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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 20, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MIKE DUVAL

FROM:

DAVE GERGEN *DS*

SUBJECT:

THIRD DEBATE PANELISTS

Here is an excellent memo from Agnes Waldron on the panelists.

cc: Bill Carruthers



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 20, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR

DAVE GERGEN

FROM

AGNES WALDRON

SUBJECT

PANELISTS FOR THIRD DEBATE

Joseph Kraft

Kraft writes a thrice-weekly column that is carried by more than 150 newspapers. He also contributes regularly to New Yorker magazine. His career in journalism began at the age of 14 when he covered high school sports for the New York World Telegram. He has worked for The Washington Post, The New York Times, and Harper's magazine.

Kraft was a speechwriter for John F. Kennedy in the 1960 Presidential campaign. He studied at Columbia, Princeton and the Sorbonne. He was the youngest member of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton when the membership included T. S. Eliot, historian Arnold Toynbee and physicist Robert Oppenheimer.

A native of South Orange, New Jersey, Kraft twice has won the Overseas Press Award for distinguished foreign reporting.

Kraft was touted as the successor to Walter Lipmann but he has never quite achieved the latter's status. Kraft's major interest is in foreign affairs. He recently returned from a trip to the Peoples Republic of China, Japan and South Korea.

A review of some of his columns shows Kraft to be critical of Carter and the President but most of his firepower has been directed toward Carter.

In January he dismissed Carter as the media candidate and while he declared him the front runner in Iowa, he doubted that Carter could build the momentum necessary to go all the way.





In May, Kraft was severely critical of Carter over the firing of speechwriter Robert Shrum, comparing Carter's denials of Shrum's account of the candidate's real positions as sounding exactly like Richard Nixon's denials on Watergate. He concluded: "...I doubt that anybody knows where Carter stands. Apart from being religiously dedicated to the greater glorification of himself, Mr. Carter is a pig on a poke."

On foreign policy, Kraft criticized Carter's interview with Pierre Salinger, calling Carter inexperienced in foreign policy, even naive. He was especially critical of Carter's suggestion that the Russians be included in a Middle East settlement and his statement that he would work with the Russians to alleviate a threat by North Korea against South Korea. Kraft pointed out that the major influence on Kim Il Sung is China and that if there is a single way to make the PRC wary it would be to work openly with the Russians in the area of greatest sensitivity to Peking -- Northeast Asia.

He also expressed concern that if Japan sees the U.S. cozying up to Moscow, it would be sorely tempted to do the same.

In a column written in August, commenting on the North Korean killing of two U.S. officers, Kraft criticized Carter's proposal to withdraw U.S. troops from that peninsula. Kraft said this was a one-shot proposal that is not connected with a general process of adjustment in Northeast Asia. It would almost certainly cause Japan, South Korea and even mainland China to believe that the U.S. was abandoning its position in Asia.

In a column dated October 16, Kraft commented: "Carter has made morality and openness the center of his position on foreign policy. He has dumped on the use of military power and secret intelligence.

"He has assumed a unilateral American responsibility for stopping proliferation of nuclear weapons. He has implicitly acknowledged American responsibility to end tyranny in parts of the Communist world -- notably Eastern Europe -- and in Western Europe, Latin America, Africa and Asia.

\* "...What is moral in foreign policy becomes a hard question. To me anyway, there is nothing more immoral than raising false hopes in Eastern Europe and Southern Africa...Given a choice between Kissingerism and Wilsonism...I would take the former, and primarily on deeply moral grounds."



So far as domestic issues are concerned, Kraft criticized Carter's most recent campaigning saying that in his attacks on the President, Carter "is bearing down as though he had a personal compulsion to humiliate and crush the President."

Finally, Kraft, following the second debate, described both nominees as turkeys. He said the President argued a good case poorly. Jimmy Carter was thus able to articulate an intrinsically weak attack on the Administration...Neither candidate showed a decent understanding of American interests and problems abroad." (full text attached)

Likely Questions: Kraft is not much interested in economics. He has expressed some concern for urban problems but his interest has been focused on blue-collar families and their problems. His biggest interest is in foreign policy where he might best be described as a moderate conservative.

Jack Nelson

Nelson, a journalist for 29 years, began his career at the Daily Herald in Biloxi, Miss., before joining the Atlanta Constitution. At the Constitution, his investigation of corruption and malpractice at Georgia's only state mental institution won him a Pulitzer Prize for local reporting.

He opened the Atlanta bureau of the Los Angeles Times in 1965 and from that base covered the South for five years before joining the Times Washington bureau as an investigative reporter in 1970. He became Chief of Bureau in 1975.

Nelson, a native of Talladega, Alabama, studied at Georgia State University and, under a Nieman Fellowship, at Harvard. He is co-author of "The Censors and the Schools", "The Orangeburg Massacre" and "The FBI and the Berrigans."

As the above titles indicate, Nelson has an intense interest in civil rights and the civil rights movement of the 60s. More recently, he covered Watergate and managed to scoop Woodstein on several occasions. Since the campaigns began in January he has been covering Carter. Analysis of his stories indicates they are fair and complete. He appears to be a tough, hard-digging reporter who is a liberal at heart.

Likely Questions: Nelson is likely to ask questions about civil rights, urban affairs and the intelligence community.



Robert C. Maynard

Maynard began his newspaper career at the age of 16 on the now-defunct black weekly, The New York Age. He spent six years with the York, Pa., Gazette and Daily serving as night city editor and urban affairs reporter. He was chosen a Nieman Fellow and studied for a year at Harvard University before joining The Washington Post in 1967.

Maynard acted a year and a half as the Post's ombudsman, handling public complaints against the newspaper, conducting a critique for editors and staff members and writing a column on the performance of the news media.

He served briefly as White House correspondent for the Post and for five years covered politics, race relations, labor and Congress.

Maynard, a Brooklyn native, is codirector of the Summer Program for Minorities at the University of California Berkeley School of Journalism.

Maynard is currently on the editorial staff at the Post. Since the Post takes great care to see to it that its authors of editorials are unidentified, it is difficult to get a fix on Maynard. However, because he is the only black panelist and because questions concerning blacks have not been raised, it seems likely Maynard might well ask questions in this and related areas. (e.g., cities, social programs, black teenage unemployment).





# The Second Debate

Joseph Kraft

## 'Both Candidates Were Disappointing'

SAN FRANCISCO—President Ford argued a good case poorly. Jimmy Carter was thus able to articulate

never make military equipment available to Communist China, he wrongly asserted the U.S. did not sell arms to

never did pin his opponent down on how much and where he would cut military spending.

flat wrong in saying that Mr. Ford imposed the soybean embargo against American allies that was Mr. Nixon

Those were no mean achievements, given Mr. Carter's recent string of goafs and the public expectation that a

Jack Anderson

## The F Of La Dictat

Throughout most of the United States has liberty and has among its neighbors progress has been done by a United States began to see Communist bush beyond its shores.

The statistics of nations—El Salvador and Paraguay—dictators. Then in 1964, Panama and in 1968. The armed forces in 1969, Ecuador in 1973. Uruguay in 1973. brief military flirtations has now fallen under rule. And behind dictatorships can be mates in the Pentagon in the Central

There is shocking, people, that the United States encouraged the general of South America's side apart in Brazil. Between, there were the ears of other Latin Americans who suddenly saw

It has been established the early 1960s funerals into organizational civilian regime of Joao Goulart. He was, in any case, enough, while Vernon Walters was in Brazil. Nine years later,

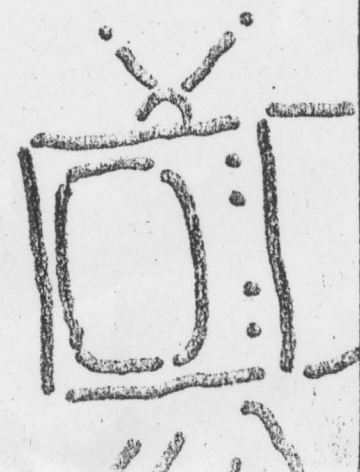
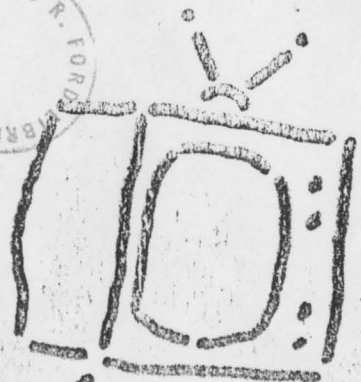
David S. Broder

## 'Now the Burden Is on Ford'

SAN FRANCISCO—When he was in Plains last weekend, Jimmy Carter heard a Sunday School lesson identify-

publican President who can win a debate on economic issues but cannot dominate a discussion of foreign policy

first month marked by misjudgments, mistakes and some pointless meanderings. His efforts the past week have



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 20, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MIKE DUVAL

FROM:

DAVE GERGEN *DB*

SUBJECT:

ARAB BOYCOTT

Stef Halper has zeroed in on a couple of points that are very effective in dealing with the boycott and the arms sales to Saudia Arabia. I have marked the key items on the attached.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 20, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: DAVE GERGEN  
FRED SLIGHT

FROM: STEF HALPER *SHH*

SUBJECT: Arab Boycott and (Arms to Saudi Arabia)

Mr. Carter has outdone himself on this <sup>boycott</sup> issue, and, as the President illustrated this afternoon, the Administration has a strong and defensible record in this area. If the issue is raised on Friday there are a few additional lines of attack the President might use. I have outlined them below:

President's Response

I am pleased that this question has come up. I regret the irresponsible way my opponent has injected a complex and sensitive issue into the campaign at this late date in hopes of generating support. The fact is, he has done nothing, quite unwittingly I'm sure, to help Israel and most certainly has not improved the chance for peace in the Middle East.

