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Jones

- Carter will attack but will play it safe; will use old lines + avoid new areas.
- Debate becomes crucial for us — must be viewed as last offensive chance.
objectives — push Carter to left
± Question his veracity.

→ (very difficult for P to do w/o hurting himself. must be subtle; serious but not grim; light touch.)

Consult : . Bryce
• Burch
• Pat B.
• Laird ?



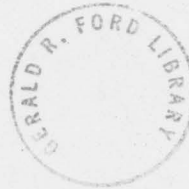
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 20, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: JERRY JONES
FROM: MIKE DUVAL *Mike*
SUBJECT: SECOND DEBATE

I suggest that the President invite Dean Burch to fly up with him to San Francisco to the second debate. Also, we can invite Bill Ruckelshaus to fly down on his own from Seattle to San Francisco as the President's guest for the debate.



cc: Dick Cheney

FROM THE DESK OF
ANDRÉ E. LETENDRE

October 7, 1976

The Honorable Jerry Jones
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

To Mike Duval
This is
really
excellent

Dear Jerry,

Thought you might enjoy the comments
on the debate from an old high school
debate coach.

Would greatly enjoy seeing you again.
If/when your schedule permits, let's get
together.

Phone numbers: 202/785-2705; 703/
938-5817; until election during the day
@ 202/554-8134.

Warmest regards, et al,

P. Should draw
conclusions
about what
says - Carter
Andre
about what
he says -



FROM THE DESK OF
ANDRE E. LETENDRE

October 7, 1976

Some thoughts on the debate...

Isn't there anyone with debate training or experience advising the President on debate technique, i.e., under the current format the President should give his real zingers in the rebuttal - Carter does not get an immediate chance to answer unless he uses time he should be directing to another question - and this only can happen $\frac{1}{2}$ the time Carter does not get a chance to answer at all for a long time so his answer would be lost. (Carter used this technique at times.)

Since the President wishes Carter to be defensive, the President positive, he should take the affirmative role, i.e., build-destroy-build-destroy. The President, in answering a question, should build his case, record et al, destroy anything Carter has said on the issue. Then, should point out even if Carter's solution, answer, facts, are correct - which they are not - the disadvantages that would occur with Carter's plan-answer, and finally point out the advantages of the President's plan/answer over Carter's. If it is a major point the President should go into the answer with a summary, give his answer, and close with a summary. The point will never be lost by the listener that way.

FROM THE DESK OF
ANDRE E. LETENDRE

(2)

The President should direct his answers directly at Carter. The President should look directly at Carter when talking to him, about him, about his policies. Look at the American people after making the point - to get their reaffirmation of what the President just said.

Specifics in a question should be mentioned in the answer. If the President wants to generalize or through in some ideals - do that matter-of-factly in addition to directly answering the question and Carter. Remember, the President is the candidate who has specific answers to specific questions. Carter is the one who does not answer questions directly, who normally changes his position, who never does take a position.



CONCLUSIONS must be drawn by the President. This is a weakness of both candidates. This is where the beginning and ending summaries are most helpful. What does all the garbage Carter is throwing around ACTUALLY mean? What does The President's record ACTUALLY do for me - an individual American? How do the two positions compare? Lay it out. If both answers are in focus, given well by the President, the President wins on every point. What does a policy mean to a group of people - the Jews, for example.

If my election depended upon in great part the next debate - which I think it does - unless Carter is pushed and continues to fumble - I would practice at least 2 hours a day with 'reporters' and 'Carter' - all WH staffers. This is the time and place to

FROM THE DESK OF
ANDRÉ E. LETENDRE

(3)

have the writers - to come up with the right lines to make a strong point or to zap Carter. This is the place to get to feel at ease using gestures. (Carter obviously was coached and practiced.) This is where the President can get every point in focus he wants to make in the next debate - regardless of the questions asked. He can work his answer into any question asked. He can work out his attacks on the things he wishes to attack Carter - regardless of what Carter actually says in the next debate. ("That reminds me of what Governor said....")

Since the American people perceive that Carter came off better - but actually said very, very little - why doesn't the President hold a news conference today to set the record straight. To save the nation the embarrassment that some of Carter's remarks has caused the US. To stop the 3rd World War Carter almost started last night. To reassure our allies. To be sure our enemies really understand our position. To point out the logic of foreign policy that is conceived and practiced in an orderly way - not composed as the result of one meeting with a former Sec'y of Defense by the seats of their pants.

