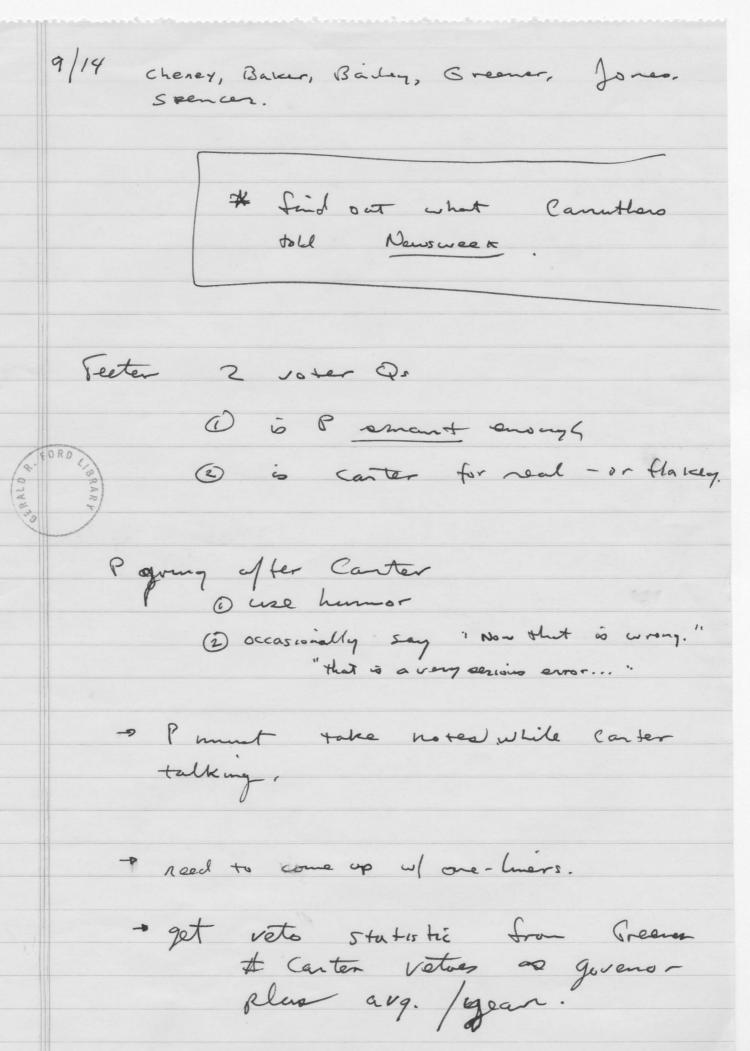
### The original documents are located in Box 29, folder "Input - Richard Cheney" of the Michael Raoul-Duval Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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P. has to laugh.

When Prays it ....

A. FORO

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#### ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 8, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK CHENEY

FROM:

MIKE DUVAL

SUBJECT:

DEBATES



Dick, I hate to raise this problem with you, but Bill Carruthers called me and said that Don Penny had called Carruthers' office (here at the White House) this morning and said that he will be directing the President in preparation for the debates, and that these orders came from the President himself. Penny demanded that Dorance Smith (of Carruthers' office) advise him of where the negotiations are vis-a-vis staging, cameras, etc.

If Don does assume such a role, we will likely lose Carruthers. I feel very strongly that such a trade-off would be enormously harmful for the President.

In addition, I believe it could be destructive to have Don involved in the negotiations. Barry Jagoda (Carter's television man) is volatile enough as it is, and any involvement by Don could be very disruptive.

It may very well be that there is a constructive role for Don. For example, once we go through some rehearsals with the President, Don could quietly review the tapes and suggest to the President where his answers could be improved. I nevertheless think it's crucial, in terms of a public perception (any involvement by Don will get into print), that he have a very limited, in-house role or none at all. I think Bill is the best man to stay in control of the TV preparation. In addition, it's important to recognize that we're not dealing with a set speech situation. The President should have certain ideas implanted in his mind in terms of response, and certainly should be given certain techniques to use, but the more natural he is in responding, the better he is going to come across.

In terms of the use of our people, particularly Bill, I think we need to get the Penny thing resolved. I'll have to rely on you for this.

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 3, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK CHENEY

FROM:

MIKE DUVAL

SUBJECT:

DEBATES

The following is the status of our negotiations with the League and Carter people concerning location and physical setup.

Bill Carruthers and I spent considerable time talking to Jim Karayn (the League's Project Director for the debate), and I also talked to Dean Burch and Charlie Walker concerning site location.

