The original documents are located in Box 25, folder "Debate Preparation" of the Michael Raoul-Duval Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 20, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

MIKE DUVAL Mike

SUBJECT:

Last Debate

Briefing Materials

Attached are two very brief books of briefing material for the last debate.

Book I contains a recommended first answer, themes and rebuttal material, and closing statement. We strongly recommend that you concentrate on this book. In our judgment these are the points you should make in the debate.

Book II has some background materials on subjects which may come up.

Attachments



THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

Date: 10 19
TO: Mike Dulal
FROM: Max L. Friedersdorf
For Your Information
Please Handle
Please See Me
Comments, Please
Other

CONFIDENTIAL

October 18, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JACK MARSH

THRU:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM:

JOE JENCKES

SUBJECT:

Campaign Meeting with Selected

Senators and Governors

Today's meeting began at 3:00 p.m. with opening remarks by Pollster Teeter. He indicated that no single issue dominates the campaign. The campaign is a matter of candidate perception. Pollster outlined the three main weaknesses of Jimmy Carter -- 1. He is not specific; 2. He has no prior accomplishments; and 3. He is inexperienced. Available polling data reflects that this election will be won in 16-18 states. The Southern block is breaking-up. A victory for the President is possible in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana. In Florida, the President is behind by 4% as opposed to 11% a week ago.

Jim Baker discussed reimbursement for campaign expenses incurred by governors and senators working on the President's behalf.

The following is a tentative schedule for the final days of the campaign as outlined by Jim Baker:

October 21 (evening)

New York City -- Al Smith Dinner

October 22

Debate -- Williamsburg Overnight in Richmond

October 23 (A.M.)

Richmond
Raleigh, N.C. -- State Fair
Possible Columbia, S.C. -- attend
Notre Dame/South Carolina football game
and S.C. State Fair.

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Evening of 23rd: fly to California

October 24	Events in Los Angeles, Orange County, and San Diego
October 25	Seattle and Portland, Oregon
October 26	A.M Pittsburgh P.M Chicago suburbs
October 27	A.M Milwaukee P.M Philadelphia suburbs
October 28	A.M New Jersey P.M Cincinnati & Cleveland
October 29	A.M Indiana and Missouri P.M Free possible Texas or Southern trip
October 30	A.M possible Texas or Southern trip P.M upstate New York
October 31	A.M Long Island P.M Free
November 1	Free
November 2	Early to Grand Rapids to vote and return to White House

Comments of individuals attending meeting:

Senator Baker	Suggested that the President travel to Knoxville on 29th or 30th of October indicated that neither the President or Senator Dole has been to Tennessee
Hugh Scott	Suggested that the President campaign in Montgomery, Delaware, and Bucks counties around Philadelphia. Suggested that the President phone Mayor Rizzo if he does not go into the city of Philadelphia
Governor Evans	The 25th of October is not Veterans' Day in the state of Washington
Governor Edwards	Suggested an airplane touchdown in Atlanta perhaps to sign the new Delta route to London
Gov. of Indiana	Indicated that the President is ahead in Indiana but not to let down our efforts.

Senator Bellmon

Suggested study group to help select a new Secretary of Agriculture. Also suggested that the President telephone

Raymond Gary, ex-Democratic Governor of

Oklahoma, for his endorsement

Senator Baker

Winfield Dunn, ex-Governor of Tennessee, would like country music stars such as Eddie Arnold, Roy Acuff, to have a 30 minute meeting with the President

Senator Hatfield

The President should utilize Edith Green and other Democrats and Independents in pictures to help broaden his support base

Hugh Scott

A Committee of entertainers should be organized to stump for the President

Senator Weicker

Strongly emphasized that the President should take the "high road" tactically. He believes that the President can win with a positive image. Must have an upbeat campaign the last 10 days instead of fighting Carter on his own ground.

Hugh Scott

Suggested an increased effort on phone banks. Also suggested a letter to black Baptist ministers. Jim Baker said Bob Brown would send letter

Senator Helms

Concerned about the effect of voter apathy on President's chances. Must get the vote out.

Governor Godwin

Believes the President's strongest point is the way he has handled inflation. Carter's programs will cost more money and bring on inflation

Governor Milliken

Stated that the overriding issues in the industrial states are the economy and unemployment. Publication of new economic data would be helpful. Said that Carter does not "wear well"

Hugh Scott

Emphasized that "Carter means taxes." The Ford Administration has done more for people

than any other administration

Mel Laird

Suggested that the only way for the President to win is to create controversy -- this will help get the vote out. Recommends tax cut of \$500. Lower taxes is the best issue

Senator Bellmon Said that according to the Budget Committee, revenues will be \$40 billion more than we need through higher incomes going into higher tax brackets

Governor Evans Disagreed with Laird on creating controversy.

Worried that controversy may agitate the casual voter who in turn will vote Democratic

Senator Baker Suggested that the President have a vision of the future in debate.

Senator Bellmon Suggested that we try to get Southern governors to announce their support for the President.

The President pointed out that a Mr. Kline, Carter's economic advisor, has stated that under Carter's plans there is no room for tax reduction. The President also indicated that perhaps the closing statement should be used on the first question in this final debate because of viewer decline toward the end of the debate.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 18, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

MIKE DUVAL

SUBJECT:

Last Debate

Jim Karayn, Executive Director of the League of Women Voters Debate Project, met with me today to suggest a possible change of format. This constitutes a proposal by the League of Women Voters and I have every reason to believe that the Carter people will endorse it.

Karayn recommends that we adopt the Vice Presidential debate format for your last debate with Mr. Carter. This would involve the following:

Opening statements -- 2 minutes (each)

Question -- 45 seconds

Answer -- 2 minutes, 30 seconds

Rebuttal -- 2 minutes, 30 seconds

Surrebuttal -- 1 minute

Closing statements -- 3 minutes (each)

The last debate would last 90 minutes.

If there is no change in the format, you will take the first question and also go first for the closing statements as a result of the coin toss which determined the order for the first debate. If the new format is adopted, Karayn has agreed that there will be a new coin toss to determine the order of the last debate.

Bill Carruthers and I both recommend that you reject this proposed change and stick with the format used in the first two Presidential debates. Our feeling is that the more direct the exchange is between you and Governor Carter the greater advantage Carter has because he is the challenger attacking an Incumbent's record. Also, the format we have



been using gives you a better opportunity to communicate directly with the panel and the viewing public in a manner similar with your press conferences. This is a format which you are familiar with and we do not see the advantages in changing horses in mid-stream.