Also, Carter's techniques were fairly good - however - I think a transcript of the debate and Carter's remarks would look horrible for Carter. Why not get the transcript of the debate or Carter's remarks out with footnotes setting the record straight, giving the actual facts, letting print show Carter's generalities, ambiguous remarks, failure to take a stand on an issue, Carter's contradictions, et al.



FROM THE DESK OF
ANDRÉ E. LETENDRE

(4)

Polls obviously show Carter that American people hot buttons include morality and secrecy - or he is beginning to build the base for: Morality - watch out, here comes Watergate as a last minute issue in the campaign; secrecy - watch out, here comes Watergate as a last minute issue in the campaign! The President must address these issues well now, to lay his base of attack against Watergate charges.

I want to cry because of something the President says. Get it into the next debate.

It truly paind me that we might have lost a bit of ground because we will not face facts and deal with them - help the President with his technique; help the President practice (I am sure Carter did); give the President some good-effective lines; make me cry; help the President to come off as the leader he is. The President cannot come off as only equal to a challenger who does not take a stand on most issues and when he does he doe s not know what in the hell he is talking about. (We are going to point that out today - right?)

Also, what and how the White House acts - today - can easily win or lose the election for The Boss. Transcript out - President's News Conference - Depts. of State and Defense screaming what Carter did to our defesnes and relationships last night - people from definable groups that Carter mentioned screaming - are all Poles dupes of the Russians?

Regards - do help the President - you are in position to make a/the difference.



André

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 12, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JERRY JONES

FROM:

MIKE DUVAL *Mike*

SUBJECT:

Williamsburg Debate -
Senator Dole.

Tim Austin has called to inquire whether or not Senator Dole can join us in Williamsburg for the third debate. Tim suggested that he sit in the staff room (much as Mrs. Carter does) and then appear with the President immediately following.

Under our negotiated agreement with the League it probably would be impossible for him to be sitting out front in the audience because he's an elected official.



October 12, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK CHENEY
JERRY JONES ✓
RED CAVANEY

FROM:

MIKE DUVAL

Mike

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.



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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 13, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR RED CAVANEY
✓ MIKE DUVAL

SUBJECT: Attached memorandum on
Williamsburg from
the PFC

The attached memo is forwarded for your
information and handling.

Thank you.

W W N
William W. Nicholson

*To Jerry Jones
+
Red*

*Good idea
if P not
required to
speak before
debate.*

White




President Ford Committee

1823 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20035 (202) 457-6400

October 9, 1976

MEMORANDUM

To:  Jim DeFrancis

From: Special Events

Re: Welcome for President Ford at Williamsburg Debate

Purpose

There have been two debates. President Ford won the first, Jimmy Carter was credited with the second. We want to help boost the President's morale for the final debate. We want to do advance in Williamsburg to help build crowd support for the President. His winning the final debate is the major goal.

Activities

To do our part, our office would like to do the advance work and make preparations for turning out support for the President. This would be done in conjunction with the White House advance men. Although a parade from the hotel to the Phi Beta Kappa House may not be in the plans of the White House, still a crowd in support of the President along the route with signs, banners, and warm wishes would have to add to the President's morale. Specifics are listed under Advance.

Political Significance

The amount of time and money spent would be relatively small compared to the psychological gains that could result. The costs of posters, homemade paper banners, etc. is low. The depression after a bad debate and the momentum resulting after a good one are major factors which might be affected by a warm pro-Ford turnout.

It's the last debate. It's tied at Ford--one, Carter--one. Winning this one 10 days prior to the election would be a big psychological boost.



Background

Williamsburg is a basic Democratic part of Virginia. However, it is near a large military area which could add to our support.

The President will most likely fly to nearby airport (approximately 20 miles from Williamsburg). A warm welcome there will set the tone for his day's preparations for the debate. It will affect the President's mood.

The President will probably be headquartered at a hotel one to one-and-one-half miles from the Phi Beta Kappa building. A warm welcome along this route as the President rides to the debate site would have to help the President feel more assured in his support.

Sites

People would be needed at three various locations:

- (1) At the airport arrival
- (2) Along the motorcade route
- (3) At a post debate rally

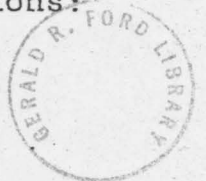
A small barracaded area at the airport would help make the airport welcome look like an overflow situation.