As a result, the League Steering Group has formally recommended the following sites to both sides:

1st Debate: Philadelphia (Independence Hall, Carpenter Hall or Walnut Street Theatre are the most realistic options.)

> If Philadelphia does not work out, the alternative is New York City's Cooper Union Auditorium.

2nd Debate: Opera Hall, San Francisco

3rd Debate: Midwest (probably St. Louis or Chicago) (V.P.)

4th Debate: Williamsburg (probably at Williams and

Mary College)

.As you can see, all the sites for the Presidential debates have some historical significance. Philadelphia has the obvious Bicentennial image, the Opera Hall in San Francisco was used as the first location for the United Nations and thus is appropriate for the foreign policy debate, and Williamsburg has clear historical significance.



I recommend that we advise the League that Philadelphia, San Francisco and Williamsburg appear all right to us subject to onsite surveys by our team (consisting principally of Duval, Carruthers and Cavaney).

3	n '	
Approve	Disapprove	4
TIPPTOVC	DIDUDATOR	

As to production details, we have recommended to the League that they hire Imero Fiorentino to do the television production. "Imy" is a long-time associate of Carruthers, and Bill says he's the best in the business. The League has indicated that it is anxious to consider Fiorentino, and the Carter people have shown interest also.



## Wtg. w/ Dick Cheney

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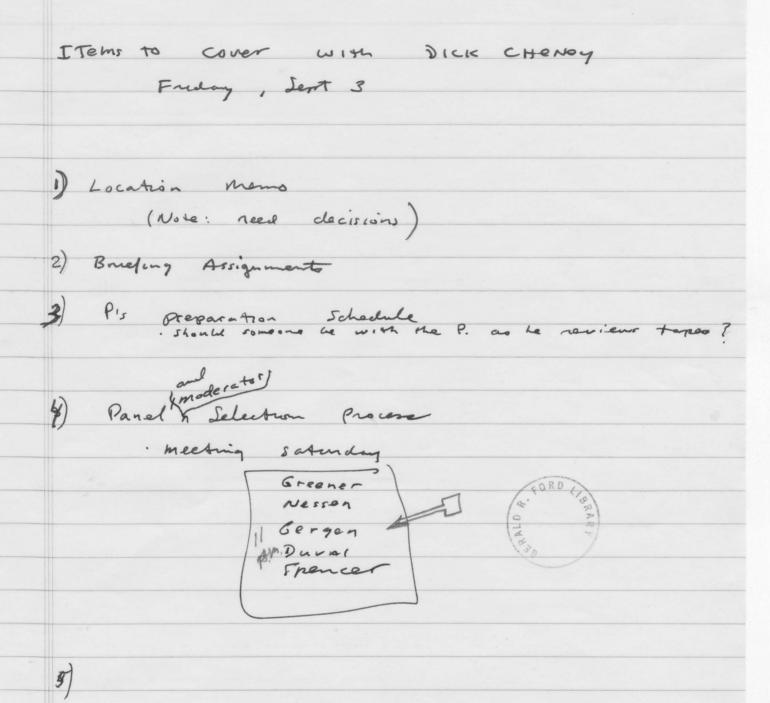
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people watching TV will
use;

\* Meet up P on how to win debates early next week Spencer, Burley

# Editors

Bryce Harlow Don Rumpslel





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[ca 8/22/76] file

#### AGENDA

Meeting on Debates 1:00 PM, Cheney's House Vail, Colorado

Purpose:

To identify key issues which must be addressed as we prepare to negotiate and plan the debates.

#### Order of Discussion:

- 1. Time, place, number
- 2. Format
- 3. Physical set-up
- 4. TV coverage
- 5. Press
- 6. Ads
- 7. Preparation
- 8. Negotiations

#### Agenda:

#### 1. Number, time, place

#### Time:

League of Women Voters have suggested September 28 (St. Louis), weeks of October 11th and 2nd and 4th debate with the V.P. candidates.

Interval

Time of day (9:30 Eastern?)

#### Place:

League proposes St. Louis and others in different regions of the Nation.

Should we try for D.C.? Other places?



#### 2. Format

-- Panel of newsmen?

how many

who (TV, newspaper, magazines

how choose

How does debate proceed?

Opening statement

Questions (length -- 30 sec.)

Answer (length -- 2 min.?)

Response (length -- 1 min.?)

Closing statement

Can candidates have notes, books, visual aides, staff?

Length

1 hour, 90 minutes, 2 hours

Subjects

Defense policy Domestic policy economic policy ethics, morality government

### 3. Physical Set Up

Where? Studio or meeting room or auditorium?