DECISION:

Stick with format used in first two debates, or		
Accept League change, adopt VP format		

FOR YOUR INFORMATION:

Also Jim Karayn asked for my "informal" reaction to the suggestion that there be a 5th debate on October 28 with the President and Dole vs. Carter and Mondale or just between the President and Mr. Carter. I indicated that this was probably out of the question due to the President's schedule commitments.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 18, 1976

THE PRESIDENT

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FROM: MIKE DUVAL

SUBJECT: Last Debate



BACKGROUND

Based on our polling data, you clearly won the first debate and probably won, or at least did as well as Carter in the second debate. The panels polled by Teeter following the second debate showed you with an 11 point lead before the press reaction to your Eastern European remark began to play. By the time the press had blasted at you for 24 hours you were down 45 points. The lesson to be learned from this is that your debating style for the first two debates has not been a problem. Although we will suggest some minor refinements further on in this memo, it is clear that your Eastern European remark (while it did not particularly impact the viewing public at the time of the debate), became the focus of press criticism and it was the criticism that had the impact on the voting public. In addition, Carter succeeded -- to some extent -- in putting you on the defensive at the beginning of the second debate. He will probably try this again next time.

Your advisers believe you should go into the last debate with the objective of a clear victory over Carter. This will be the largest audience you will have between now and the election. You should use it to make a positive and forceful appeal for their votes.

OBJECTIVES FOR LAST DEBATE

Bob Teeter advises that you should attempt to reach the following audiences during your last debate:

- 1. Rural, moderately conservative, traditionally GOP voters;
- 2. Traditionally Democratic-leaning, blue collar voters in the big suberbs; and
- 3. Upper middle class ticket splitters who also live in the suberbs of the big cities.

There are two major themes that appeal to all three groups:

- . Maintaining the peace, and
- . Lower taxes.

You should take every opportunity during the debate to make these two points forcefully and with as many varied examples and anecdotes as possible.

You must emphasize the importance of this election by pointing out the major differences between you and Mr. Carter, not the minor ones. You should emphasize the fact that he is inexperienced and unknown. Compare this with your record for the past two years and your vision of the next four. You should close with a direct appeal for voter support on November 2.

SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING STYLE

One consensus that has emerged as your advisers (such as Bill Carruthers) reviewed the second debate tape is that you appear to have been overly concerned with the television cameras. In the first debate you were more natural and appeared at ease while talking primarily to the panelist that asked the question. In the second debate you seemed more concerned with the cameras and thus appeared to lose some concentration on the substance of your answer.

This undoubtedly was a result of the many criticisms expressed to you after the first debate to the effect that you should look at the camera more often.

An example of how much more effective you are when talking to your questioner can be found in your excellent performance at last week's press conference. By relating directly to the questioner, your answers tend to be short, responsive and human. This may be because of the feedback you get from the questioner by way of nods or "signals" which give you a cue when you have fully answered the question. In any event, by concentrating on the panel in the next debate you should come off as more relaxed and candid.

Therefore, we continue to recommend that you essentially address your answer to the questioner, looking only at the camera when you want to make a point directly to the viewing public. This transition should be natural and keyed to the substance of what you are saying.

Also, you may wish to keep in mind if you do talk directly to the camera you really are not perceived (by the viewer) as talking to 80-100 million people. You are perceived as talking to just those people in the room watching the television set, which, on the average is likely to be a single couple or a family. Thus, you should keep in mind that you are talking to people in the intimacy of their living room and your tone should be more conversational than that of a stump speech.

Another point on which there is substantial agreement concerns the loudness of your voice when responding. Many viewers perceive you to be shouting and this is in marked contrast to Carter's responses which tend to vary in pitch and be much more modulated and low-keyed. Given the technical control the pool producer has over audio level, you can speak much more softly without any fear of not being heard or understood.

A third point which many have made concerns the appearance you give of being overly stern. Although this is helpful at times to indicate strength and dominance over Carter, the fact is, it has not varied in the two debates and you now come across to some as angry and strident.

To summarize, your advisers (principally Carruthers, Gergen, Teeter, Baily and Deardourff), have two general recommendations concerning style:

- 1. Be more natural, at ease. Approach the debate as you did the press conference where you directly respond to the questioner, looking at the camera where it is natural to do so, but keeping a personal relationship between your questioner and yourself.
- 2. Vary the pace of the debate. Alternate -- as it becomes natural to do so, based on the questions and the statements by Carter -- between:
 - . serious, stern;
 - hitting Carter directly and hard three or four times (not often and not in a knitpicking manner);
 - . show some humor, a smile and even (if appropriate) a laugh; and
 - . show compassion with a soft voice and perhaps obvious emotion while relating a personal experience.

YOUR ANSWERS/RESPONSES

The following are some general recommendations concerning the content of your answers/responses during the third debate:

- 1. Keep them Short. Your answers and responses in the second debate were generally longer than during the first encounter. Your shorter responses tend to be better organized and more forcefully stated. Bob Hartmann makes the additional point that it would be very useful if you can answer just one question with a simple yes or no. Teeter agrees with this but feels a brief sentence or two in explanation might be appropriate. It is obvious from reviewing the first two tapes that there is no need to use all your time and indeed you score your best points with short, crisp, sentences that make a point with one or two facts to support your argument.
- Be Responsive and Positive. It appeared to us in 2. reviewing the second debate that you often did not focus on the question or on Carter's response. It may be useful this time to jot down the question directed to Carter so you can refer to it specifically in your rebuttal. It may also be useful for you to very briefly repeat the essence of the question asked of you so that you can demonstrate your willingness to deal forthrightly and directly with the question. If you concentrate on the specific question asked and on the specific statements being made by Carter, you are more likely to come across in a natural, relaxed and responsive manner, much like your performance in last week's press conference. After giving a short, but direct response to the question you can go on and make the key points (themes) which are covered in the next section.

We recommend that you set a positive, up-lifting tone in the last debate. Demonstrate by how you deal with the questions and Carter's attacks that you are the President and the other guy is an over-ambitious, lightweight challenger. Always take the high ground and leave the cheap shots to Carter. Although we are not certain, the public may well believe that the campaign has sunk to a very low level of petty charges and counter-charges.

The press certainly has this view. Your post debate reviews will benefit considerably if you are perceived to have taken the high road.