Now let me give you a few facts on this matter. First, the so-called Arab boycott has been around for almost twenty-five years. I have opposed it since its inception. I oppose all such restrictions on international trade and I urge American companies not to comply with it in any fashion.

All Presidents since 1952, Democrat and Republican alike, have opposed the boycott. But all Presidents, Democrat and Republican alike, have refrained from reckless promises and extreme statements on the issue.

Five American Presidents have not done so because:

- First, they knew the boycott was ineffective. Israel was not being strangled economically or even being threatened. Israel with the public and private aid of the U.S. Government and the American people has and will continue to prosper.



- Second, because they knew that legislative efforts against the boycott would be enormously difficult to enforce, would needlessly embitter the Arabs; and would push them into more extreme and perhaps more effective economic sanctions against Israel.

Let me return to Mr. Carter's position for a moment. It is obvious he has not thought about this matter. Nor has he said anything about it until very recently.

But he has already threatened economic warfare against the Arab nations if they re-impose an oil boycott.

Now he is threatening them again.

A candidate who does that as President will find it enormously difficult if he becomes President to act as the honest broker bringing both sides together for a permanent peace.

We have worked very hard for peace in the Middle East. We are closer now than we have ever been. As President I will not throw away this opportunity--perhaps the last one--for the sake of rhetoric, for the sake of a few votes. Peace is too important for that. The security of all peoples Israelis and Arabs in the area is too important for that.

#### Arms Aid to Saudi Arabia

Mr. Carter has repeatedly misled the American people on the question of arms sales to the Arab nations in general, and Saudi Arabia in particular.

It is misleading because Mr. Carter implies that the 7.5 billion dollar figure he quotes means 7.5 billion dollars worth of weapons.

That simply is not true. The bulk of that money is not being spent on weapons. It is going for construction under the direction of the Corps of Engineers. Construction items are only technically in the military budget.

Now roads and barracks do not threaten Israel, they do not fuel the arms race. And I hope that playing fast and loose with numbers will end in the time remaining in this campaign.

(Figures and information come from Secretary Kissinger's panel discussion at the National Conference of Editorial Writers, Hilton Head, South Carolina, October 2, 1976.)



HIGH PRIORITY

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 21, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MIKE DUVAL  
FROM: DAVE GERGEN *DS*  
SUBJECT: MATERIALS FOR THE FINAL DEBATE

The night before the first debate, you will recall, we sent the President materials on Carter's record in Georgia that constituted one of the best left hooks of the debate. Herewith are materials from which I hope he could pull similar ammunition for tomorrow night.

I want to recommend with special vigor the argument about the \$650 difference on taxes. Paul O'Neill has worked on this very hard and has come up with a number with which he now feels very comfortable. Jim Lynn signed off on the idea earlier in the week. Jim Cavanaugh also liked it. But Dick has shown some reluctance to use it. Recommend you talk with Dick so that the President will at least have the option to use it; to me, it is critical that he have a few surprises up his sleeve tomorrow night.

cc: Dick Cheney ✓  
Alan Greenspan  
Bill Carruthers





(Gergen)

October 21, 1976

The Tax Difference Between Ford and Carter

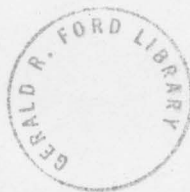
Many people often say that there's not a dime's worth of difference between the candidates. This year there's a difference of \$650 a year.

Paul O'Neill has determined that if the President's programs were enacted, including the tax cuts, the average family of four earning \$15,000 would realize a tax savings of \$227.

Conversely, says Paul, if Carter's programs were enacted, adding \$100 billion worth of spending to today's Federal Budget, and assuming Carter chose to balance the budget as he promises, a huge surtax would have to be imposed on both individual and corporate taxpayers. For the average family of four earning \$15,000 a year, the surtax would amount to an additional tax payment of \$423.

President Ford would save you \$227 a year; President Carter would cost you an additional \$423 a year. That's a difference of \$650 a year.

Paul says these figures are very defensible and he is personally willing to defend them to the press.



(Gergen)

October 21, 1976

Key Facts on Government Taxation

-- The average taxpaying family in the U.S. today spends almost 15 weeks a year working for the Government. That means you work until almost April 15 each year for the Government; after that, you work for yourself.

-- A report published in 1975 by the highly respected Conference Board showed that taxes -- not inflation -- were the fastest growing item in the family budget over the previous six years.

-- Taxes have been growing most rapidly, of course, at the State and local level. In the decade between 1965 and 1975, local and State taxes grew by over 200 percent.



(Gergen)

October 21, 1976

Key Facts on the Size and Growth of Government

-- When FDR came into the Presidency, government spending at all levels accounted for 10% of our GNP. Today it accounts for fully one-third of the GNP, and if recent trends continue, will exceed 50% by the year 2000.

-- In the past 15 years, the Federal budget has quadrupled in size.

-- In the past 10 years, the Federal debt has doubled.

-- The national debt is now so large that it costs more than \$160 a year for every man, woman and child just to pay interest on the debt. For a family of four, that's over \$600 a year.

-- Under Democratic Congresses, we have had only one budget surplus in the last 17 years.

-- It took this country 186 years before the Federal budget reached \$100 billion a year. Now Carter threatens to raise it by another \$100 billion in a single term.

-- When President Eisenhower left office, there were approximately 100 categorical programs on the Federal books. Now there are 1,026 -- a heritage of the Great Society.

-- Today one out of every six people in the labor force works on a government payroll (local, State or Federal). Government has now become the Nation's biggest single employer, its biggest consumer, and its biggest borrower.

Russell Long on Carter's Program

Asked whether Carter could initiate his \$100 billion new program package and still balance the budget, Long answered: "It will be sort of like pulling a rabbit out of a hat...You can't finance these big spending programs without taxing the middle-income people because there just aren't enough rich people in the country..."

The Sunday News  
Detroit

October 18, 1976

Mel Laird on Eastern Europe Remark

"President Ford may misspeak, but he will never mislead."





Two Good Quotes from Carter

"If I ever mislead you, if I ever place political favor ahead of what is right and best for our country, if I ever fail to apply the highest standards of personal integrity, openness and honesty to this campaign, then I do not deserve your support or the office I seek."

Carter News Release  
December 12, 1974  
(Announcement of Candidacy)

He feels that his big political problem is that "there is no certainty about what kind of President I will be. There is no way to prove before you are in office what you will do as President. You can commit yourself to certain themes, or even to specific programs." But, in the end, the voters must accept on faith and trust what they will be getting.

Atlanta Constitution  
August 8, 1976

(Gergen)

October 21, 1976

Why Carter's Promises Mean Higher Taxes  
for Middle Income Americans

Carter has promised to balance the budget in his first term and he has promised to enact programs that could add between \$100-\$200 billion to the Federal budget. Even if one assumes that his programs will cost only \$100 billion -- giving him the benefit of the doubt -- he can't fulfill his promises to the American people without raising taxes for average Americans. Here's why:

-- His "soak the rich" schemes won't raise \$100 billion. Yesterday the highly respected Tax Foundation reported that even if the government were to levy a confiscatory tax of 100% on all taxable income above \$32,000, the total revenue would be only \$12.8 billion.

-- Carter has also talked about closing loopholes. Treasury Secretary Simon (who supports the idea of closing loopholes) has estimated that total elimination of loopholes would raise about \$50 billion.

-- So by closing loopholes and taking all taxable income away from the wealthy, Carter would still be some \$40 billion short of his \$100 billion goal. That money can only come from one source: middle-income Americans.

-- Furthermore, let's be absolutely clear what it means to close loopholes. To get rid of all loopholes, Carter would have to:

-- Eliminate the homeowners deduction.

-- Remove the deduction of charitable contributions, forcing universities, hospitals, churches and cultural organizations onto the government dole. Parochial schools would probably be wiped out.

-- Eliminate the deduction for property taxes and other State and local taxes.

-- Eliminate the favorable treatment of capital gains, jeopardizing the very critical need for new capital investments and new jobs in the private sector. In the next 10 years, it is estimated that America will need as much as \$4 trillion in new investment in order to create enough jobs for a growing work force.