Audience?

Staging

President and Carter



stand/sit

podium

proximity

Panel of Newsmen

Cameras

Pool or unilateral coverage

Keep on speaker? Allow ? Commen tary?

Use of teleprompter?

Make-up -- no press coverage

#### 4. TV Coverage

Do we need a sponsor?

Who?

How do we deal with networks?

Do we insist on pool vs. unilateral coverage?

Will we have use of tapes to use in our campaign?

Should go for symntanious broadcast -- all nets, PBS and independents?

Should we offer to buy the time on a 50/50 basis with Carter?

#### 5. Press

No announcements from anyone unless cleared.

Do we portray the President as a probably winner?

#### Press plan for:

- -- debate preparation
- -- First debate
- -- other aspects

#### 6. Ads

Should we tag our ads to "proms" debates; raise questions?

Use of debate tapes in our ads immediately following debates

#### 7. Preparation

#### Research

- -- on debates
- -- on Carter
- -- on issues

TV consultant, et al.

Briefing Books

Draft statement, debate points

Preparation time on schedule

Identify key images we must project -- Teeter et al.

Rehersals

#### 8. Negotiations

Thursday meeting

- -- do we attend
- -- who
- -- public statement

Substantive positions (see preceeding)



Jones: must get P to deal up VISION of future

- Flourney - Brown debates Decision & - NO Andience Time: open, at least of a hour probably more. - should use pand of news non
- must be seasoned + experienced De must le follow up Dr. (2 at least) 3 chosing " - yes (2 min) 6 / no notes, staff, statements
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Place of begin in D.C. then throughout country - ( Avoid West Coast ) Place -- studio - no andrend - Moderstor vest ( See notes )

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Length

1 hour, 90 minutes, 2 hours

Subjects

Defense policy
Domestic policy
economic policy
ethics, morality - No



### 3. Physical Set Up

Where? Studio or meeting room or auditorium?

Audience?

Staging

President and Carter

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- -- do we attend
- -- who
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Substantive positions (see preceeding)



Some items in this folder were not digitized because it contains copyrighted materials. Please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library for access to these materials.

Dear Bill:

Just a quick note to acknowledge receipt of the November issue of the American Nunter and your note. Thanks for sending it over.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Richard B. Cheney Assistant to the President



The Honorable William E. Timmons President Timmons and Company, Incorporated 1776 F Street, NW. Washington, D. C. 20066

RBC: MD: em

bcc: w/copy of incmg to Rethru Jim Field, Mike Duval.

# The Election Vs. You As A Hunter

By Ashley Halsey, Jr. Director. NRA Publications Division

You as a hunter may well wonder whether the Presidential election Nov. 2 can affect your favorite sport and the future of hunting.

While this report cannot present you with a crystal-ball view of that future, it can offer facts and point to "sign."

By the 1977 hunting season, the President of the United States will be either a man named Jerry Ford or a man named Jimmy Carter. Both have given assurances they will not interfere with your hunting. On that in itself, I think you can believe either one. Too, there are enough voting hunters to make that stick. But there is more to it than direct interference or a shutdown of hunting.

An "Editorial Report" is so called because it combines news reporting with comment. The comment is intended primarily to explain rather than influence.

The National Rifle Association, which is politically nonpartisan, has not endorsed any Presidential candidate nor is this report intended as an endorsement of anyone.

All of you sports hunters except the bowmen do your hunting with preserves. Wrapped up in this Presidential election, to some undefinable degree and possibly very much so, is the future of firearms ownership.

You keep hearing assurances that no matter what happens to handguns and even if they go down the drain, nobody will touch your rifles and shotguns. Most such assurances come from anti-gunners and compromisers.

At this stage, they assert, they are not interested in registering or seriously restricting rifles and shotguns. At this stage. Some anti-gun leaders such as Congressman John Convers have said as much, indicating there is more to come.

But the cold fact is that there are already heavy restrictions on hunting rifles and shotguns in a halfdozen states and big cities, with the threat of more to come. New York City (yes, there are hunters there, good ones) requires a rifle-shotgun permit costing \$20 in all, compared with \$3.50 for a driver's license. Three populous states, Illinois, Massachusetts and New Jersey, plus the District of Columbia, already require identification cards or permits to buy or own rifles and shotguns. Hawaii and the District of Columbia also register long arms.

With trends such as that afoot, it becomes logical to look and see where the major Presidential candidates stand on the whole firearms control issue. Elsewhere in these pages, we publish by way of information statements by both candidates and their party platforms.