By being positive and referring to the future you will not be on the defensive -- a crucial point in terms of "winning" the debate.

- 3. Give simple answers that communicate thoughts, not statistics. Many of us felt that your answers in the first two debates (particularly the second), while technically accurate and powerful, nevertheless contained so many statistics and complexities that the point you were trying to make was lost on the average viewer. Our review of the analysis developed by Bob Teeter (see Tab A) shows that you scored most heavily in the first debate with your statements concerning tax cuts. The only thing that approached this positive response in the second debate was your comments concerning the Mayaguez which came across as emotional, personal and in relatively simple, easily understandable terms.
- A. Draw conclusions. We recommend that you end each answer/response with a conclusion which puts into perspective the subject matter just discussed and the differences between you and Carter. The people expect you, as President, to demonstrate your leadership by stating simply what these complex issues mean. You should give them the "bottom line". This is also an excellent opportunity to put Carter on the defensive as he attempts to respond to your answers. By representing his position in your conclusion, you tend to preempt his response by stating in advance the points he is about to make and why they are wrong or misleading. (We will provide some specific examples.)

KEY POINTS (THEMES)

As indicated above, after responding succinctly to the question, you should make the appropriate key points in order to "score" with the targeted audience.

We have indicated that the two most important points (or themes) to make are that (1) you are for lower taxes for everyone and (2) under your leadership we will maintain peace.



(In addition to these two points, we are developing some suggested responses to key issues.)

Nevertheless, it is not the substance of your answers and rebuttals that is going to "win or lose" the debate. What counts is the message you communicate concerning your own character, ability, and vision vis-a-vis Carter. Accordingly, I recommend that you spend as much time as possible over the next two days going over your answers with two or three of your advisers in a Q and A format.

SUMMARY

For the above reasons we believe you can decisively win the last debate if you:

- Emphasize the major themes of peace and tax cuts and mention other key "themes" we will present to you.
- Appear relaxed and natural thereby conveying to the viewing public your personal qualities of strength, self-confidence, ability to deal with people directly and forthrightly, and compassion and understanding for peoples' problems.
- Deal with Mr. Carter by appearing clearly as the President, on the high road, who is not distracted by the challenger. You should occasionally, and sharply, put him in his place with a forceful (but not strident) rebuke at the appropriate time involving an issue of importance.
- Do not become defensive. Stress your record of achievement and talk about the future.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON



October 18, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

MIKE DUVAL

Last Debate

Miles

SUBJECT:

2000 20000

BACKGROUND

Based on our polling data, you clearly won the first debate and probably won, or at least did as well as Carter in the second debate. The panels polled by Teeter following the second debate showed you with an 11 point lead before the press reaction to your Eastern European remark began to play. By the time the press had blasted at you for 24 hours you were down 45 points. The lesson to be learned from this is that your debating style for the first two debates has not been a problem. Although we will suggest some minor refinements further on in this memo, it is clear that your Eastern European remark (while it did not particularly impact the viewing public at the time of the debate), became the focus of press criticism and it was the criticism that had the impact on the voting public. In addition, Carter succeeded -- to some extent -- in putting you on the defensive at the beginning of the second debate. He will probably try this again next time.

Your advisers believe you should go into the last debate with the objective of a clear victory over Carter. This will be the largest audience you will have between now and the election. You should use it to make a positive and forceful appeal for their votes.

OBJECTIVES FOR LAST DEBATE

Bob Teeter advises that you should attempt to reach the following audiences during your last debate:

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You must emphasize the importance of this election by pointing out the major differences between you and Mr. Carter, not the minor ones. You should emphasize the fact that he is inexperienced and unknown. Compare this with your record for the past two years and your vision of the next four. You should close with a direct appeal for voter support on November 2.

SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING STYLE

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Page 3R

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- President, on the high road, who is not distracted by the challenger. You should occasionally, and sharply, put him in his place with a forceful (but not strident) rebuke at the appropriate time involving an issue of importance.
- . Do not become defensive. Stress your record of achievement and talk about the future.

THE WHITE HOUSE

October 18, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

MIKE DUVAL

SUBJECT:

Last Debate

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Bill Carruthers and I both recommend that you reject this proposed change and stick with the format used in the first two Presidential debates. Our feeling is that the more direct the exchange is between you and Governor Carter the greater advantage Carter has because he is the challenger attacking an Incumbent's record. Also, the format we have



been using gives you a better opportunity to communicate directly with the panel and the viewing public in a manner similar with your press conferences. This is a format which you are familiar with and we do not see the advantages in changing horses in mid-stream.

DECISION:

Stick with format used in first two debates, or		
Accept League change, adopt VP format		

FOR YOUR INFORMATION:

Also Jim Karayn asked for my "informal" reaction to the suggestion that there be a 5th debate on October 28 with the President and Dole vs. Carter and Mondale or just between the President and Mr. Carter. I indicated that this was probably out of the question due to the President's schedule commitments.



MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MIKE DUVAL

SUBJECT: Last Debate



BACKGROUND:

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All of your advisers we have consulted, believe you should go into the last debate with the objective of a clear victory over Carter. Beyond any question of a doubt this will be the largest audience you will have between now & the election & you should use it to make a positive and forceful appeal for their votes.

OBJECTIVES OF LAST DEBATE

to reach

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You should also use the debate to underscore the importance of this election by pointing out the difference between you and Mr. Carter, You should emphasize the fact that he is inexperienced and unknown. Compare this with your record for the past two years and your vision of the next four. You

should close with a direct appeal for voter support on Nov. 2

all (caps)

Suggestions concerning style.

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Bill Carruthers) reviewed the second debate tape is that you
appear overly concerned with the television cameras. In
the first debate your were more natural and appeared at ease
while talking primarily to the panelist that asked the question.
In the second debate you seemed more concerned with the cameras
location and appeared to lose some concentration on the
substance of your answer due to your concern with the cameras.

This undoubtedly was a result of the many private criticisms expressed to you after the first debate to the effect that you should look at the camera more often.

meet A

We continue to recommend that you essentially address your answer to the questioner, looking only at the camera when you want to make a point to the American people as a whole.

This transition should be natural and keyed to the substance of what you are saying.

insert B

INSERT A

An example of how much more effective you are when talking to your questioner can be found in your performance at last week's press conference. By relating directly to the questioner, your answers tend to be more responsive and far shorter. This may be because of the feedback you get from the questioner by way of nods or "signals" which give you a cue when you have fully answered the question.