(Gergen)

October 21, 1976

Arguments by Treasury Department on Arab Boycott

Gerry Parsky supplied several good points today that he has found effective in discussing relations with the Arab countries.

-- The only way to end the boycott is to address its underlying causes, not simply to address its symptoms. The boycott is rooted in the conflict between Israel and the Arab countries, so that the surest means of ending it is to bring an end to the basic conflict. The Ford Administration has shown great leadership in bringing about a lasting peace.

-- The success of the Administration's diplomatic and economic efforts in the Middle East has come because the U.S. has followed an even-handed policy. If the U.S. turns the Arab nations into enemies, our hopes for peace will be shattered.

-- Nor should we forget the role played by our major friends in the area. Iran supplies 60% of Israel's oil. Saudia Arabia has been a stalwart against communism in the area. For the U.S. to declare economic warfare on these nations -- as Carter threatens -- could cause enormous harm to the interests of both Israel and the United States.



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 21, 1976

TO: MIKE DUVAL  
FROM: ANNE BRUNSDALE

On the issue of Presidential candidates accepting offers to appear in Playboy, Hubert Humphrey turned down such an offer as inappropriate when he was a candidate for the Presidency.

Dave Gergen asked me to pass this on to you.

*Anne Brunsdal*



→ Mike Duv. 1  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 19, 1976

Stef did this at  
my request; hope you  
find it helpful.

DS  
10/19/76

MEMORANDUM FOR: DAVE GERGEN  
FROM: STEF HALPER *SHH*  
SUBJECT: Presidential Debates

The following provides a list of issues covered in the first Debate and also areas not discussed. I have added several items that I think might come up in Debate III.

The areas receiving primary attention in Debate I were:

- Taxes
- Tax Reform
- Budget Issues
- Unemployment/Employment
- Government Reform



The areas receiving secondary attention were:

- Energy
- Secrecy in Government
- Amnesty
- Leadership
- What should be done about the Federal Reserve

Issues not mentioned were:

- Busing
- Abortion
- Crime/Drugs
- National Health Service
- Environment
- Welfare Reform
- Revenue Sharing
- Farm Policy
- Wage and Price Control
- Income Policy
- Urban Decay
- Civil Rights

Some questions we might expect:

1. Mr. President, what will you do in the next four years to ensure urban stability--to prevent the decay of our cities?
2. Mr. President, it is your responsibility to help set a high moral tone for the Nation. You have been accused of helping to block the Watergate investigation and accepting corporate favors. Doesn't even the appearance of wrongdoing compromise the Presidency.
3. Mr. President, even though you were a Member of Congress for 25 years and are fully familiar with the legislative process, your relations with the 94th Congress have been less than ideal. Do you feel you are able to work in a productive way with Congress? Or will the lack of a working relationship result in another series of vetoes?

In the Foreign Policy area we might expect some of the following:

1. Lebanon

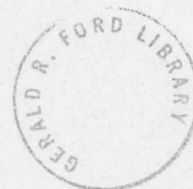
Mr. President, why haven't we been more active in helping to end the bloodshed in Lebanon. Hasn't our passivity helped to undermine the peace effort in that area?

2. Communists in Government

Mr. President, you've criticized Mr. Carter on the way he would view Communist participation in the Italian government. What would you do specifically if the Communists became part of a coalition government in Italy or France?

3. CIA

Mr. President, in a close election in Italy or France, would you favor continued covert financial support to moderate or non-Communist parties?



4. Third World

Mr. President, Jimmy Carter has said that he would advocate closer relations with the Third World. If you agree with this suggestion, how would you improve relations in view of the fact that the gap between rich and poor nations is growing wider?

5. Cuba

Mr. President, what is the status of our relations toward Cuba and where do we go from here?

6. Eastern Europe Domination

This may be raised again.







Mike  
Dural

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DS

October 19, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR      DAVE GERGEN  
FROM                      AGNES WALDRON  
SUBJECT                  CARTER'S LACK OF MANNERS

aw

In all likelihood Carter will continue to refuse to address the President as "Mr. President." Many voters have resented this as revealed in sundry surveys. But I wonder whether the President should not call Carter's hand on this. Should he not say: "Gov. Carter willfully neglects to address me by my proper title. He is insulting the very office he aspires to. I suggest Governor Carter start to use the manners his Mother doubtless taught him."



ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 19, 1976



MEMORANDUM FOR: MIKE DUVAL  
FROM: DAVE GERGEN  
SUBJECT: QUESTIONS FOR THIRD DEBATE

Per your request, I am sending along some questions that might be posed in the third debate. Fred Slight was of great help in preparing these.

cc: Bill Carruthers  
Dick Cheney

*Why has UN been abandoned  
as an instrument of  
foreign policy + what  
would you do to revitalize?*

THIRD DEBATE QUESTIONS FOR THE PRESIDENT

- ✓ Q. With 10 days remaining before the election, an extraordinary number of voters have apparently still not made up their minds. How do you account for this? And on what basis would you suggest they decide in these last 10 days?
- Q. Many Americans are distressed by the quality of this campaign. There seems to be few real issues, and I'm sure you've seen the many cartoons showing both you and your opponent sloshing around in the mud. Are you distressed by the way the campaign has been conducted, and what changes do you suggest in the next 10 days?
- ✓ Q. Do you think Jimmy Carter is qualified to be President?  
NO.
- ✓ Q. Not once in these debates has either candidate told the country what he plans to do to save our cities? What is your plan, and why do you think it is better than Mr. Carter's?
- Q. Mr. Carter has promised that in the next four years, he would reform the welfare system and adopt a national health insurance system. What can we expect in the next four years from a Ford Administration in the areas of welfare and health reform?
- ✓ Q. During your Administration, black teenage unemployment has stayed consistently at extraordinarily high levels. Many inner city areas have continued to deteriorate. You have submitted a plan to restrict busing. Can you tell us why black citizens should vote for you in this election?
- Q. You have said many times that in rebuilding the trust of the American people in the Government and in the Executive Branch, you have "appointed men and women of high moral character and recognized excellence to fill the major posts" in your Administration. How do you reconcile Bo Callaway, Earl Butz and George Brown to that description?



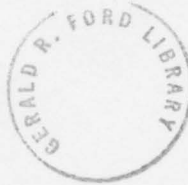
- Q. Mr. President, how can you continue to advocate the building of more nuclear plants when our technology obviously isn't sufficient to prevent accidents, and thereby risk the health and lives of the American people?
- Q. In view of your former Defense Secretary Schlesinger's recent comments, don't you think the American people perceive your sales of arms to Israel as very blatantly political?
- Q. Governor Carter has stated that your indiscriminate vetoes and failure to emphasize full employment over battling inflation show a lack of compassion for the American people. How can you continue to oppose so many bills that improve the quality of life for our citizens just because you don't want to spend the money to implement them?
- ✓ Q. Governor Carter recently criticized you for your failure to reduce the rate of crime in this country. Why has the Federal Government been unable to curb crime, especially after the billions of dollars that have been spent by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration?
- ✓ Q. You have been criticized for having a lack of vision. Can you tell us where you plan to take this country over the next four years -- what goals you have for the American people and for the progress of this country?
- Q. It is clear that leadership is an essential issue in this campaign. Don't you think your weakness in this area is evidenced by your inability to get your proposals on energy, tax cuts, health insurance for the elderly, to cite a few examples, passed by Congress?
- Q. You recently accused Governor Carter of dividing America while proclaiming that you stand for uniting the nation. How specifically has Governor Carter divided the country?





- Q. Statistics were released Tuesday showing the growth of the GNP for the third quarter as only 4 percent. Doesn't this indicate that recovery has flattened out?
- ✓ Q. You recently stated that the exposure of the names of the corporations that participated in the Arab boycott would greatly help solve the problem. However several companies for the last two days have indicated they will continue participating in the boycott. What actions do you anticipate taking to resolve this problem?
- Q. Governor Carter accused you of failing to demonstrate leadership by neither reprimanding nor replacing General Brown as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Why don't you think some censoring action should have been taken against General Brown?
- Q. Despite your claims that you would conduct your campaign on the high road, haven't your recent charges against Mr. Carter on defense cuts, taxes, and new Federal programs indicated just the contrary?
- ✓ Q. During the last several weeks you have instituted beef import restrictions, increased loan supports on wheat, and increased sugar price supports. Don't you think this smacks of desperation politics in attempting to win the election?
- Q. Will you catagorically deny that you had no contacts with Mr. Cook before you took action to help block the investigation of the House Committee on Banking, Currency and Housing, into the Watergate affair?
- Q. During the course of the Republican Primaries, Gov. Reagan criticized you and Secretary Kissinger for following a policy of detente from which the Soviets considerably gained more than the U.S. Do you feel that detente is truely a two way street?