As you can readily see for yourself, there is one big difference. Mr. Carter wants handgun registration. Mr. Ford wants no registration nor gun owner licensing of any kindhandgun, rifle or shotgun. And Mr. Ford has signed his name to a statement to that effect, given directly to this writer.

Soon after each of the candidates was nominated, the NRA magazines asked each for his position on the firearms issue.

Mr. Ford's views, embodied in three paragraphs over his personal signature, are reprinted in this issue of The American Hunter. While they may not represent all that every gun owner may wish, they constitute the strongest en-

### Mr. Ford's Statement On Firearms In Full

The White House Washington

September 14, 1976

Dear Mr. Halsey:

I have studied carefully the views of the gun owners of America. Let me say from the outset that we share many points of view. I believe that America's decent citizens have had to pay far too much both in economic and human terms for the anti-social acts of a relatively few criminals. It is my view that the way to reduce violent crime in America is by the use of mandatory sentencing and minimum terms of imprisonment for any person convicted of using or carrying a handgun, or any other weapon, in the commission of a crime. Unfortunately, our judicial system today has failed to use the numerous existing statutes already on the law books to adequately punish the violent criminal. If judges remain reluctant to use existing statutes to punish violent criminals, there can be little hope that the nation's problems will be solved by the passage of still more laws.

I found most enlightening the arguments you raised concerning the attempts to define the so-called "Saturday Night Special." Your discussion of the subtleties and the implications of the terms presently used shows a thorough understanding of the problems encountered in trying to establish clear legislative definitions. In addition, your statements concerning the possibilities for harassment by federal employees are interesting. I will keep these points in mind when considering the impact of any future legislation in this area.

I will oppose any attempt to deprive law-abiding citizens of their traditional freedom to own firearms. I believe in punishing only those who commit crimes. I am unalterably opposed to the federal registration of guns or the licensing of gun owners. It has been my long-held belief that these measures would be futile in attempting to stop the criminals. Those who intend to use guns for criminal purposes will never conform to legal requirements of any sort.

In short, it is my intention to preserve for future generations the time-honored traditional freedoms that we and our forefathers have enjoyed throughout our 200-year history.

Sincerely.

Gerald R. Ford

October 22, 1976

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Olsen:

I appreciated seeing the copy of the message which you and your friends have sent to President Ford.

The President was pleased to know of your thoughtful interest in this evening's debate, and you can be sure that your comments about the issue of inflation will be considered.

Best regards to you and those who joined you in sending the mailgram.

Sincerely,

Richard B. Cheney Assistant to the President



Mr. and Mrs. Arthur J. Olsen 448 Lake Shore Drive Chicago, Illinois 60613

bcc: w/copy of incoming to Mike Duval, P PFC Jim Field

RBC:MD:mlg

MAILGRAM SERVICE CENTER MIDDLETOWN, VA. 22645

# western union Mailgram



2-000130E291 10/17/76 ICS IPMBNGZ CSP WSHB 3129446432 MGM TDBN CHICAGO IL 300 10-17 0010A EST

RICHARD CHANEY
WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON DC 20500

HAVE JUST SENT THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDENT HOPE YOU CAN ASSURE THAT IT REACHES HIM: DEAR MR PRESIDENT, WE SUPPORT YOU AND SUGGEST YOU HIT THE INFLATIONS MUCH HARDER AT THE DEBATE NEXT FRIDAY. NUMBER 1 INFLATION IS THE PRIME ISSUE. NUMBER 2 LET THE PEOPLE KNOW THAT YOUR RECORD AND PLATFORM ARE LESS INFLATIONARY THAN CARTER'S. PUBLIC STILL DOES NOT UNDERSTAND THAT BIG GOVERNMENT SPENDING AND DEFICITS ARE INFLATIONARY. NUMBER 3 WORLDWIDE INFLATION SINCE 1973 WAS CAUSED BY THE ENERGY CRISIS. THE USA HAS SURVIVED BETTER THAN ANY COUNTRY EXCEPT WEST GERMANY. EVEN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ARE BEING HIT HARD. NUMBER 4 TELL THE PUBLIC HOW MUCH WORSE THE PROBLEM WOULD BE IF YOU HADNT VETOED SO MANY BIG SPENDING BILLS. NUMBER 5 AT LEAST 25 MILLION AMERICANS ARE ON FIXED INCOME AND ARE BEING CRUCIFIED BY INFLATION. THEIR HARD EARNED RETIREMENT IS BEING CONFISCATED BY INFLATION. AT LEAST 10 MILLION MORE PEOPLE, ABOUT TO RETIRE, AND THEIR FAMILIES ARE EQUALLY CONCERNED EVEN THOSE ON UNEMPLOYMENT AND WELFARE ARE BEING HURT. NUMBER 6 ALERT THE YOUNG VOTERS THAT UNLESS INFLATION IS CONTROLLED THE BURDEN OF SUPPORTING THEIR RETIRED PARENTS AND GRANDPARENTS WILL BE ON THEIR BACKS. YOUR CONCERNED SUPPORTERS, ARTHUR AND MARILYN OLSEN-CHICAGO, DR THOMAS AND SANDY AINSWORTH-CHICAGO, DON AND DOTTIE HAMRIN-CHICAGO, FRANK AND MILLIE TAUSSIG=OKLAHOMA CITY