In any event, by concentrating on the panel in the next debate you should come off as more relaxed and candid.

INSERT B

Also, you may wish to keep in mind if you do talk directly to the camera you really are not perceived (by the viewer) as talking to 80-100 million people. You are perceived as talking to just those people in the room watching the television set, which, on the average is likely to be a single couple or a family. Thus, you should keep in mind that you are talking to people in the intimacy of their living room and thus your tone should be more conversational than that of a stump speech.

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Your advisers (principally Carruthers, Teeter, Baily and Deardorff) have two recommendations concerning style:

1. Be more natural, at ease. Approach the debate as you did the press conference where you directly respond to the questioner, looking at the camera where it is natural to do so, but keeping a personal relationship between your questioner and yourself.

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 - . serious, stern;
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 - obvious emotion based on personal experience.

Your Answers/Responses

The following are some general recommendations concerning the content of your answers/responses during the third debate:

the second debate were generally longer than during the first encounter. Your shorter responses tend to be better organized and more forcefully state.

Bob Hartmann makes the additional point that it would be very useful if you can answer just one question with a simple yes or no. Teeter agrees with this but feels a brief sentence or two in explanation might be appropriate. It is obvious from reviewing the first two tapes that there is no need to use

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INSUA C



We recommend that you set a positive, up-lifting tone in the last debate. Demonstrate by how you deal with the questions and Carter's attacks that you are the President and the other guy is an over-ambitious, light-weight Candidata. Always take the high ground and leave the cheap shots to Carter. Although we are not certain, the public feels that the campaign has sunk to a very low level of petty charges and counter-charges. The press certainly has this view. Your post debate reviews will benefit considerably if you are perceived to have taken the high road.

By the fiture being positive and referring to the future you will be not be on the defensive — a crucial point in terms of "Winning" he delate.

- 3. Give simple answers that communicate thoughts not statistics. Many of us felt that your answers in the first two debates (particularly the second), while technically accurate and powerful nevertheless contained so many statistics and complexities that the point you were trying to make was lost on the average viewer. Our review of the analysis developed by Bob Teeter (see Tab A) shows that you score most heavily in the first debate with your statements concerning tax cuts. The only thing that approached this positive response in the second debate were your comments concerning the Mayaguez which came across as emotional, personal and in relatively simple, easily understanderable terms.
- Draw conclusions. Trecommend that you end each answer/response with a conclusion which puts into perspective the subject matter just discussed and the differences between you and Carter. The people expect you, as President, to demonstrate your leadership by telling what it is these complex issues mean. You should give them the "bottom line".

 This is also an excellent opportunity to put Carter

on the defensive as he attempts to respond to your answers. By representing his position in your conclusion, you tend to preempt his response by stating in advance the points he is about to make in a manner favorable to your position.

(We will provide some specific examples.)

KEY POINTS (THEMES)

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MIKE DUVAL

SUBJECT: Last Debate



BACKGROUND:

Based on our polling data, you clearly won the first debate and probably won, or at least did as well as Carter in the second debate. The panels polled by Teeter following the second debate showed you with an 11 point lead before the press reaction to your Eastern European remark began to play. By the time the press had blasted you for 24 hrs. you were down 45 points. The lesson to be learned from this is that your debating style for the first 2 debates has not been a problem. Although we will suggest some minor refinements further on in this memo, it is clear that your eastern European remark (while it did particularly impact of the impublic at the time of the debate) became the focus of press criticism and it was the criticism that had the impact on the voting public.

All of your advisers we have consulted, believe you should go into the last debate with the objective of a clear victory over Carter. Beyond any question of a doubt this will be the largest audience you will have between now & the election & you should use it to make a positive and forceful appeal for their votes.



to reach

Bob Teeter advises that you should attempt the following audiences during your last debate:

- Rural, moderately conservative, traditionally GOP voters;
- 2. Traditionally Democratic-leaning, blue collar voters in the big suberbs; and
- 3. Upper middle class ticket splitters who also live in the suberbs of the big cities.

There are two major themes that appeal to all three groups:

- . Maintaining the peace, and
- . Lower taxes.

You should take every opportunity during the debate to make these two points forcefully and with as many varied examples as possible.

You should also use the debate to underscore the importance of this election by pointing out the difference between you and Mr. Carter. You should emphasize the fact that he is inexperienced and unknown. Compare this with your record for the past two years and your vision of the next four. You

should close with a direct appeal for voter support on Nov. 2

all (caps (

Suggestions concerning style.

One consensus that has emerged as your advisers (such as

Bill Carruthers) reviewed the second debate tape is that you
appear overly concerned with the television cameras. In
the first debate your were more natural and appeared at ease
while talking primarily to the panelist that asked the question.
In the second debate you seemed more concerned with the cameras
location and appeared to lose some concentration on the
substance of your answer due to your concern with the cameras.

This undoubtedly was a result of the many private criticisms expressed to you after the first debate to the effect that you should look at the camera more often.

meet A

We continue to recommend that you essentially address your answer to the questioner, looking only at the camera when you want to make a point to the American people as a whole.

This transition should be natural and keyed to the substance of what you are saying.

insert B

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An example of how much more effective you are when talking to your questioner can be found in your performance at last week's press conference. By relating directly to the questioner, your answers tend to be more responsive and far shorter. This may be because of the feedback you get from the questioner by way of nods or "signals" which give you a cue when you have fully answered the question.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

October 13, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FROM:

SUBJECT:

JERRY JONES

MIKE DUVAL

Meeting with the President Thursday, October 14

I think it's important that Bill Carruthers and myself spend a half hour with the President tomorrow (Thursday) to have a post-mortem on the last debate.

I really think we need to get from the President a better understanding of his feelings about what happened. I'm very conscious of the danger of focussing on past mistakes (in terms of affecting future performance) but I think we need to have a better understanding of his feelings concerning the preparation for the last debate and the events that occurred on stage.

Attendees should be: Dick, myself, and Bill Carruthers.

An alternative (which I prefer) would be to have the President view the "Teeter tape" of the second debate and then follow-up the viewing with a short meeting to analyze it. If that is the format chosen, Teeter should be at the meeting.