Headquarters or a possible hotel site could be the scene of the post-debate rally. We'd work closely with the local people and with White House Advance to supplant their work to assist them.

Attendance

We'd work to contact Young Republican, College Republican, Women's Republican, GOP organization leaders, precinct captains, and party regulars to turn them out along the motorcade route.

Advance would include locating friendly households and businesses along the motorcade route who would show support by hanging signs on the houses or in windows in support of the President. Friendly households would be supplied with these signs the day prior to the debates. They would also be encouraged to invite family/friends over to their house to wave and applaud the President as he rides by.



Movements Required

All movements of the President should be followed by supporters. People should be offering encouragement at these spots:

- (1) Airport arrival
- (2) Hotel arrival
- (3) Hotel departure and motorcade route
- (4) Rally after the debate

Rally

After the debates, we'll invite the volunteers and people in general to a Ford rally. The President would simply drop by as he did in San Francisco. Only a large room and several televisions should be provided here. No refreshments are necessary. Thus, costs can be held down to just the room expense.

By providing this official television room and post-debate rally, volunteers and supporters would feel rewarded for their efforts.

Advance

Here are several miscellaneous points to cover in the advance:

*Send letters to all GOP precinct captains within 50 miles of Williamsburg asking them to turn out five people each to welcome the President either at the airport or along the motorcade route.

*Make contacts door-to-door in Williamsburg along the route of the motorcade and find out who will display signs in their shops/houses.

*Hold a sign party for making 1,000 homemade signs saying "Welcome, Mr. President," "We love you, Mr. President," etc.

*Arrange buses or car caravans from nearby communities to bring in people. Have the buses/cars decorated.

*Homemade banners out of cloth or rolls of paper to be held along the route.

*Distribute window signs

*Put together a band to play the Michigan fight song outside the President's hotel as he leaves

*Helium balloons marked with magic markers "FORD"
all along the route---1,000 balloons & helium should be
less than \$25

*Card section of TAR's spelling "Welcome, Mr. President"

*Encouragement signs--"Go get him, Jerry" "Best wishes,
Mr. President" "Beat him, Mr. President" "Crush the Peanut
Man"

*Have 20 to 30 pro-Ford letters-to-the-editor go into
editors that week.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 19, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK CHENEY
JERRY JONES

FROM:

MIKE DUVAL

SUBJECT:

Visit to Bedford-Stuyvesant

Subject to further checking by the Advance office and others, (principally Jim Cannon), I recommend that the President briefly tour Bedford-Stuyvesant enroute from the JFK Airport to downtown New York and the Al Smith dinner this coming Thursday.

I perceive the following reasons for doing this:

1. 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. The 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 must 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



saying something moral and positive, as if he would act more forcefully in some undefined way. That is why Democrats win so many elections. It is a restless country, we are a doing people, and in the last analysis we tend to choose the active principle. For all McGovern's blunders, it was probably the opening to China, more than anything else, that secured Nixon's reelection. So it is vital that President Ford be seen as doing something other than controlling, or even cutting, the budget. Supporting Restoration, and expanding its example to every major American city, is something first-rate to do.

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 capital, to aid in the most urgent tasks of the nation.

-- It offers a demonstration that aid to New York City need not and should not be simply aid to bail out its hopelessly maladministered government. Bedford-Stuyvesant (as Jerry Brown pointed out most effectively in the primaries) was in deep trouble long before the city's fiscal crisis; the project was needed precisely because the city did literally nothing to help for generations. Right now, the City is attempting to increase taxes on Restoration's new shopping center -- at the same time that the federal government is trying to subsidize its building!

-- Most of all, a visit and commitment by President Ford would demonstrate the very qualities that might make him attractive, or



acceptable, to moderate voters not enchanted with Carter. It is a Democratic project, specifically a Kennedy project: Mr. Ford is not partisan, he recognizes merit wherever it appears, he listens, he is not afraid to share credit or accept instructions. All these play directly against the Carter qualities that most disturb. It tends to close the "compassion gap:" Carter has never been to Bedford-Stuyvesant, probably because he is: (1) fearful of further identification with blacks in the campaign; and (2) jealous of a Kennedy project.

-- 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. Certainly 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.