- Q. Can you briefly define the basic differences between foreign policy of your Administration and that of the predecessor, President Nixon?
- Q. You have often defined yourself as a fiscal conservative, and yet during the two years that you have been in office the Federal deficit has increased by more than a hundred billion dollars. How do you explain this fact? ✓
- Q. Health care costs have substantially increased in recent years. What does your Administration propose in helping to alleviate the tremendous burden, especially in light of the fact that you have cut health spending across the board and have abandoned emphasis that should be placed on programs that prevent illness. ✓
- Q. Since the 1973 Arab oil embargo, U.S. dependence on OPEC oil has increased. Why have you failed in giving this nation a comprehensive energy program? ✓



file  
✓

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 17, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MIKE DUVAL  
FROM: DAVE GERGEN ✓  
SUBJECT: THE THIRD DEBATE

There appears to be a widespread assumption within the staff that in order to prepare for the third debate, the President does not need to spend much time with briefing materials on practice sessions, but only needs to modify a few stylistic points and work on some one-liners. I disagree with that assumption; to win decisively -- as we must -- far more is needed.

The perceived winners in the first two debates shared several characteristics:

-- In each case, the winner appeared to be more self confident and more relaxed;

-- In each case, the winner went on the offensive at the opening bell and kept his opponent backpedaling most of the time;

-- In each case, the winner had at least two or three major points or themes set in his mind before the debate started and kept pushing on them throughout, adorning the central ideas with a blizzard of facts and statistics. Carter was especially effective at this in the second debate, opening and closing with the same thematic points so that that the viewer came away thinking that he had a clearer concept of than the President of what he wanted to achieve. By contrast, the President was much, much better at responding to the questions asked, but his answers did not fit within a sharply defined framework. His answers were very factual but they weren't hung on any pegs or central ideas.

If these conclusions are correct, then it is clear that we ought to be aiming for a Presidential demeanor that is more confident, relaxed, occasionally humorous, and forceful. Very early in the debate, he needs to set forth the major reasons why he, not Carter, should be President. In order to keep Carter on the defensive, he



must surprise Carter with points not made in the first two debates. And it is essential -- a point I want to emphasize -- that in the opening moments he lay out the themes he will not only pursue for the rest of the debate, but on which he will rely for the next two weeks to win the election.

Personally, I think that to accomplish all of this will require not only a great deal of staff time, but also a large chunk of concentration by him -- matching the first debate. As long as he will be staying off the campaign trail for five days (a mistake, in my view), there is nothing more important for him than to find the best way to knock Carter out of the ring on Friday night. The election may be won or lost by the way in which his time is constructively and imaginatively used between now and Friday.

#### What Must Be Done

1. Thematic Materials. We need to settle now upon 3-4 major themes and then develop the following:

-- An opening and closing statement that builds on these themes.

-- Factual and statistical papers that back up these central ideas.

-- The most devastating possible attack points on Carter within each of these areas.

-- Memorable one-liners that highlight the themes.

What themes should be pursued? Clearly, Teeter, Spencer and others need to be consulted, but let me put forth some ideas. In my view, we must make Carter the issue for the next two weeks. We cannot change the perception of Mr. Ford, but we can change the perception of Mr. Carter. Here are the key issues, in my view:

A. At home, we are at a fork in the road. For the past 15 years, we have gone down the road toward bigger and bigger government, more and more spending, more and more taxes, and the result has been raging inflation, more unemployment and ultimately less freedom. Carter speaks of compassion, but his sort of compassion is precisely what has caused so much distress for people. Ford represents a turning away from that road -- and





his record proves that it will work. But Carter represents the same old road, a road that leads ultimately to social chaos. Within this general theme, we can work the arguments about taxes, inflation, etc. We should also run hard against the chaos of the 1960s -- much harder. The Democrats ran against Hoover for years, and we should do the same about the '60s. Also, we need to have a focus for the social frustrations that exist today, and that focus should be the excesses that started in the 1960s, not the policies of GRF.

B. Abroad, the peace that we have today is possible only because we are strong and ably represented at the bargaining table. We have to demand that Carter tell us exactly how he intends to cut the defense budget and highlight the contradiction between trying to be tougher with the Soviets while also being weaker in our defenses. Also, Dole very effectively brought out the peace themes in his debate; the President needs to push that point.

C. As to a vision of the future, I think we ought to abandon attempts to enunciate some clear sense of the future that is sharply different from Carter's. Both candidates stand for essentially the same thing: less inflation, more jobs, more housing, better transportation, etc. The real difference lies in the methods and in the underlying commitment to personal freedom represented by the President. We ought to sketch out a vision of the future, but let's back that up with a hard-hitting argument about experience and reliability in the Oval Office. One of the best ways that point can be made is to talk very precisely about the major decisions that the President, whoever he is, must make in the next four years: the SALT treaty runs out in 1977, negotiations in South Africa and in the Middle East are both in a delicate stage, a decision must be made on the B-1, major decisions must be made about energy, etc. Do you want those decisions made by someone with 25 years of experience in domestic and foreign affairs, or by a man that you never heard of a year ago?

2. Focus of Preparation: An excessive amount of attention has been given in the last two debates to the mechanical aspects -- how to look into the camera, taking



notes, etc. This time we should minimize those concerns and concentrate far more on practicing ways to present themes, one-liners, and cross-jabs at Carter.

3. Putting Carter on the Defensive: Each time we have talked about ways of using the days before the debate to put Carter on the defensive during the debate. Each time, in my view, we have failed to do that. We need to succeed this time. An idea that I am pushing is to have Reagan, Connally and Rockefeller here together this week and put them on for half an hour at 7:30 p.m. -- time bought by us -- for either a press conference or a three-way presentation that attacks the opposition and presents the case for the President. Your assistance on such a project would, of course, be very helpful.

4. Immediate Staff Projects: There are several projects which, in my view, should be parceled out to the staff as soon as possible:

-- Each member of the speechwriting staff should be tasked to come up with 2-3 pages apiece of one-liners and short zingers that might be considered for the debate and/or subsequent campaigning.

-- Substantive people should be tasked with reviewing Carter's arguments in the first two debates and the points that the President made in response; then they should figure out ways that our responses can be sharpened up. It is likely that Carter will make many of the same points again and we could be better prepared for him.

-- Someone should be assigned to look through the first two debates, the Dole-Mondale debate, and the news stories since the first debate to see what additional points have arisen since the original debate books were prepared. For instance, Mondale on three occasions now has criticized the fact that Ford Motor Company earned enormous profits but paid no taxes; I'll bet that's a phoney, but I don't the facts nor do most other viewers. We should check it out along with several other fresh issues.

5. Working with the President: In preparing for first debate, many different people had personal access to the President and had an ability to work on improving his answers, both politically and substantively. In the second debate, access was extraordinary restrictive. A wall was placed around the President. We won the first debate; we lost the second. In my view, there is no more convincing evidence of the insanity of preparing for the third debate in the same way we prepared for the second. This time, let's put a team together and stick with it and not get hung up in cloak and dagger games.

cc: Bill Carruthers  
Dick Cheney

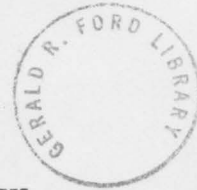


DEX IMMEDIATELY

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 21, 1976



MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK CHENEY

FROM:

DAVE GERGEN *DS*

SUBJECT:

TV Debates

Cavanaugh, Connor, O'Neill and I have had a fairly lengthy discussion about the debates so that we could pass along our thoughts to you. It is apparent that the President has captured the initiative by challenging Carter; in order to maintain it, we now have to move forward fairly quickly -- by Tuesday or Wednesday -- with a more detailed position.

Here are our suggestions:

1. There should be at least three Ford-Carter debates, covering foreign policy, domestic/social policy and economic policy. We should start with foreign policy because the President is so clearly superior in terms of knowledge and experience; we would end with the economy because that again is a strong issue for us.
2. Recommend that each debate be at least 60 minutes in length but not longer than 90 because the audience will get bored.
3. Recommend that the questioning be done by a three-member panel. One of the members would be the lead network guy (Cronkite, Chancellor, Reasoner). Then each candidate would be allowed to select one other member of the panel. That way we can get people like George Will, Kevin Phillips, etc., who can be more effective for us.
4. The general group recommendation was that each candidate be asked the same question and then one of them, taking turns, would have a chance for rebuttal.

On thinking about some more, I am increasingly attracted to the idea of each candidate responding to the question and then opening up a brief discussion between the candidates which would allow GRF to put some tough





questions of his own to Carter. We have to pin him down on the issues, and the panel's questions may not do that for us.

5. Recommend that all debates be held in Washington. There is no reason that the President should have to go traipsing off to St. Louis or elsewhere -- especially when there will be national TV coverage for each one. Let Carter come up here each time -- that's more appropriate and we ought to let him do the air traveling.

