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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 11, 1976

*file
V.P. Selection*

MIKE DUVAL --

The attached is worth your
attention.

Dave Gergen

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 11, 1976



MEMORANDUM FOR: DAVE GERGEN
FROM: STEF HALPER SAM
SUBJECT: Luncheon with George Will

George Will was the speaker at a luncheon I attended on Thursday. I spoke with him at length afterwards. His comments ranged over the contemporary political scene. I have noted some of his observations which are relevant to us.

On campaign strategy, Will pointed out that of the 10 largest states, all but 2 have Democratic Governors. Had a few thousand votes been different in Ohio and Michigan, they would all be Democratic. Furthermore, all have congressional delegations dominated by the Democrats. The 10 largest states bring you within 12 electoral votes of victory. In the non-Border South, with 120 electoral votes, Jimmy Carter is perceived more as a cause than as a man. Even though Will is double counting Texas and Florida, any Republican candidate has an uphill fight.

Will suggested that Ford might write-off the South and capitalize on the anti-Carter feelingⁱⁿ the West and Northeast. He suggested that many would look to Richardson but added that Richardson was a bright man and a poor campaigner and might add little to the ticket. Will then said, "If I were doing the picking I'd take Anne Armstrong -- she's a real pro, a great campaigner, bright and from Texas". He said that the Ford campaign was less astute than the Carter and Reagan efforts, probably too unimaginative to realize that they were in deep trouble and had to take dramatic and persuasive steps to get past the ho hum attitude that most people have toward Ford's candidacy. His point is that while Baker, Rumsfeld, Richardson, Brock, Evans, Wilson, etc. are all good men, something dramatic and unusual is called for. He implied that Carter as a cause must be responded to with a cause; that the Republicans can't win this one by just doing a good job -- we've got to capture people's imagination and make Ford's candidacy as unique as Carter's.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 18, 1976



MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK CHENEY
FROM: MIKE DUVAL *Mike*
SUBJECT: VICE PRESIDENT

As I mentioned to you earlier, Phil Buchen told me he was going to develop some information on what process should be used for choosing the Vice Presidential nominee. I understand his thought is to develop the procedural alternatives which could be used by the President for making his selection, and a separate procedure which could be used by the Democratic nominee.

Although I have grave reservations about using any Federal agency (including the FBI) in selecting the Vice Presidential nominee, I agree with Phil that we should have an established procedure. My personal view is that the country is far better off relying on the imperfect political process to select the Vice Presidential nominee. Federal agencies have no place in this process. Suppose, for example, the FBI clears a man whom the Democrats nominate and later we find out he is another Agnew or Eagleton. Or, consider the implications of a negative FBI report on a Carter choice. What would we do if Brown asked for an FBI check on Carter -- or Reagan on Ford?

Someone should be working on this. I do not think Levi should be setting policy in this area. Only the President.

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VICE PRESIDENT

I. Qualities Needed

- A. Must have strong, positive appeal to swing voters.
- B. Able to carry key state or region (border states, northeast, etc.).
- C. Aggressive campaign style.
- D. Attractive media candidate.
- E. Must be acceptable to most elements of the Party.
- F. Must not run counter to mood of country or image of strategy (experience, and active, responsible change).

II. Prenomination Strategy

- A. Must keep all options open so as :
 - 1. Not to alienate any region.
 - 2. Not to alienate any ideological segment.
 - 3. Not to alienate any potential aspirants.
 - 4. Not to reveal general election strategy.

III. Role in Campaign.

- A. Veep nominee will be most active campaigner.
- B. May need to visit areas President does not cover.
- C. Must concentrate on key states.
- D. Will be in traditional campaign mode.
- E. Must help (perhaps with Rockefeller) to unify Party.

- F. Must lead attack on Carter ticket.
- G. May substitute for President with Republicans running for office.
- H. Schedule and content to be coordinated by communications group.
- I. Must praise record and highlight President's blueprint for the future.

IV. Rockefeller

- A. Already strong in swing states -- should concentrate his efforts there.
- B. Can attack Carter on liberal social issues.
- C. Could travel with a well-known conservative (like Goldwater or Tower) to put Carter in a cross-fire.
- D. Should begin to attack Carter raising appropriate doubts beginning week of July 19.
 - 1. Schedule and content to be determined by communications group.
- E. Can work to solidify key delegations for Convention fights.
- F. Can substitute for President with Republicans running for office.