The project received its initial funding from the so-called "Special Impact Program," (now Title IX.), passed as part of the Economic Opportunity Act Amendments of 1966 under the cosponsorship of the two Senators. From the beginning, however its aim was to "leverage" its government money into vastly greater investment by private enterprise. Thus, for example, Restoration was able to attract to Bedford-Stuyvesant an IBM assembly plant, to staff it with workers from the area, and to assist IBM in training them; IBM's initial investment has proven so successful that they have just broken ground for a second, \$12 million plant, to employ another 1,000-plus local workers, without any federal aid whatever. For another example, very small Restoration investments helped in the creation of a Mortgage Pool, financed by a consortium of banks,

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 MacDonal'd'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.

3. What to do there. Bedford-Stuyvesant is not for a rally. President Ford should arrange simply for a guided tour, followed by a meeting with the project's director and top staff, with perhaps some of the Directors (the black and white corporations are now merged, with a single mixed board). He can and should inspect some of the projects -- the IBM plant, some housing, the shopping center -- and see as well the work not yet done, the vast areas of Bedford-Stuyvesant not yet reached. He need make no speech; he can simply hold a press conference, perhaps in the auditorium (actually a community theater built into the headquarters building, which is a truly elegant and inspiring piece of architecture). He need have, I believe, no serious concern over demonstrations of any kind. I repeat, that this is not a "campaign appearance." The payoff will come on the debate.

4. Possible objections. These are easily disposed of.

(a) The Democrats get the black vote anyway. Of course. The audience is not blacks, who vote very little. It is those tens of millions of whites, many of them bothered by Carter, who yet cannot bring themselves to vote for a candidate who they think will do nothing at all for blacks for another four years. That is a compassionate country, at least when that compassion can be exercised in someone else's neighborhood.

(b) There will be demonstrations. I do not believe so. If there are, it is still a political advantage, not a handicap. Again, what many mistrust about Carter is the feeling that he will brook no opposition, that to cross him once is to invite four years of hell. This is, or could be, a welcome reminder that no one has anything to fear from good guy Jerry Ford: look at that, those spades yelling at him, but he just goes on smiling, says he understands, and that he will try to help. Then let people ask themselves which one is less like Richard Nixon.

(c) It will unbalance the budget. Nothing could be further from the truth. I repeat that the project's central principle is that it should not require vast government monies. This one has cost only \$5 million a year. Even double that, and extend the example to every major American city, and you are still well under \$250 million a year -- just eliminating the fifth carbon at HEW could probably save that much. And this \$250 million, unlike the billions envisaged by Humphrey-Hawkins, might actually accomplish something permanent.



(d) It is a Democratic project. Indeed it is, though thoroughly non-partisan in its theory; Jack Javits and Benno Schmidt are as Republican as it gets. I repeat that this is a virtue. Especially is it a virtue when the Democrats with whom it is most closely identified are the foremost heroes of the party's past -- and so clearly ignored and dishonored by the party's current candidate.

Finally in this vein, it is a great opportunity to suggest that a new Administration would extend its reach beyond the closed circles of Washington. There is some real talent in this project, most notably Frank Thomas, its director (Mike O'Neill of the Daily News thinks Thomas is the man best-qualified by far to be Mayor of New York, which a black man will not be for some time yet). Nothing could be better, in the bus leaving Bedford-Stuyvesant, than to muse with a reporter that that fellow would make a fine cabinet member -- nothing, that is, except to actually make him one next January.

The first step, of course, is to get elected. The road back starts at Fulton and Nostrand.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 20, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JERRY JONES ✓

FROM:

MIKE DUVAL

The League of Women Voters would like to have a brief moment to take a picture after the President's AV check on Friday afternoon. In the photo would be the President, the three Co-Chairpersons (Charls Walker, Rita Hauser, Newton Minow), the two Executive Directors of the League (Ruth Clusen, and Peggy Lampl) and the Debate Coordinator (Jim Karayn).

They originally had proposed a picture with all the above and the President and Mr. Carter together to be taken between the President's AV check and Carter's AV check. I indicated that this probably would present serious scheduling problems.

I recommend we go with the photo of the President and the League of Women voters group alone.

APPROVE: _____

DISAPPROVE: _____

OTHER: _____

cc: Red Cavaney
Bill Carruthers

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WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM FOR:

JERRY JONES
RED CAVANEY

FROM:

MIKE DUVAL

SUBJECT:

Departure from the
South Grounds for
Williamsburg.

If this coming Friday is anything like the last two departure dates for the debates, I will undoubtedly be getting material and briefing the President right up to departure time. Accordingly, I would appreciate being manifested on the helicopter departing the South Lawn for Andrews.

Andrews