6. One of the hardest questions is who should sponsor the debates. As you know, the networks can't do it under present law; an outside sponsor is needed. But we definitely oppose the idea of leaving it all in the hands of the League of Women Voters. They are an important group and will have to be dealt with, but they are apt to lean much more toward Carter than GRF -- especially with Newton Minnow as their coordinator. We would be better off dealing with a group that is either totally neutral or -- preferably -- one that is an ad hoc group set up between us and Carter.

7. As our negotiator, we recommend that someone of Bryce Harlow's stature be appointed. He could work with a small committee representing the PFC and White House (e.g., Spencer or Greener, WH representatives, etc.), but our outfront guy should be someone with national stature and holding the personal trust of the President. As you know, Jody Powell was appointed as a liaison with the League of Women Voters; instead of that, our negotiator should work directly with Powell. There should be no intermediary such as the League.

8. Recommend that you personally announce the outlines of our position by Wednesday.

9. Recommend that the announcement talk only about general outlines, so that during the negotiations, we not appear to be rolled on any details.

10. Recommend that four regional debates be set up between Dole and Mondale so that we can focus in on issues of regional merit instead of having one general debate between them which really won't get us very far. Can you imagine Mondale debating Dole in the South? It would be marvelous.



11. Strongly recommend that before each debate, we have practice sessions with a stand-in for Carter and with use of a video-tape machine. That was fantastically successful with the acceptance address and we ought to stick to it. The stand-in should be someone outside the staff who can bone up on Carter's views and be thoroughly prepared.

12. We ought to consider the possibility of having the debates in the a.m. when the President is at his best.

They could then be shown on prime time. Would want to think about this some more in terms of TV impact.

13. We ought to consider the possibility of including Eugene McCarthy. That would make it much tougher on Carter than on us and would increase McCarthy's legitimacy. Even to suggest McCarthy's inclusion and have Carter vehemently refuse would be helpful.

14. We also need to consider carefully how to handle the issues just before the debate so that we are at our maximum advantage. I will call Foster with my ideas on that.

No  
15. There are apparently two to three key individuals on the GOP side who helped to set up the 1960 debates: Herb Kline, Bob Finch, Len Hall. Recommend they be consulted quickly.

At my request, Agnes Waldron and George Van Cleve are pulling together background materials on the 1960 debates and the debates during the primaries by the League of Women Voters. We will dex that to you ASAP. Also, we will start investigating Carter's debates -- which he won -- before becoming Governor.

cc: Jerry Jones (Vail)  
Foster Chanock (Vail)

# League of Women Voters May Stage The Televised Ford-Carter Debates

By William Claiborne

Washington Post Staff Writer

KANSAS CITY, Aug. 20—President Ford and Jimmy Carter are now pledged to hold the first televised

current plans call for debates on domestic and foreign policy and on the office of the presidency.

Some steering committee members are known to favor a format in which

Texts of Mr. Ford's acceptance speech distributed to reporters here yesterday did not contain his debate challenge.

White House staff chief Richard

Washington Post, Saturday,  
August 21, 1976



# DOLE AND MONDALE WILLING TO MEET IN DEBATES ON TV

G.O.P. Nominee Takes Cue  
From President's Offer  
and Democrat Agrees

## PLAN BY WOMEN VOTERS

Encounters Would Be First  
Such Ones by Candidates  
for Vice President

By JOSEPH LELYVELD

Special to The New York Times

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Aug. 20

—With the two Presidential candidates already committed to debate, Senators Robert J. Dole and Walter F. Mondale said today that they would be willing to meet in what would be the first nationally televised debates between Vice-Presidential candidates.

By his dramatic offer to debate "the real issues face to face with Jimmy Carter," President Ford opened the door last night to the first Presidential debates since 1960, when John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon met in a series of four nationally televised encounters.

Mr. Carter, who earlier had indicated an interest in televised confrontations, agreed last night to debate Mr. Ford.

### Takes Ford Cue

Taking his cue from the President, Senator Dole then expressed his readiness to debate in television interviews here this morning before leaving for Russell, Kan., his hometown, for his first joint campaign appearance with Mr. Ford.

At his vacation retreat in Hibbing, Minn., Senator Mondale replied that he, too, was ready to debate.

The idea of a Vice-Presidential debate was first advanced by the League of Women Voters, which has offered to sponsor three debates between the Presidential candidates. Mr. Carter, the Democratic nominee, said today at a news conference in Plains, Ga., that the league's proposal was "the one that presently appeals to me most."

### No Hint on Sponsor

President Ford has yet to give any hint of his preferences for the format or sponsor of the debates. The question of a sponsor is vital because of a ruling by the Federal Communications Commission last fall that cleared the way for nationally televised debates in this campaign, but barred the networks from any role in organizing them.

The Kennedy-Nixon debates were organized by the networks in consultation with the two campaigns. Since then, Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act, which enables independent candidates of minor political parties to demand "equal time" on the networks, has seemed to be an obstacle to further debates.

The new ruling frees the networks from the restriction of the equal time provision so long as the debates are sponsored by someone else and not conducted in television studios as the 1960 debates were. In addition, the networks would

Continued on Page 14, Column 1

New York Times  
Saturday, August  
21, 1976





# Plan to air issues on national TV

From Tribune Wire Services

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Plans for the first face-to-face debate between two presidential candidates since 1960 were being considered Friday by the camps of President Ford and Democratic nominee Jimmy Carter.

Declaring he is "ready, eager to go before the American people and debate the real issues face to face with Jimmy Carter," the President drew an enthusiastic response from the Republican National Convention here Thursday night as he issued his challenge to his rival.

"This year the issues are on our side!" he said.

In Plains, Ga., Carter picked up the gauntlet and said Ford had been left "almost no alternative" in challenging him to a debate. Aides said Carter had been planning to issue the same challenge to Ford Friday.

"I AM ASKING President Ford to join me in a debate or a series of debates on the choices facing the American people," Carter's statement said.

Later, standing in his front yard, Carter told reporters that he would be flexible to any kind of format, but that his preferred one in which the candidates would question each other, as well as field questions from reporters.

"I hope the format will allow tough cross-examination of the candidates by the news media," Carter said.

A Carter spokesman said proposals for debates already have been received from the League of Women Voters and the National Press Club in Washington.

A GROUP CALLED '78 Presidential Debates, a project of the League of Women Voters education fund, sent telegrams Thursday morning to Ford and Carter, proposing three debates—the first for Tuesday, Sept. 23, at the Chase Park Plaza Hotel in St. Louis, and the next two for the weeks of Oct. 11 and 25 in other regions of the country. A fourth debate between the vice presidential candidates was proposed for the week of Oct. 18.

Under a 1976 rule of the Federal Communications Commission, the nation's networks could televise presidential debates held under the auspices of another institution, such as the League of Women Voters or the Press Club, but could not stage the debate themselves.

Section 315 of the Communications Act requires radio and television to give equal time to all fringe candidates whenever they give exposures to a major party's candidate, except in legitimate news reports. A debate staged by a group other than the networks would be a news event, which they could cover without running afoul of the equal-time rule.

THE THREE major TV networks—ABC, CBS, and NBC—say they are willing to provide coverage of election debates between Ford and Carter wherever they are held.

In 1960, the day after the Republican National Convention, the two presidential candidates—Sen. John F. Kennedy

## President, Carter OK TV debates

Continued from page one  
and Vice President Richard Nixon—also

Chicago Tribune  
Saturday, August 21, 1976



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The White House  
Washington

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PMS THE PRESIDENT

CROWN CENTER HOTEL

KSC

IN THE SPIRIT OF FREE AND OPEN POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS -- DISCUSSIONS  
OF ISSUES VITAL TO THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY-- THE '76.

PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES, A PROJECT OF THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN  
VOTERS EDUCATION FUND, IS HONORED TO INVITE YOU TO  
PARTICIPATE IN THREE APPEARANCES WITH GOV. CARTER.

WE ARE SUGGESTING THE FIRST APPEARANCE TAKE PLACE TUESDAY,  
SEPTEMBER 28TH AT THE CHASE PARK PLAZA IN ST. LOUIS.

THE REMAINING TWO APPEARANCES ARE TENTATIVELY PLANNED DURING  
THE WEEKS OF OCTOBER 11TH AND OCTOBER 25TH IN

DIFFERENT REGIONS OF THE NATION. WE ARE ALSO SUGGESTING AN



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6 ADDITIONAL, OR FOURTH, DEBATE BE SCHEDULED THE WEEK OF OCTOBER  
7 18TH BETWEEN THE TWO VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES.

8  
9 EACH OF THE FOUR EVENTS IS PLANNED FOR ONE HOUR IN THE  
10 EVENING. WE WILL INVITE RADIO AND TELEVISION NETWORKS TO CARRY  
11 THESE EVENTS. SEVERAL OF THE NETWORKS HAVE ALREADY  
12 EXPRESSED INTEREST.