ARTHUR J OLSEN
448 LAKE SHORE DR
CHICAGO IL 60613

00:11 EST

MGMCOMP MGM



## THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

October 20, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:	DICK CHENEY
FROM:	MIKE DUVAL
SUBJECT:	Debate Preparation.

I think it would be useful for the President to spend two half hour sessions this afternoon, one on urban problems (to include crime, blacks, teenage unemployment, housing and the like), and the other on the economic situation.

The purpose of both sessions would be to discuss how the President presents his positions during the last debate. The purpose is not to give him new information.

I recommend the following be present as indicated below:

- 1. Urban problems. Jim Cannon, Mike Duval, Stu Spencer, Bob Teeter, and Doug Bailey.
- 2. Economic problems. Alan Greenspan, Mike Duval, Stu Spencer, Bob Teeter, and Doug Bailey.

Obviously, you may wish to sit in on these. I think the sessions should be held today during the late afternoon.

APPROVE:	
DISAPPROVE:	 FORD
SEE ME:	 TANA SER BALD
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## THE WHITE HOUSE

October 20, 1976

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DICK CHENEY

FROM:

MIKE DUVAL

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Obviously, you may wish to sit in on these. I think the sessions should be held today during the late afternoon.

DISAPPROVE:	
SEE ME:	FORD LIBRARY

Dear Carl:

We're making preparations for an extended trip prior to the election, hopefully to incorporate some of the good ideas in your October 18 letter. Consequently, time for comment is limited, but I do want you to know that we greatly appreciate your helpful interest.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Richard B. Cheney Assistant to the President

The Honorable Carl L. Shipley President Williams County Broadcasting System, Inc. 1108 National Press Building Washington, D. C. 20045



RBC: MD: em

bcc: w/copy of incmg to Mike Duval, Foster Channock,
PFC thru Jim Field

# WILLIAMS COUNTY BROADCASTING SYSTEM, Inc.

CARL L. SHIPLEY, President

REPLY TO: 1108 NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING WASHINGTON, D.C. 20045 202-783-1647 BRYAN, OHIO

WBNO 1520 ON YOUR AM DIAL WBNO-FM 100.9 ON YOUR FM DIAL ABC NETWORK

THREE RIVERS, MICHIGAN

WLKM 1510 ON YOUR AM DIAL WLKM-FM 95.9 ON YOUR FM DIAL MBS NETWORK

HUNTINGTON, INDIANA

WHLT 1300 ON YOUR AM DIAL WHLT-FM 103.1 ON YOUR FM DIAL MBS NETWORK

October 18, 1976

Honorable Richard B. Cheney Deputy Assistant to the President The White House Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Dick:

Among my various activities, I am involved in ownership of some radio stations in the Midwest. The manager of WLKM, Three Rivers, Michigan, told me this morning that he had run a 50-minute radio poll on Ford vs. Carter, and covered 210 telephone calls which divided 106 for Jerry and 104 for Carter.

All of our stations are doing all they can on a private basis, and this seems to be the picture in Indiana and Ohio, where the other stations are located -- just about even.

It is extremely important that the President step up the attack, not in a petty or mean way, but boldly challenging Carter just as he has been doing in the areas of defense, taxation and on the issues which strike terror to the hearts of the average voter — his inexperience, proposed tax increases, threatened inflation increases, more bureaucrats, and more welfare.

You are doing a great job -- pour it on!

Sincerely yours,

CLS

Carl L. Shipley

SERALD AS SERALD AS SERVING SE

October 20, 1986

Dear Mr. Sieverts:

Thank you for your courtesy in forwarding Mr. Black's letter to my office. I will see that it is brought to the President's attention.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Richard B. Cheney Assistant to the President



Mr. Frank A. Sieverts
Deputy Coordinator for
Humanitarian Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

bec: w/cc of inc to M. Duval

bcc: w/cc of inc to PFC via Jim Field

RBC:MD:jem



## DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

October 16, 1976

Mr. Richard Cheney Assistant to the President The White House Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Cheney:

Jack Black, who I saw at the Board of Governors meeting of the American Red Cross today, asked me to send you the enclosed letter, with his regards.

