We don't have three days to make any ~~decis~~ decisions. We must be in a position to go or not go on an idea or concept quickly. We have a clear lack of experienced people. Too many people are stretched too thin. While ~~in~~ we must avoid crisis decisions which can result in bad judgement, we have a lot of experienced people who can help us, and we should identify them and call on them. ~~Operations throughout the white~~ ~~house must be smoothed out~~ Operations throughout the White House, RNC and PFC should be smoothed out. Top personnel at the RNC and the PFC should be strong and tough and ready to take the heat. Both need new blood.

The President

Has anyone decided what the President is supposed to do in the election? I hope there is a firm decision which will make sure that, whatever he does, he does not personally seem to be scrambling after votes.

Along the decisions line

We don't seem to be able to run with good material. Example: Lawrence Klein says that his goal on unemployment is 4 - 4.5 per cent by 1980. This is hardly any different from what we've been saying -- that it isn't something which can be dropped that quickly without severe inflation. But, Carter gets Meany to condemn the President and he gets off scott-free. This item should have been included in Connally's speech, but I bet no one

around here picked ~~u~~ it up and ran hard with it. We must be sure that we have a very strong mechanism for picking up such material and getting it into the right hands for use in speeches, mailings and everything we've got. If we force an issues oriented campaign and pressure Jimmy Carter hard, sandwich him between speakers, and force him to get specific on issues that we want to raise, we can be ahead of the game. The problem right now is that we are headed for a defensive, not offensive, campaign. That is the worst possible kind and we need to turn it around so that we force the issues and force Carter and his people to speak to them.

It is possible, but we must ~~wire the system and make sure the system~~
~~works~~ get the mechanisms set up and make sure that they work before Labor Day.

We can carry the campaign. We might even be able to carry it without a really strong V-P sedection, but we need to use all of our resources.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN....

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.

David W. Belin
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August 6, 1976

TALKING POINTS

1. A pronounced shift in psychology and enthusiasm has occurred this past week in Kansas City. The President's forces are up, his adversaries down. A procession of Presidential wins in the key Convention Committees -- Rules and Platform -- has shown not simply a clear Presidential edge in delegate strength, but also superior discipline, better organization, tight unity, plus also a rising determination on the part of all delegates to prevent a Party blood bath that could cost the election.

2. Every sign points to a Presidential victory Wednesday night. Independent analysts (e.g. Newsweek's August 16th issue) now agree with conservative Ford estimates of enough delegates to win and a nearly 100 vote margin over Governor Reagan. In recent days Reagan maneuvers have told the same story -- an increasing frenzy of desperate thrusts striving for last-minute confusion, disruptions and delays that might steal away a few Ford partisans. The Vice President gambit to force the President's hand was as desperate as the ill-fated Schweicker choice which forced the gambit. The Platform Committee failures forced the Rules Committee struggles which also having failed appear likely to force a last stand on the Convention floor.

3. So the ambience of Kansas City is basically healthy and heartening: clearly, a Presidential win impends; clearly, irreparable Party rights have thus far been averted; clearly, a campaign-seasoned candidate, President Ford, will go forth with the backing of united and invigorated Republicans all across the country. The augury is therefore, a good one, despite the temporary Carter-Mondale lead in public opinion polls.

4. The augury is good because the President has been a good President -- because he personifies decency and honesty -- because he has restored confidence in White House integrity -- because, after all, America is at peace and is prospering, and the record of achievement is a proud one.

5. And this is a propitious time because Mr. Carter can only shrivel in public esteem. His national inexperience is a conceded fact -- and we have learned before the cost of on-the-job training in the Presidency. His equivocations and straddles and contradictions are approaching a national joke, except that the public won't let him reach election day without declaring himself. And as he does, his self-inflated balloon will collapse.

6. So we Ford partisans are all upbeat, and very soon all Republicans the Reaganites too, will feel the same way. For we're to have a great candidate with a great record, and a vulnerable, inexperienced opponent. We're on to victory in November 1976.

7. One-liners

a. On Ford's Vice President choice: Don't worry about it; the person he picks is bound to be left of Reagan and right of Schweicker, so we'll all be content.

b. On timing of Vice Presidential choice: The effort of the Reagan forces only shows that misery loves company.

c. On Platform fights on the floor: Nothing devastating in store; some sparring, perhaps, but reason will prevail.

d. On Buckley: He draws down on Reagan, not Ford.

e. On President's campaigning ability: He'll do just fine; I'll put my money on his everyman frankness as against Carter's deliberate fuzz. And I'll choose his national experience over peanut farming.

COST OF CARTER'S PLATFORM

The Carter program includes something for everyone--including the taxpayer. Not surprisingly, everyone has been told what's in the Carter program for them -- except the taxpayer.

Carter says he will never tell a lie -- but he hasn't committed to tell the people the whole truth -- and, so far, he hasn't.

The whole truth is that the Carter program would require a huge tax increase -- exactly how much is difficult to determine because Carter "commitments" often turn to mush when they are examined carefully -- you may think you heard him make a commitment, but when you examine the words carefully you discover he left himself a loophole -- a way to say later on -- to a different group -- I didn't really mean it.

Even with this difficulty, it is possible to put a price tag on part of the Carter program.

New taxpayers payments to the Federal Government for just 5 of the 62 new spending "commitments" by Carter comes to \$103.3 billion; which would mean a 51% increase in individual and corporate income taxes.

The five programs and their estimated costs are:

(First Full Year Federal Expenditures)

	<u>Billions</u>
Mondale/Brademus Child Development Program	<u>\$1.1</u>
Humphrey/Hawkins	\$10.3
Kennedy/Corman, National Health Insurance	\$70
Griffith's negative income tax	\$9.9
Perkins, education equalization bill	<u>\$12.0</u>
	<u>\$103.3</u>

If candidate Carter doesn't agree with these estimates he should tell us what his estimates are, and while he's at it, he should tell us what his other programs will do to the taxpayers.