13 TIME IS SHORT. TO FACILITATE PLANNING, WE URGE YOU TO  
14 DESIGNATE A REPRESENTATIVE TO MEET WITH US AS SOON AS  
15 POSSIBLE TO CONSULT ON THE PROJECT IN MORE DETAIL.

16  
17 THE '76 PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES, MORE THAN ANY OTHER EVENT  
18 DURING OUR BICENTENNIAL YEAR COULD REAFFIRM OUR DEMOCRATIC  
19 INSTITUTIONS AND REVITALIZE VOTER INTEREST. THE LEAGUE --  
20 WHICH FOR 56 YEARS HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN VOTER EDUCATION --  
21 CONSIDERS YOUR PARTICIPATION TO BE IN THE HIGHEST NATIONAL INTEREST  
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6 AS WE FACE AN EVERMORE COMPLEX FUTURE.

7  
8 RUTH C CLUSEN CHAIRMAN EDUCATION FUND

9 RITA E HAUSER

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11 NEWTON N MINOW

12 CHARLES E WALKER

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14 CO-CHAIRMAN STEERING COMMITTEE

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON:

August 22, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

AGNES WALDRON

FROM:

DAVE GERGEN

SUBJECT:

TV Debates

As we discussed today, we're going to very much need your help in preparing for the debates. Mike Duval has been selected as the in-house project manager, and I have promised our full support as part of a staff-wide effort.

For starters, we are going to need:

-- A special effort by the news summary to keep us informed on what's said about the debates.

-- Transcripts and film copies of the 1960 debates (you have gotten the transcripts).

-- Transcripts and film copies of the Carter debates before he became governor.

-- Transcripts and film copies of the League of Women Voters debates this spring.

-- All relevant analysis of the above.

Beyond that, as we have discussed, we will also need to develop extensive briefing materials. Your ideas on this are very sound and I appreciate the progress you are already making.

cc: Mike Duval (Vail)  
Dick Cheney (Vail)



→  
President Ford Committee

1828 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 457-6400

Mike  
Duval

D. J. [unclear]  
10/16/74

Dave 10/16/74  
MEMO TO: FRED SLIGHT  
FROM: RON WEBER *Rew 10/1*  
RE: ENCLOSED Q&As FOR THIRD DEBATE

Enclosed are some possible Q&As prepared by the PFC  
for the President in the third debate.



QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS  
FOR THIRD DEBATE  
BETWEEN PRESIDENT FORD & GOVERNOR CARTER



- Q: Mr. President, earlier in the campaign there was a lot of discussion about the fact that you and your political strategists were going to "write off the South," and leave those states to Governor Carter while you concentrated your efforts elsewhere. Have these predictions proven true?
- A: Absolutely not. I made sure that there was no such effort in my campaign and I visited Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Florida to assure the voters of those states that we feel we can win the South. The voters from that region are too smart to base their decision on where a candidate comes from. The voters in the South are as concerned about the important issues that face this nation and how to approach these problems as the voters from the rest of the nation are. I do not believe that the voters in the South, or anywhere else, want to see the larger Federal bureaucracy that Governor Carter's programs would create. I do not think Southern voters want to see \$100 billion of additional Federal spending in the next fiscal year as Governor Carter's programs call for. I do not think that Southern voters want to see the Federal Government repeal their states' right-to-work laws as Governor Carter has indicated he would be willing to sign.
- Q: President Ford, you have often been criticized for a failure to provide leadership as President. Governor Carter has repeatedly asserted that he will be able to provide that leadership better than you have been able to. Do you think this has hurt you in this election?
- A: I believe my record proves my leadership. I do believe that an effective leader will lead by example. I have never been one who proves his leadership by telling people that I am a leader. This country has made great strides in the past two years. Inflation has been cut in half. There are more Americans at work today than ever before in history. The nation is at peace, and we have recovered our energy and spirit. I believe that is evidence of leadership, and I want to continue to provide that kind of leadership in the next four years. Great leaders are those who have proven themselves, not those who have done nothing more than promise.
- Q: President Ford, for the early part of the campaign you stayed in Washington, preferring to restrict your activities to the White House and the Oval Office. Do you think this gives you an unfair advantage?
- A: I do not believe that my incumbency has any advantage. As President, I must make difficult choices on questions involving important policy decisions. Many of these decisions have political implications as well, but I must base my decision on what is in the best interests of all the American people, and not just those people that I think will vote for me. A President cannot promise everything to everyone, because it is not realistic to do so.





In fact, I feel Governor Carter has the advantage of being able to campaign more than I. He can promise voters what he believes they want to hear without having to fulfill those promises the next day in the Oval Office.

My first priority is to perform the duties of the Presidency every day. This has limited my amount of campaigning. Often the demands of the office have not allowed me to travel to as many states as Governor Carter or to make as many campaign appearances as I would like to. My first obligation has been and continues to be to my sworn duties as President of the United States. That oath and my responsibilities are of far greater importance to me than my own personal political fortunes. Furthermore, I believe that my performance of my duties and responsibilities as President are the best evidence I can give the American voters with regard to my qualifications for the office. The American voters need more than contradictory promises in making their choice for President. They need to judge and understand. They can judge and understand performance.

Q: President Ford, as the election draws closer, certain states take on more importance than others. Which states do you see as crucial to your obtaining the necessary 270 electoral votes?

A: I seriously believe every state is crucial to our victory on November 2. I understand that the race is very close in California, which is certainly an important state to us because of its 45 electoral votes. Other very important states are Illinois, New York, Ohio, Florida, Louisiana and Texas. But we are continuing our campaign in every state in the country. There are a lot of voters that are still undecided, and I am convinced that we will receive the great majority of those votes in the next two weeks. I believe that there are a great number of voters still unsure about their vote, and when they make up their minds, I am confident that they will support the Ford-Dole ticket in November.

Q: President Ford, the consensus was that you won the first debate, and that Governor Carter won the second debate. Do you think these debates have had a significant impact on the campaign, and if so, what was the effect?

A: I would like to congratulate Governor Carter for agreeing to participate in these debates. I believe that these debates have been of great service to the American people, and I feel that the American people are the real winners. I have welcomed the opportunity to appear on a national forum, to present my views and positions, and explain my hopes and wishes for the future of our country. It has been an historic opportunity for voters to see both candidates side by side discussing common issues that concern all Americans. I want to thank the League of Women Voters for sponsoring these debates, and I hope that in this year of our nation's Bicentennial, that these debates have reawakened



America's spirit of democracy, and rekindled the interest of American voters in their own government. I hope that in future Presidential elections this precedent of nationally televised debates is continued. I have enjoyed the opportunity immensely, and once again, I would like to thank Governor Carter for agreeing to participate.

Q: Mr. President, recent polls indicate that this year there is a possibility that less than 50% of the electorate might vote this year. This electorate drop under 50% would be for the first time in history. Many people have said that this election has added to voter apathy. What do you feel about this development?

A: As a candidate, I am very concerned about the projections of a low voter turnout, but my concern is greater as a citizen to hear that so many Americans are not participating in their own government. I believe that in this important year of our Bicentennial, each and every American citizen should take the time to remember the love of freedom that inspired the forefathers of our great nation. Those revolutionaries fought for the right to decide their own fate, their own form of government. They earned that right, and for two hundred years America has fought to defend that right. We as a nation cannot allow that precious freedom to be lost because of apathy. As President, I wish to take this opportunity to urge each and every American to exercise their right to vote this election. In a time when many Americans are concerned about their government, they should exercise their right to vote and express their opinions about how their government should serve them.

Q: There has been a great deal of discussion this year about voters expressing their dissatisfaction with Washington. You have been in Washington for 25 years, as a Congressman, then as Vice President, and now as President. Do you feel you have suffered from this sentiment among voters.

A: I believe that there has been a growing dissatisfaction with such things as the growth of Federal bureaucracy. But I would like to point out that I have opposed this kind of free spending philosophy of big government all during my career in Washington. I believe that the Federal Government can actively serve the American people. Voters must remember that it is the Democratic Congress, which has voted for 40 of the last 44 years, that has been responsible for this growth in both the size and cost of government. It has been a Democratic Congress that has caused taxes to increase so greatly. And this year's Democratic promise of \$100 billion in new Federal spending, endorsed by Governor Carter, promises more of the same.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 5, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BOB HARTMANN  
PHIL BUCHEN  
JIM CANNON  
RUSS ROURKE  
JIM REICHLEY  
✓ MIKE DUVAL  
JERRY JONES  
FOSTER CHANOCK



FROM:

DAVE GERGEN *JD*

SUBJECT:

Medal of Freedom for  
Arthur Fiedler

I recently received the attached suggestion that a Medal of Freedom be presented to Arthur Fiedler. He is an interesting candidate; while we have generally agreed that the President should not overdo the medals prior to the election, this one is special. They would like a presentation before the election to be shown on national television after the election in a show already scheduled.