Sincerely,

Frank A. Sieverts

Deputy Coordinator for Humanitarian Affairs

Enclosure:
As stated

October 20, 1976

Dear Mr. Cumby:

Thank you for your letter of October 18 regarding the debates between the President and Mr. Carter. Your thoughtful interest in this matter is appreciated, and you can be sure that your views will be considered.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Richard B. Cheney Assistant to the President

Mr. Bert Cumby 8201 16th Street Silver Spring, Maryland 20910

bcc: w/cc of inc to Mike Duval

bcc: w/ccof inc to PFC thru Jim Field

RBC:MD:jem



8201 - 16th Street Silver Spring, Maryland 20910 October 18, 1976

Honorable Richard B. Cheney Assistant to the President The White House Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Cheney:

I spent the week-end in New Jersey, and while there, I had dinner with a correspondent of one of the Big Three networks, who observed Jimmy Carter for about a month in connection with a special assignment for his network in which he covered the Democratic Presidential nominee. The correspondent made some interesting comments relative to the debates in which The President and Carter have engaged. Several of the comments are considered significant, and are forwarded to you for your information. They are:

- 1 The President should "win" this third and last debate, and he should "win" it big and decisively.
- 2 The President should have a precise "game plan" or strategy, that puts Jimmy Carter on the defensive from the moment The President makes his opening remarks until his closing statement.
- 3 The President's strategy should be implemented by aggressively and effectively implying, if not specifically saying, that Jimmy Carter not only lacks executive experience and stature to qualify him for President of the United States, but that Jimmy Carter lacks a clear knowledge and understanding of the relationship between The Presidency and the Legislative and Judicial branches of the United States Government, and between The Presidency and the constitutional responsibilities of the numerous independent agencies of the United States Government.
  - (Note) The President should give one or two examples of this lack of knowledge and understanding such as Taxes, Crime and the responsible elements for laws governing them, and implementing of enforcement.
- 4 The President should, at the beginning of the debate, remind Jimmy Carter that he has visited all sections of the country, giving the personal impression, that he is some kind of undefined super leader, a Franklin Roosevelt, a Harry Truman. and John Kennedy, all wrapped up in one James Carter. The President

should point out, that the public record reflects that Mr. Carter is a former Governor, of which there are many whose records as Governors of their respective states, compare favorably with his record as Governor of Georgia to which former Governor Carter has referred. The President should also point out that the public record shows that Mr. Carter is a middle-level businessman, of which there are thousands in our great economic system, who inherited family businesses. Their records of successful operation of inherited family businesses compare favorably with that record in business to which Mr. Carter refers, should be stated by The President.

- (Note) The President should follow the above with a suggestion that Jimmy Carter use the occasion of the third debate to tell the news panel, and the American people, precisely what those personal and professional qualities of leadership are, and the supporting experiences, other than Governor and businessman, upon which he alleges to be a super leader, with all of the leadership qualities of a Franklin Roosevelt, a Harry Truman and a John Kennedy. The President should not allow this suggestion to be ignored by Carter, and should keep it alive until The President feels the explanation by Carter is sufficient.
- 5 The President should remind Jimmy Carter of the numerous campaign speeches he has made about taxes and tax reforms, and suggest that Carter use the third debate to give a precise explanation of how he would initiate a new tax program, and, state specifically, the distribution of the tax burden on elements of the population.
  - (Note) Carter has never been able to give a clear explanation of his tax reforms. He is considered very weak on this point, and The President should insist on an explanation, which some say, could make Carter appear ignorant of this vital responsibility of government and of the people.
- 6 The President should remind Carter of the hostility which the Democratic Presidential nominee, and the Democratic Party have shown toward American business, big and little. He should state that the American economic system, with all of its imperfections, have produced the highest standard of living for its people of any nation on earth.
  - (Note) The President might consider asking such questions as -

Without our economic system of big and little businesses, what would be the source of income of workers for homes, education of their children, and the physical comforts of life which they enjoy?

Without our ecomic system of big and little businesses, what would be the source of individual and organization wealth of the American labor leaders and labor organizations?

Without our economic system of big and little businesses, what would be the source of enormous funds which labor leaders often use in supporting political candidates, some of whom are not the choice of the rank and file?