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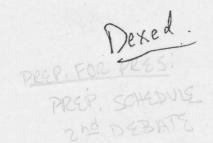


ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 27, 1976



EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK CHENEY

FROM:

MIKE DUVAL

SUBJECT:

DEBATE MEETINGS ON TUESDAY

I recommend the following meetings:

Time:

10:00 a. m. - noon Lincoln Sitting Room

Place: Participants:

Cheney, Teeter, Duval, Chanock

(Note: Carruthers will still be on

West Coast.)

Subject:

Review Teeter tape, discuss 2nd debate

strategy and format.

Time:

3:00 p.m. - 3:30 p.m.

Place:

Oval Office

Participants:

President, Cheney, Duval

Subject:

Preparation schedule (present Carter materials); discuss format of briefing

materials, rehearsals, etc.

Time: Place:

5:30 p.m. - 7:00 p.m. Lincoln Sitting Room

Participants:

President, Cheney, Teeter, Carruthers,

Chanock, Duval

Subject:

Review Teeter tape, discuss strategy

and format.

DEBATE PREPARATION

2nd Debate: Foreign Policy/National Defense

	<u>Item</u>	Re	esponsibility	Due to MD
•	Carter quotes, facts and positions		Gergen (and PFC)	9/27
•	Ford Briefing Book		Scowcroft	9/29
•	"Blocks"		Duval	10/1
•	Flip cards		Duval	10/2
	- our position		Q. FORO	
	- rebuttal		SE A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A A	

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THE WHITE HOUSE

debites

WASHINGTON

October 1, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mike Duval

FROM:

Jim Connor

Brent Scowcroft, Jim Cannon, Jim Mitchell (for Jim Lynn), Chuck Robinson and I discussed the alternatives for dealing with the nuclear issue raised by Carter before the debate. All agreed that there was no good opportunity for a Presidential speech prior to next Wednesday, and that further, unless handled correctly, the speech might seem a purely defensive gesture. We examined a number of other alternatives which might position the President for the debate. These included a Presidential message to the Congress and Presidential remarks in a press conference. Both of these approaches were rejected by the group because it was felt that, again, in both cases the approach might seem defensive and hastily arranged.

The group, however, discussed an approach which appears sound. Basically, the approach builds upon the fact that the President has had an extraordinarily good record in this area, and that he has taken a remarkable number of steps to ensure that our nonproliferation objectives are met, including arranging the suppliers conference in the spring of 1975, tightening export controls, carrying on serious and effective bilateral discussions, and lastly, commissioning the Fri report and making his decisions on that report. We have drafted a message which could be used as either a Presidential speech at a later date, or as a text of a publicly released message. Selected and knowledgeable members of the press could be briefed on the processes that have ensued over the last two years, on the nature of the President's decisions, and on the importance of those decisions. We would push for coverage in a weekly news magazine and a newspaper on Monday. In addition, we have prepared for the President materials both to respond to Carter himself or to deal with the question should it be directed to him during the debate.

Attached at Tab A is a proposed response for the President; Attached at Tab B is a comparison of the Carter and Ford positions on the issue; Attached at Tab C are specific paragraphs on nuclear issues.

Attachments



Rebuttal to Carter if Nuclear Proliferation Issue is Raised by Him

I am glad to see Governor Carter is concerned with the issue of nuclear proliferation. He has aligned himself with a great number of Republicans and Democrats who have treated this as a serious, but bipartisan, issue over the past three decades. I cannot imagine any sane person who would be against nuclear safety or for a system which would permit nuclear weapons to fall into the hands of irresponsible groups or nations.

As in so many areas the real issue which confronts a President to Rolling is to make very sure that what he proposes is effective. He cannot be satisfied with mere words. In nuclear proliferation this means making sure that other countries which have the ability to export nuclear materials and technology abide by the same set of rules as the United States. This requires leadership on our part and a willingness to negotiate patiently, but firmly. Unilateral declarations may sound good, but they aren't sufficient to prevent nuclear proliferation.

Let me give you an example, Shortly after I came to office, I directed the Secretary of State to explore ways to prevent suppliers of nuclear materials from competing by being lax on the issue of safeguards. In April, 1975, as a direct result of this effort the first conference of nuclear supplier nations opened in London. That conference has met six times and the seven nations involved have agreed on a set of much stricter guidelines to govern nuclear exports. I have directed that

these guidelines be adopted as U.S. policy. The effort hasn't stopped. Several months ago I initiated a comprehensive re-examination of our nuclear policies. That effort is now just about completed. We are now consulting with other major suppliers and I expect to announce my decisions in the very near future.

Carter Promises

- World-wide voluntary moratorium on national sale or purchase of enrichment or reprocessing plants and withholding authority for U.S. domestic commercial reprocessing pending
 - satisfactory completion of a multinational program designed to develop experimentally (not full scale demonstrations) the technology, economics, regulations and safeguards
 - development of mutually satisfactory ground rules for management and operation, including next generation of material accounting procedures and physical security requirements.

If both conditions met, all ensuing commercial reprocessing plants should be on a multinational basis.

- No <u>new U.S.</u> commitments on nuclear technology of fuel would be allowed unless recipients agree to
 - forego possessing nuclear explosives
 - refrain from reprocessing

President's Performance

1. Domestically, Administration has prevented export of all reprocessing facilities through authority under Section 810 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended.

Internationally, U.S. has

- bilaterally, attempted to stop all sales of reprocessing equipment and has stopped a sale to South Korea and development of a facility in the Republic of China (Taiwan); negotiations are proceeding to stop sales to Pakistan and Brazil
- multilaterally, developed through the London Suppliers Group a common set of guidelines requiring safeguards and security measures in connection with export of sensitive facilities, including reprocessing facilities.