Jack Marsh recommends that we go with the idea. I would like to take a quick survey of your reaction and would appreciate your comments returned to Judy Muhlberg (2312) as soon as possible.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Many thanks.

*absolutely  
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# YORK ENTERPRISES, Inc.

JACK SOBEL  
PRESIDENT

September 21, 1976

President Gerald R. Ford  
c/o Mr. David R. Gergen  
Special Assistant to The President  
White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500



Mr. President:

The purpose of this letter is to request and to recommend that our Nation's most-treasured, highest civilian commendation, THE PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM, be awarded to a Bostonian-born American, Dr. Arthur Fiedler, on the evening of October 24, 1976, in New York City. On that date, which is United Nations Day, octogenarian Arthur Fiedler, a much-heralded international legend in the World of Music, will be conducting 'In Concert' The Boston Pops Orchestra with Lena Horne appearing as principal Guest Soloist at the famed Carnegie Hall. This Performance before a specially invited audience will be videotaped by our Company and edited into a one-hour Television Special for broadcast in primetime throughout the United States during the week of Dr. Fiedler's 82nd Birthday which occurs on December 17.

In my humble opinion the lives of multi-millions of Americans and many more millions in foreign lands have been enriched in their enjoyment of 'good popular music performed by symphonic and philharmonic orchestras' all because Dr. Arthur Fiedler had the vision and the perseverance to expand the classic symphonic sound to the appreciation level of the common man. Today thousands of symphony orchestras throughout the world include Pops Concerts in their regular season performances as a result of Arthur Fiedler achieving his goal.

On July 4, 1929, Arthur Fiedler made music history when he created the first Boston "Pops" Esplanade Concert on the banks of the Charles



River. Appropriately, the first musical selection performed that evening was our National Anthem, "The Star Spangled Banner".

Throughout the forty-seven years since that historic occasion, Arthur Fiedler has conducted Pops Concerts with hundreds of symphony and philharmonic orchestra throughout the world. Single-handedly, the genius of this American Citizen's contribution to music appreciation by young and old alike, has earned him an altogether fitting and permanent place in the annals of music history.

As an eminent American ambassador of music, Arthur Fiedler has created a unique marriage of classical-popular sounds resulting in musical pleasures to more than two generations of people regardless of their language or cultural differences. For almost half a century, this brilliant Maestro has personified the most exemplary qualities in his chosen profession of which we, as Americans, can be justly proud. What better occasion than United Nations Day on Sunday, October 24, for us to pause and to honor this distinguished fellow Citizen in the twilight of his years by bestowing the highest civilian Award our Country has to give.

Miss Judy Muhlberg, Assistant to Mr. David Gergen at the White House, indicated to my associate, Mrs. Jolyn Rudelson, during a telephone conversation on Friday, September 10, that you desire a brief biographical sketch of Dr. Arthur Fiedler as well as an outline of the Television Special Tribute we plan to tape on October 24. The biography and related pertinent material as well as the Outline are enclosed with this letter.

I apologize for the fact that this request is being made on very short notice but only now have we been able to resolve the logistical problems to put together the booking schedules of Dr. Fiedler, The Boston Pops, Lena Horne and several other celebrities to be available for this event on the precise date we needed at the very busy Carnegie Hall. With all due respect, it just seems most appropriate that this Tribute be given to 81 years old Arthur Fiedler while he is doing the one thing he loves best: Conducting the Boston Pops on the stage of the (also 81 years old) world-renowned Carnegie Hall in front of 2800 specially invited appreciative and enthusiastic admirers. How fortunate we are that all of these elements could be put together on United Nations Day when America's thoughts stop to remember our melting pot heritage which ties us to the Peoples of the World.

If after appropriate consideration you choose to bestow this Award upon Arthur Fiedler at Carnegie Hall, York Enterprises stands ready to extend complete cooperation to your Staff in all efforts to maximize total media coverage of this momentous occasion on an immediate-release basis.

The Monsanto Textiles Company will be the majority Sponsor of the Special when it is telecast in mid-December.



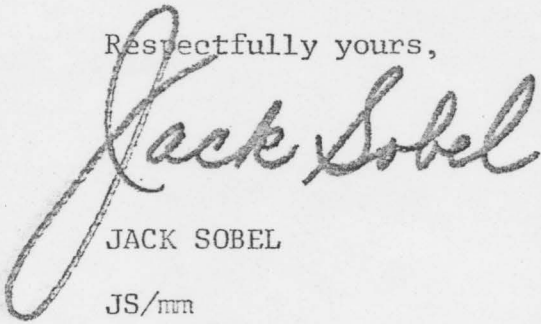
September 21, 1976

With all due respect of your busy schedule and the time required for you to seriously consider this request, we shall not presume that our own feelings towards Dr. Fiedler will necessarily prevail. Therefore, we will proceed with our alternate production plans pending your decision.

Should you desire additional information, Members of your Staff may contact either Mrs. Rudelson (10960 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite #1800, Los Angeles, California 90024) at 213-478-2541 or me. I want to do everything possible to have available for your perusal the appropriate answers they require and to this end, I am prepared to fly to Washington for personal meetings if this will help.

I sincerely hope that you will share and that you will agree with our enthusiasm for this recommendation.

Respectfully yours,

A large, stylized handwritten signature in dark ink that reads "Jack Sobel". The signature is written over the typed name "JACK SOBEL".

JACK SOBEL

JS/mm

Encl.



## THE ESPLANADE CONCERTS - A BRIEF HISTORY

Arthur Fiedler conducted the first of the Esplanade concerts in 1929, after having spent several years in the planning and promotion of this now famous series. The concerts are held nightly over a two-week season in the Hatch Memorial Shell on the Charles River Embankment, at the foot of Beacon Hill. The Orchestra consists of members of the Boston Symphony. Harry Ellis Dickson is Assistant Conductor, and the season generally begins at the conclusion of the Pops concerts. Free to the public, the series ranks as one of the most popular of the area's summertime attractions. The atmosphere is festive and decidedly informal. Many of the concert-goers bring blankets and picnic suppers to enhance the comforts of the grass-floored 'auditorium,' and a few listen from the vantage point of yachts anchored in the nearby Charles River lagoon. Audiences of 20,000 are not unusual. The series includes special daytime concerts for children, and in recent years it has been followed by a short series of neighborhood 'Summerthing' concerts, in cooperation with the Mayor's Office of Cultural Affairs.

In 1954, Governor Herter celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Esplanade Concerts by dedicating a new foot bridge, 'The Arthur Fiedler Bridge,' over the highway bordering the area. And in 1969 Arthur Fiedler conducted a gala Fourth of July concert which celebrated the inception of the series, forty years before on the same day.

## ARTHUR FIEDLER

- 1894 Born in Boston, Massachusetts, on December 17, the son of Emanuel and Johanna (Bernfeld) Fiedler. His mother was a gifted amateur musician and his Austrian-born father was a Boston Symphony violinist for twenty-five years and an original member of the Kneisel and Adamowski Quartets. Two uncles, Bernhard and Gustav Fiedler, were also violinists in the Boston Symphony.
- 1907 Boston Latin School
- 1910 Family returns to Berlin, where Arthur enrolls as a scholarship student at the Royal Academy of Music. He studies conducting with Arno Kleffel and Rudolf Krasselt, violin with Willy Hess, and chamber music with Ernst von Dohnanyi.
- 1911 Makes concert debut as violinist in Berlin at age seventeen.
- 1915 Returns to Boston and at age twenty becomes Boston Symphony violinist under Karl Muck.
- 1917 Serves as private in U. S. Army.
- 1924 Organizes Boston Sinfonietta--later the Arthur Fiedler Sinfonietta--a chamber ensemble of Boston Symphony musicians. Notable local premieres include Stravinsky's The Soldier's Tale.
- 1929 Founds and conducts the first of the Esplanade Concerts on July 4.
- 1930 Appointed eighteenth Conductor of the Boston Pops. Also becomes Conductor of the Cecilia Society, a position he retains until 1936, preparing many choral works for performance with the Boston Symphony. Appointed Conductor of the Boston University Orchestra, he holds this post until 1946.
- 1935 Conducts the first recordings, on RCA, of the Boston Pops. French Government confers title of Officier d'Academie. Until 1942.
- 1939 Serves until 1942 as New England Administrator of the Young Orchestra of the Federal Music Project.