The above is forwarded in support of our all-out effort to elect President Ford to a full four-year term as President of the United States, over the most degrading political demagogue in the history of American politics.

Sincerely.

Bert Cumby

Dear Tom:

Once again, thanks for submitting your ideas on the election campaign. As you know, we appreciate your views.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Richard B. Cheney Assistant to the President

The Honorable Thomas J. Houser Director Office of Telecommunications Policy Room 770 1800 G Street, NW. Washington, D. C. 20504

RBC: MD: em

bcc: w/copy of incmg to PFC thru Jim Field, Mike Duval.

Tly

Thomas J. Houser Office of Telecommunications Policy 1800 G Street, N. W. Room 770 Washington, D. C. 20504

October 15, 1976

Honorable Richard B. Cheney Assistant to the President The White House Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Dick:

I feel very strongly that in the last 14 days of this campaign the President needs to attack Carter on the basis of his judgment (as the record clearly shows his judgment to be very bad), and on the basis of trust and Carter's lack of it.

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I think you attack trust on the basis of Carter's obvious tendency to be sanctimonious in his professions of love and God and yet it is very clear, as one observes his campaign, that he is devious and capable of mudslinging.

I think an attack based on judgment and trust can give the President back once again the momentum which, I think, he lost last week and can carry him to victory on November 2nd.

All best wishes,

Thomas J. Houser

Honorable cc: Donald H. Rumsfeld

Honorable F. Lynn May

# THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 19, 1976

DICK CHENEY

JERRY JONES

FROM: MIKE DUVAL

MEMORANDUM FOR:

SUBJECT: Visit to Bedford-Stuyvesant

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I perceive the following reasons for doing this:

- It will be helpful to the President during the last debate. I expect there to be considerable focus during this debate (from the panel and Carter) on the problems of the cities, blacks, structural unemployment, crime and the like. I think it will be very helpful for the President to be able to refer in an anecdotal fashion to his personal knowledge of the problems of the big cities. Bedford-Stuyvesant area symbolizes one of the major problems we have with unemployment -- that is among inner-city blacks, particularly black youth -- and also is an example of a successful partnership between government and private enterprise to deal with the urban decay problem. It is my experience that the President is most effective in dealing with these complex social issues when he can point to a personal experience he's had to underscore the points he wants to make.
- 2. It may help neutralize the anti-Ford feeling among blacks. I would defer on this to Stu Spencer and others but my judgment is that a visit to the black area, especially with the black project director as the President's escort, may do a little bit to discourage active black opposition on election day.



3. It may result in some pro-Ford comments from the Kennedy crowd. This is a Kennedy project and they certainly have every motive to oppose Carter.

I do not think this trip should be announced in advance, but rather the head of the Bedford-Stuyvesant operation, Frank Thomas, (a former New York City policeman, who is black), should be asked to meet the President at Kennedy Airport and ride with him during the tour. Obviously, Thomas will have to be checked out.

One symbolic stop should be arranged with no advance word. Let whatever people that are in the area gather in response to the presence of the motorcade. The event should take on a serious tone and avoid any "rally" appearance.

We should carefully think through the possibility of any approach to Ethel Kennedy on this subject.

Attached is a more detailed analysis of the potential for a visit to Bedford-Stuyvesant.



#### PRESIDENTIAL VISIT TO BEDFORD-STUYVESANT

1. Why go to Bedford-Stuyvesant. Bedford-Stuyvesant is the largest black area in New York City, certainly one of the two or three largest in any American city, depending on one's definition of the boundaries, from 450,000 to 750,000 people. It is not as depressed as Harlem or Brownsville, but it has, in full measure, every classic problem of the center city.

In the circumstances, the first answer is political. Bedford—Stuyvesant is an attack on the single greatest component of the unemployment problem — that is, among inner—city blacks, particularly black youth. To go there is to demonstrate that at least in one instance, the government of the United States is acting directly on the problem, not simply sitting and waiting for events. It is the single credible instance where President Ford can say that he has any program for dealing with unemployment that predates the election campaign (Restoration has continued to receive federal funding through the Republican years).