*The President now proposes

- not accepting reprocessing as inevitable
- undertaking <u>realistic</u> demonstration program to determine the safeguards, economics and technological performance of reprocessing
- undertaking extensive research on potential alternatives to plutonium recycle
- encouraging other nations to participate in the demonstrations and offering to share information obtained with other nations.
- 2. Administration's policy

has been

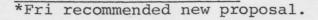
forego possessing nuclear explosives but only with regard to U.S.-supplied materials and facilities

obtaining a U.S. veto over reprocessing on U.S. supplied materials and facilities

*will be

forego possessing nuclear explosives with respect to all nuclear materials and facilities

insisting on recipient foregoing reprocessing, whether or not U.S. supplied material or facilities are involved





safeguards on all

requires IAEA

- place all national nuclear facilities under IAEA safequards

Renegotiate existing agreements to include reprocessing safeguards

3. Call for World Conference on Energy (along the lines of the World Food Conference) to develop world-wide information on energy supplies and needs with a view toward establishing a permanent World Energy Agency

- 4. Support strengthening of IAEA safeguards and inspection authority
- under IAEA safeguards
- 6. Support enlargement of U.S. Government-owned enrichment facilities to insure that U.S. is a reliable supplier

requiring IAEA safeguards on U.S. supplied materials and facilities

renegotiating agree- *to seek to ment only if amendment to them required for other reasons

- civil nuclear materials and facilities negotiate changes to provide U.S.
- veto of reprocessing involving U.S. supplied material and facilities 3. Through U.S. initiative in 1974, the
- International Energy Agency, consisting of 18 industrial consumer nations, was established to consider common problems. In December 1975, U.S. participated in French-initiated Conference on International Economic Cooperation (Producer/Consumer Conference) consisting of 27 countries. The Conference is in the process of developing world-wide information on energy resources and needs, common research strategies, capital sources and needs, etc. U.S. has also proposed an International Energy Institute to provide technical assistance on energy matters to developing countries and that proposal will probably be finalized in December. U.S. has proposed an International Resources Bank to guarantee against political risk on investments for development of energy resources and other minerals.
- 4. In 1976, Administration requested \$5 million increase in IAEA voluntary contribution; in addition, U.S. has over past 2 years more than doubled other technical assistance to IAEA. *Even more assistance would be recommended.
- 5. Place U.S. civil nuclear facilities 5. The Administration has been negotiating placement of U.S. civil nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards for some time. Formal submission of agreement was made to, and accepted by, the IAEA Board of Governors on September 17. The Administration will now proceed to implement the agreement.
 - 6. Administration has proposed legislation, passed by the House of Representatives, which would authorize both public and private expansion of enrichment facilities.

^{*}Fri recommended new proposal.

- 7 Explore international initiatives for
 - multinational enrichment plants
 - multinational spent fuel storage areas

as alternatives to national enrichment and reprocessing plants.

8. Correct disproportionate emphasis in energy R&D, placing more emphasis on renewable energy technologies, and relatively less emphasis on nuclear power

- Convert breeder reactor research to a long-term, possibly multinational effort.
- 0. Negotiate with the Soviet Union
 - comprehensive test ban treaty, with a five-year moratorium on testing of both weapons and "peaceful nuclear devices" while treaty is being negotiated
 - through the SALT talks, strategic nuclear forces and technology reductions

- There are already two multinational plants -- both in Europe -- and Administration has encouraged foreign investment in new privately-owned U.S. enrichment plants.
- U.S. has encouraged IAEA consideration and possible implementation of multinational spent fuel and plutonium storage under IAEA auspices; other participants are receptive and *President would now announce need for IAEA study to proceed with such a regime.
- 8. Of the Nation's total energy research and development budget, private industry provides about 90% of the amount spent on non-nuclear research (oil, gas, coal, etc.) but only of the Nation's nuclear energy research. The Federal Government, fulfilling its historic research role in the sensitive nuclear area, has tended to equalize this disparity and this role needs to be continued. Nevertheless the President has increased the non-nuclear energy R&D budget by \$202 million to \$671 million in FY 1977. This increase changed the proportion of non-nuclear items from 20% to 35% of Federal research. Currently, we estimate that 60% of the total Nation's energy total research efforts are in in the non-nuclear field and 40% are in the nuclear field.
- 9. The breeder reactor is the only demonstrated, inexhaustible source of energy. (Large-scale solar and fusion plants are decades away.) To stretch out current levels of breeder reactor research -- as the phrase "long-term" implies -- can only delay answering crucial questions on environment, economics and safety.
- 10. The Administration has
 - proposed on several occasions over the years a comprehensive test ban treaty; obstacles have been failure of the Soviets to agree to on-site verification procedures and the unwillingness of France and the Peoples Republic of China to become parties; since prospects of progress appear to be dim, continuing negotiations are not likely to be fruitful in the near future
 - reached accords at Vladivostok which <u>limits numbers</u> of strategic weapons; Administration is currently negotiating remaining issues, once limits of numbers are in place, President intends to commence negotiations on <u>reductions</u> in numbers.

^{*} Fri recommended new proposal.

DEBATE PREPARATION

Weekend - September 4-6

- Review video tapes
 - 1960 Nixon-Kennedy Debates

(First only?) l hour

- Edited tape of Primary debates involving Carter approx. 1 hour
- · Review selected articles on Carter and on debates
- · Canter quote Book
- · Platform Issues Book

Week of September 6

One hour per day (Tues-Fri.)

- Review key Ford Administration documents (e.g.,
 State of the Union, Budget introduction, key speeches)
- Review selected Carter materials
- Q&As on general domestic and economic issues
- · face to face Company, on technique

Weekend - September 11-12

- Review video tapes
 - Carter debates (including 1970 Governor's debate, if available)

1-2 hours

- Other tapes
- Discussion on approach and techniques with:
 - Cheney
 - Duval
 - Carruthers
 - Teeter
 - . Deardourff
 - Bailey
 - Baker
 - Spencer



2 hours

Week of September 13

Nothing on Monday and Tuesday (prepare for Ann Arbor speech); 3 to 4 hours Wednesday, Thursday, Friday; all day Saturday.

Review Briefing Books

- · Analysis of key issues
- Points Carter may make and suggested response
- Analysis of panel and probable questions
 (NOTE: This book may be delayed depending on when panel is selected.)

Sunday, September 19 through Wednesday, September 22

As much time as possible for rehearsals with video tape.



DEBATE PREPARATION

Weekend - September 4-6

- Review video tapes
 - 1960 Nixon-Kennedy Debates

(First only?) 1 hour

- Tapes of Primary debates involving Carter Approximately 1 hour
- Review selected articles on Carter and on debates in general.
- Review Carter Quote Book

Week of September 6

One hour per day (Tuesday - Friday)

- · Review selected materials on Carter.
- · Q&As on general domestic and economic issues.
- Meet with Debate Group* on techniques and tactics.

Weekend - September 11-12

- Review video tapes
 - Carter debates (including 1970 Governor's debate, if available)

1-2 hours

- Other tapes
- Discussion on approach and techniques with Debate Group

2 hours

NOTE: During this weekend, the briefing materials prepared by the policy people will be edited by the Debate Group.