ARTHUR FIEDLER (Continued)

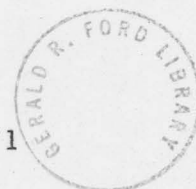
- 1941 Volunteers for U. S. Coast Guard Temporary Reserve.
- 1950 Appointed conductor of annual summer concerts of the San Francisco Arts Commission.
- 1953 Governor Christian Herter dedicates the Arthur Fiedler Bridge, a foot bridge over Storrow Drive, as part of the twenty-fifth anniversary celebrations of the Esplanade Concerts. He is made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor.
- 1954 Observes Silver Anniversary as Conductor of the Boston Pops.
- 1958 Takes part in filming of Windjammer by conducting Boston Pops in Grieg Piano Concerto.
- 1961 Guest conducts in Israel, Canada, England, Ireland and Japan as well as with several U. S. orchestras.
- 1964 Guest conducts in Belgium, Turkey, England, Sweden and South Africa.
- 1965 Observes fiftieth anniversary of association with the Boston Symphony Orchestra. Conducts first of annual Boston Ballet performances of The Nutcracker. Guest conducts in Sweden, Denmark, England, Canada, Philippines and New Zealand.
- 1969 Conducts Boston Symphony Orchestra in a gala concert honoring his seventy-fifth birthday. By order of Governor Sargent, the day is proclaimed 'Arthur Fiedler Day' throughout the Commonwealth.
- 1974 Honoring Arthur Fiedler on his eightieth birthday the Governor of Massachusetts declares December 17 'Arthur Fiedler Day' in the Commonwealth.



ARTHUR FIEDLER (Continued)

HONORARY DEGREES:

- M.A., Tufts College, 1931
- Mus. D., Boston University, 1951
- Mus. D., American International College, 1959
- Doctor of Fine Arts, Ripon College, 1960
- Mus. D., University of Miami, 1963
- Mus. D., Music and Arts Institute, San Francisco, 1963
- Mus. D., Jacksonville University, 1964
- Mus. D., Southeastern Massachusetts Technological Institute, 1965
- D. Fine Arts, Northeastern University, 1966
- Mus. D., Merrimack College, 1969
- Mus. D., University of Massachusetts, 1970
- Mus. D., Tufts, 1971
- Mus. D., New England Conservatory of Music, 1971
- Mus. D., Springfield College, 1971
- Mus. D., Bowdoin College, 1973
- Doctor of Humanities, Glassboro State College, 1973
- Mus. D., University of Maine at Portland-Gorham, 1974
- Mus. D., Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio, 1974



HONORS:

- 1935: Decorated by French Government as Officier de l'Instruction Publique
- 1950: Musical America Achievement Award for "radio's foremost program conductor"
- 1954: Arthur Fiedler Bridge, Boston, dedicated
- 1954: Awarded the Cross of Chevalier of the Legion of Honor by the French Government
- 1959: Dubbed a Duke and received the Distinguished Award of the Royal Society of the Knights of Carrousel, Charlotte, N. C.
- 1960: Joseph E. Conner Award, from Phi Alpha Tau Fraternity, Emerson College, Boston
- 1964: Golden Lyre Award for Classical Music from the American Institute of High Fidelity, New York
- 1965: Arthur Fiedler Music Library established in Tel Aviv by Israel Histadrut
- 1965: Awarded the first Boston Medal ever to be conferred, on the occasion of the dedication of the War Memorial Auditorium, Prudential Center
- 1966: Appointed a Fellow of the Boston University Libraries
- 1971: Golden Door Award
- 1974: Rodgers and Hammerstein Award for 1974

ARTHUR FIEDLER (Continued)

YOUTH CONCERTS:

- 1933: Originated series of morning concerts for children under the name of "Morning Varieties"
- 1938: Established the Children's Esplanade Concerts, one morning per week during the Esplanade Season

STAGE PRODUCTIONS:

- 1934: Conducted a revival of deKoven's operetta "Robin Hood" with his Sinfonietta and the cast of the Boston Light Opera Company
- 1935: Conducted a Symphony Hall performance of Shakespeare's "A Midsummer Night's Dream," with actors, ballet, and Mendelssohn's score
- 1938: Conducted the world premiere of Walter Piston's ballet, "The Incredible Flutist," with Boston Pops Orchestra, in Symphony Hall, and recorded it
- 1961: Conducted Strauss' "Die Fledermaus" with The Boston Opera Group
- 1964-74: Conducted Tchaikovsky's ballet "The Nutcracker" with the Boston Ballet Company

FILM APPEARANCES:

- 1958: Took part in the film "Windjammer," conducting a large segment of the Boston Pops Orchestra in Grieg's Piano Concerto, featuring as soloist Sven Erik Liebek, a crewman of the Norwegian square-rigged training ship "Christian Radich"

RADIO APPEARANCES:

Arthur Fiedler has been heard by a greater audience than any other conductor. In addition to regular broadcasts from the Symphony Hall stage in Boston, via local Boston stations and also NBC and ABC coast-to-coast networks, he has made radio appearances in virtually every state of the nation, including "Voice of Firestone" in New York and the "Standard Hour" broadcasts in San Francisco. He has also broadcast from London, Oslo, Ankara, Tokyo, and Buenos Aires. The Boston Pops Concerts are taped in Symphony Hall and broadcast throughout the U. S. and Canada, and overseas by the Voice of America.

ARTHUR FIEDLER (Continued)

TELEVISION APPEARANCES:

WBZ-TV, Boston: eight programs sponsored by Boston  
Globe, 1961-62  
WGN-TV, Chicago: concerts with members of Chicago  
Symphony, 1957-62  
BBC-TV, London: with Philharmonia Orchestra, 1961  
ABC-TV, New York: Music for a Spring Night, single program,  
1960  
Music for the Young, three programs, 1962  
Voice of Firestone, eight programs, 1962-  
63  
CBS-TV, New York: Tribute to Richard Rodgers, on "The Ed  
Sullivan Show," 1962  
Tokyo Broadcasting System, television program, 1962: with  
Yomiuri Nippon Orchestra, 1965  
BBC-TV, London: with Royal Philharmonic Orchestra, 1966  
CBS-TV, National: "Red Skelton Show," appeared as conductor  
of Pops and in skit with Skelton  
NET-TV: 13 weekly television shows with star per-  
formers over 180 stations

MEMBERSHIPS:

Boston Society of Recorded Music (President for two years)  
Harvard Musical Association  
Honorary Member, Eire Society of Boston  
Honorary Member, American Guild of Organists  
Chairman, Music Advisory Panel, U. S. Advisory Committee on  
Cultural Information, U.S.I.A. - term now completed  
Honorary Life Member, Local No. 6, American Federation of  
Musicians, San Francisco  
Honorary Life Member, Local No. 9, American Federation of  
Musicians, Boston

FAMILY:

Wife: former Ellen Bottomley. Married 1942  
Children: Johanna, born 1945; Deborah, 1947; Peter, 1952

## ARTHUR FIEDLER

### Biography

Arthur Fiedler was born in Boston on December 17, 1894, into a family which provided a rich background of European musical culture. His father, Austrian-born Emanuel Fiedler, was a first violinist with the Boston Symphony, and his mother, young Fiedler's first piano teacher, was a gifted amateur musician. 'I was brought up in the European manner,' Mr. Fiedler has said. 'As a young boy, I practiced the violin and piano, and studied French and German. I didn't like music more than any other kid. Practice and lessons were drudgery.' From that rather unpromising beginning, Mr. Fiedler rose to become a person who has made an indelible mark on the musical history of Boston and on the musical taste of millions of people throughout the world. He is without doubt Boston's best known and best loved citizen.

Mr. Fiedler was a pupil at the Prince Grammar School and at Boston Latin School until his father retired from the Orchestra and the family returned to its native Austria. In Vienna and later in Berlin, he worked in the publishing business before entering the Royal Academy in Berlin as a student of violin, piano and conducting. At the outbreak of World War I, he returned to Boston, and in 1915, at the age of twenty, joined the Boston Symphony as a violinist under Karl Muck. Nine years later, his ambition to conduct led him to form the Boston Sinfonietta, a chamber orchestra composed of members of the Boston Symphony. At the same time he continued as a member of the Orchestra, playing the violin, viola, piano, celesta and organ as well as percussion instruments. For several years he had spearheaded a campaign for the underwriting of a series of free outdoor concerts, and in 1929 his efforts resulted in the launching of the Esplanade Concerts on the east bank of the Charles River. The twenty-fifth anniversary of these concerts was celebrated with the dedication of the 'Arthur Fiedler Bridge' over what is now Storrow Drive.

In 1930, Mr. Fiedler was appointed the eighteenth conductor of the Boston Pops concerts, and under his direction the Orchestra has made more recordings than any other in the world. One recording alone, Jalousie, a forgotten composition of Jacob Gade, has sold more than one million copies. Fifteen years ago, RCA honored Mr. Fiedler with a plaque commemorating both his thirtieth anniversary with the Esplanade Concerts and the sale of his two millionth album. Today, the total sales of Pops albums, singles, tapes and cassettes are not far from fifty million.



ARTHUR FIEDLER - Biography (Continued)

In addition to his Boston Pops activities, Mr. Fiedler has been closely associated with the San Francisco Pops Orchestra during the past twenty-two summers. He has conducted a long list of American orchestras, including the Boston Symphony, as well as orchestras in South America, Europe, Africa and Australia. His most recent tour abroad took place last February when he led a series of concerts by major Australian orchestras.