And therefore, the visit can have an enormous effect on the third debate, for obvious reasons. He cannot go on merely negating and criticizing Carter (though sharp and severe criticism is vital to the debate). He <u>must</u> lever the criticism with something affirmative. There is little that runs deeper in the American character than the insistence on being positive: "awright, wise guy, what would you do?" That is why Carter was perceived as winning the second debate, although a cool analyst would say that President Ford "won" the majority of the rounds; Carter sounded like he was

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The visit can have many other effects. In summary:

- -- It offers a demonstration that rhetoric about "free enterprise" need not be a cover for heartlessness. The strength of the
  project is that it does mobilize the great resources of corporate
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-- It also demonstrates that this Administration has not forgotten the problems of race, a demonstration that is sorely needed -- both for the country and for the election. Even those whites most fearful, and therefore most antagonistic to blacks, do not like them to be totally ignored. We all know the danger; those of us who live with the city know that absent an improvement in black conditions, we are all for the smash. Of course, few welcome them to a new neighborhood, or school, or like paying for welfare. The great political virtues of Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration are that it seeks to assist blacks where they are, in their own communities, and by their own efforts, not through handouts.

At this point, someone may ask how one project can have so many political, as well as actual virtues. The answer is that it was planned that way.

2. What is the Bedford-Stuyvesant Project. The Bedford-Stuyvesant project -- technically, the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation -- may be the most ambitious and far-sighted of all the

poverty/redevelopment projects of the 1960's. Certianly it has been the outstanding survivor. It was planned, created, and nurtured by the enormous personal efforts of the late Robert Kennedy, from 1966 to 1968. Briefly, he created two private corporations. One, "Restoration," was all black, formed out of the community, with a charter to develop jobs, housing, community activities, training, etc. The other, "Development and Services," was all white, with a charter to bring the power, resources and knowledge of the business community to the assistance of Restoration. On its first board were such men as Benno Schmidt of J. H. Whitney & Co.; Andre Meyer of Lazard Freres; William Paley of CBA; George Moore of First National City Bank; David Lilienthal; Tom Watson of IBM; Roswell Gilpatric; and Senators Kennedy and Javits.

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that has made available \$100 million in mortgage money. Restoration has never received more than \$5 million a year in federal funding. Yet it has grown every year since its founding, and its achievements in job development, small business creation (everything from nationally-recognized and marketed textile designs to automobile dealerships to MacDonald's), housing rehabilitation and construction, and community pride and well-being must be seen to be appreciated. Just for the magnitude and permanence of its accomplishments, let alone the pittance of federal money involved, it far outdistances any other project in the United States.

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## TALKING POINTS

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On this latest trip (Friday, October 15), a perfect example of what I am talking about occurred. I saw the wires early in the morning about the Cuban decision to renege on the antihijacking agreement. I asked Hyland whether or not the traveling party was being informed. He advised me that guidance was being dexed out. For some reason (and I simply may not have all the facts here), the President apparently did not take any firm action. Instead, this story led all the nets with Henry Kissinger making a good, tough statement condemning the Cuban decision.

Meanwhile back at the White House, the senior staff (Buchen, Marsh et al) were flapping on Clarence Kelly's speech in which he criticized the press. First of all, I think the speech is fairly accurate and well done. But more importantly, to the extent that it is a problem, (and I seriously question that it's all that big of a deal) it could have been handled quickly with one telephone call and with one person here assigned to monitor it. The point is that our efforts were totally misdirected and as a result a major opportunity for the President was lost.

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## MEETING: DEBATE STRATEGY Cheney's Office 5:30 p.m., September 14, 1976



#### **AGENDA**

PURPOSE:

To develop basic guidelines governing our overall strategy for the first debate. No firm decisions are expected from this meeting, but rather we should develop a focused plan to discuss with the President.

ISSUES:

- 1. Debate itself
  - President's posture (be himself, but aggressive, etc.)
  - His approach to Carter (respectful, firm, should he address Carter directly? handshake at beginning?)
    - . President's posture vis-a-vis the panel

#### 2. Press plan

- Pre-debate (impact on Carter, guidance for backgrounders to press such as burdens of the Presidency, interviews by advocates?)
- Debate (hard news lead? White House fact sheet to be issued immediately following debate? President action immediately following debate, Senior Staff with President and Nessen actions immediately following?)
- Post-debate (Presidential activities)
- 3. Advertising (intro and tag to debate, newspaper ads, man-on-the-street interview following, etc.)
- 4. Polling (Teeter poll, Sindlinger, others)
- Public opinion (advocates, Party officials, endorsements, call to media with reaction, etc.)

October 12, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK CHENEY

JERRY JONES

RED CAVANEY

FROM:

MIKE DUVAL

SUBJECT:

Williamsburg Debate

It is my understanding that Governor Carter intends to arrive in Williamsburg around noon Friday and remain there overnight.

I further understand that there is a plan for students to gather in one of their auditoriums or halls (field house?) to watch the debate. It might be worthwhile looking into this so we can make an early decision whether or not the President should drop-by. We should expect Carter to make a call on this in the near future.