^{*}Tentative membership of the Debate Group: Cheney, Duval, Carruthers, Teeter, Deardourff, Bailey, Spencer.

Week of September 13

Nothing on Monday and Tuesday (prepare for Ann Arbor speech).

Review Briefing Books 3 to 4 hours Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and all day Saturday:

- Analysis of key issues
- · Points Carter may make and suggested response
- Analysis of panel and probable questions
 (NOTE: This book may be delayed depending on when panel is selected.)

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Sunday, September 19, through Wednesday, September 22 As much time as possible for rehearsals with video tapes.



September 3, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FROM:

MIKE DUVAL MAN

SUBJECT:

DEBATES

In addition to the preparation materials that I requested this morning, I would appreciate it if you would pull together an analysis of all vetoes by President Ford.

I understand that Governor Carter has been using the President's vetoes as a major thrust in his attack. Carter's point is that the President is not compassionate, and he illustrates this with highly emotional arguments such as that children have been denied milk during their school lunches because of Presidential vetoes.

I think we should develop a one or two-sentence argument per veto. In many cases, we have a very strong case to make (for example, the bill vetoed was irresponsible, but as reenacted we ended up with the legitimate objectives without unnecessary spending).

It might well be that some of the bills vetoed do not need to be explained because they are trivial, but I think the President should be prepared to handle a strong attack in this area.

Thanks very much.



R. FORDILIBRAY

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FRED SLIGHT

FROM:

MIKE DUVAL

SUBJECT:

DEBATE PREPARATION MATERIAL

We have asked our various substantive advisers to provide the following information:

- 1. Standard Q&As
- 2. List of approximately fifteen key issues
- 3. List of key points the President should make in each substantive area.
- 4. List of key points Carter will make to:
 - A. Present his case; and
 - B. Attack the President

We have advised each of the substantive people to contact you if they need information on where Carter stands on a specific issue in their area. We have advised them to tell you the subject areas they are interested in, and that you will try to pull out the relevant Carter quotes/position papers.

In addition, we would appreciate it if you would pull together the following in coordination with Jack Orr at the RNC and Ralph Stanley at PFC:

- A. Personal profile on Carter in terms of his debate capability (i.e., anything that has been written in this area there may be nothing).
- B. Any attacks by Carter on the President's position on issues.

C. A list of key domestic and economic issues which Carter and/or his campaign literature have identified. (In other words, his top ten or fifteen issues.)

Provide a one or two-page summary of Carter's position on these issues, relying as much as possible on direct quotes with sources.

D. Pick five or six good examples where Carter has "flip flopped" on the issues. For example, his most recent change of position concerning the relative priority of inflation versus unemployment. For each issue, try to provide specific quotes which show how he's changed his position, with sources.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 17, 1976

FORDUBRARE

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK CHENEY

FROM:

MIKE DUVAL

SUBJECT:

DEBATE PREPARATION

1. Materials

The President has two briefing books on Carter's economic and domestic positions.

We will submit two additional books (relatively small)

a) Economic Issues (our positions in a form the President can use and rebuttal material to Carter's positions).

Will submit early afternoon today.

b) Domestic Issues (our positions and some rebuttal).

Will submit early tomorrow.

We will have a strategy memorandum ready by tomorrow afternoon.

2. Meetings

I recommend a meeting with the President this afternoon to discuss the economic issues (late afternoon).

Participants: Cheney, Greenspan, Duval (Gergen?

O'Neill?)

Time: 90 minutes

Tomorrow, there should be two meetings:

a) Mid-afternoon to discuss domestic issues

Participants: Cheney, Bailey, Duval

(Gergen? O'Neill? Cavanaugh?)

Time: 90, minutes

b) Late afternoon on debate strategy

Participants: Cheney, Baker, Duval, Carruthers, Bailey (Gergen? Greener? Nessen?)

3. Rehearsals

Rehearsals should begin Sunday morning in the Family Theatre.



Dulas

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 17, 1976

A FOROLLO SOL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JERRY JONES

FROM:

WILLIAM NICHOLSON WILLIAM

SUBJECT:

Debate Preparation Time

The following times will be held for debate preparation time as requested by Mike Duval.

The times are currently open on the weekly grids but not denoted as preparation time and we will continue to keep it that way - reserve the time but no notations on the calendars or grid as to the purpose.

Saturday, Sept. 18	Time	Place
	Day, as available	Office
Sunday, Sept. 19		
	9:00 - 11:00 a.m. Afternoon as available 4:00 - 6:00 p.m. 8:00 - 9:00 p.m.	Family Theater Office Family Theater Family Theater
Monday, Sept. 20		
	2:00 - 4:30 p.m. 6:00 - 7:00 p.m. 9:30 - 11:00 p.m.	Office Family Theater Family Theater
Tuesday, Sept. 21		
	1:30 - 4:00 p.m. 4:30 - 6:00 p.m.	Office Family Theater
Wednesday Sept. 22		
	10:30 - 12:30 p.m. 1:30 - 3:30 p.m. 4:00 - 6:00 p.m.	Office Office Family Theater

Oct 18	19	20	21	22	23	24
3:15						
8:30 DC	Bush	6 1	•			
9:90 DC, Baker	DC	DC	DC	DC		
9:15 9:30- Secy. Kissinger	9:30- NSC Meeting	1	9:30-Secy. Rumsfeld			1
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0:30 RN group		- The state of the				4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4
1:00 Amb. Armstrong	Speech Writers		Council on Aging swear-			Chur
1:30			-		and purifying and	a graphing and
- Medal of 2:00 Science	MVET award.	Dr. Burns	a property of the contract of	Depart for Williamsburg		-
2:30 Ceremony	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch		- The state of the	
2:45 Lunch					-	
1:00						
Richardson, 2:00 Zarb, et al	V. Pres.	Contingency Time	Contingency Time			-
Aguirre swea 2:30 Tape Vets Day				Q. FO	0 2	
3:00 Contingency				ERAL	RA A	
3:30			4.			
4:00			DC			
1:30 DC		DC				
Mtg. w/ 5:00 Advocates	DC		Depart for N. Y. City			
5:30			- quantity and the same same same same same same same sam		and the second	, 1-
6:00			and the state of t			
EVE.			Al Smith Dinner	9:30-Debate Williamsburg RON in Va.	Acceptable formers again	
Medal of Science EVENT Aguirre swearing-in	Housing Star & GNP data released AMVETs award	S	CPI data released Fr. Citizen event Debate anticipation	Final Ford- Carter Debat	a. d.	or a second study of assumption was the
MRS FORD	RON, L.A.	City of Hope L. A. RON, LA area	Davenport, Iowa RON Cincinm	Williamsburg D. C.	de partir de desarro con contrato de partir de la contrato del contrato de la contrato de la contrato del contrato de la contrato del contrato de la contrato de la contrato de la contrato del contrato de la contrato del contrato de la contrato del contrato de la contrato de la contrato del contrato del contrato de la contrato de la contrato del cont	anders bus for a co o o o un o
ISSUED: Fri., Oct. 15 2:30 p.m TENTATIVE & CONFIDENTIAL.						

BRIEFING MATERIALS FOR THE PRESIDENT

In addition to the more formal briefing books being requested of the substantive policy people, the following will be required:

1. Video Material

Responsibility: Bill Carruthers

Description:

- Highlights of 1960 Kennedy-Nixon debates.
- Highlights from League of Women Voters primary debate featuring Carter.
- Highlights of Carter gubernatorial race in 1970.
- · Video tape capability for rehearsals.

2. Analysis of Carter

Responsibility: President Ford Committee (

Description of materials:

- Personal profile on Carter in terms of his debate capability. This should be done in coordination with Carruthers, Duval, Dorance Smith, and others who have reviewed the tapes.
- Review briefing materials to determine Carter's attack on our substantive positions.
- Describe Carter's position and key points he's likely to make during the debates.
- Describe Carter's weaknesses on substantive issues.

3. Analysis of Panel

Responsibility: Dave Gergen

Materials requested: An in-depth analysis of each newsman on the panel to determine his or her fundamental approach to the issues likely to be debated. No quotes or summaries required; simply focus of attention and any biases that come through based on the public record of each journalist.

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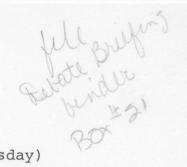
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BRIEFING PAPERS FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: First Debate, September 23rd (Thursday)

Timing: September 8 (cob) - Materials to Mike Duval

September 11 - Review edited versions

September 14 - Materials to the President (updates as required)

Basic Guidance:

A) The debate format will be:

A panel of three journalists asking questions on domestic and economic issues. For example, Newsman A to the President:

Question - :30 sec.
Answer - 3:00 min.
Follow-up question - :30 sec.
Answer - :30 sec.
2:00 min.

Total 8:00 min.

Then repeat sequence, Newsman B to Carter.

- B) There probably will be 8 to 10 sequences during the first debate. Assuming that the "germaineness" rule holds for follow-up questions, the President and Carter will only get 4 or 5 subject areas each. In addition, the President must be prepared to respond to Carter's answers.
- C) Given this format, it is essential that the President's briefing materials be structured to deal with this rather unique challenge. Unlike a press conference, we are not trying to prepare for 20 to 30 topical questions.

We should remain focused on the fact that each member of the panel will get to ask the President two questions and two follow-up questions at the most. It is possible that two of the panel will only get to ask the President one set of questions.

Therefore, their questions are likely to be broad in scope and on a major issue of this campaign.

D) We will have additional guidance shortly after the panel is selected. Nevertheless, we must go ahead and prepare the briefing materials now.

Requested Materials:

1. Standard Q&As.

Number: As many as you think appropriate on major issues.

Format: • Question stated in one or two lines.

- Proposed answer given in one-line "facts only" form. No rhetoric. One page only. (Reference materials should be footnoted, but not supplied unless requested.)
- List of approximately fifteen key issues in your area.

Format: One page per issue. State issue in one sentence. State our position and Carter's position. Give key discussion in "facts only" form.

 List key points the President should make in your area.

Number: Try to limit to five.

Format: State point in one or two sentences.

- 4. List key points you think Carter will make to:
 - a) present his case; and
 - b) attack the President.

Number: Try to limit to five for both a & b above.

Format: State point in one or two sentences. Add brief response in "facts only" form.

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Follow-up question - :30 sec.

Answer - 2:00 min.

Response by Carter - 2:00 min.

Total 8:00 min.

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SUGGESTED PREPARATION SCHEDULE FOR SECOND DEBATE

Tuesday

- · Carter book to the President
- Review 1st debate ("Teeter") tape
- · Decide on list of recommended panelists

Wednesday

- Briefing book to the President
- · Decide on 2nd debate format
- Preparation time: 3-4 p.m.

evening

Thursday

- Rebuttal material to the President
- Preparation time: 10:30 noon

evening

Friday

- · Cards and key summary arguments to the President
- First Q&A session: 5:30 6:30 p.m.

Saturday

- Second Q&A session: 11:00 noon
- Preparation time: Afternoon
- Third Q&A session: 4:30 6:00 p.m.

Sunday

- Draft closing statement to the President
- Fourth Q&A session
- Preparation time

DECISIONS REQUIRED

1) Preparation

- A) Press guidance
 - Line on preparation



Recommendation: President will prepare as he does for any major event with full press coverage. We will not play games by using a Carter stand-in for rehearsals.

- I'll sit in on the Gergen/Nessen/Greener daily meetings. And w/ The PrecidenT
- Dick should ask Senior Staff not to comment or speculate.
- B) Research

X

- Briefing books
 - Format:
 - -- by subject
 - -- Q&A (with updates twice a week) Cannon, Greenen
 - -- key points
 - -- submitted to (me or Gergen) and then edited (key one-liners)
- On Carter personality/style; press criticism; statements (Gergen)
- On potential press Qs (Buchanan?)
 - Polling
 - Panel ?

- C) Preparation with the President
 - Review video tapes
 - Carter debates during primary
 - Carter 1970 debate against Suit
 - RN vs. JFK

(with Duval and Carruthers)

- Receive briefing materials
- Rehearsals ?
 - video tape (3-camera setup)
 - -- EOB
 - -- Camp David
 - questioners
 - time commitment

2) For Negotiations

- A) Guidance:
 - · Location of first one
 - second
 - third
 - Dates
 - Place
 - Number/length
 - · Subjects
 - Format
 - V.P.



B) Priorities

- Subjects
- Length/number (Options: 3 at 90 minutes;
 3 at 75 minutes; 1st at 90 minutes,
 rest to be negotiated)
- Dates
- · Locations (St. Louis, New York)

3) Other

- Position on Section 315 legislative exemption
- · Public position for negotiations tomorrow

