

The original documents are located in Box 30, folder “Input - Ed and Sheila Weidenfeld” of the Michael Raoul-Duval Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Copyright Notice

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Michael Raoul-Duval donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Shirley



P. over briefed

P didn't listen to Carter or Q.

Don't overstate case;
(Press Conf. When press laughed at
his one-liners he stopped. good.)

* Can't tell him to smile
because should only happen
if it comes naturally.

∴ just be NATURAL
+ humor will come from
listening to Q.

* Project personality
+ competence will follow

need eye contact w/ questioner.

Ed Wendenfeld → work of Rordley

① Bed - STUY - \$

Frank Thomas

Head of Bedford Stuyvesant
Opn. former NYC
Cop; Black (Demo?)

② Adam Walinsky is a resource



③ Ed Thomas

- Carter promises more than he can deliver

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

e.g. Arab economic boycott
re: oil

"He talks tough and but
carries a twig."

- Carter/Mondale appear to be talking about
problems of great depression — ~~with~~ ^{Right}
the reality is we are dealing with the
problems of our third century.

e.g. unemployment too high but
more ~~too~~ people working than
ever in our history.

	Initials	Date
Prepared By		
Approved By		

45-814 EYE-EASE
45-814 20/20 BUFF
NATIONAL Made in U.S.A.

INCOME OF AMERICAN FAMILIES, BY NUMBER OF EARNERS, 1974
(NUMBERS IN MILLIONS)

1 EARNINGS (% OF FAMILIES)	2 UNDER \$6000		3 \$6000 - 9999		4 \$10000 - 14999		5 \$15000 - 24999		6 \$25000 - 49999		7 \$50000 - UP	
	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.
1 TOTAL	100.0	97	100	102	100	136	100	158	100	58	100	06
4 NUMBER OF EARNERS												
6 1	72.2	70	60.8	62	44.1	60	27.2	43	20.7	12	29.7	02
8 2	16.5	16	34.3	35	45.6	62	51.3	81	41.4	24	39.5	02
10 3	1.5	01	3.9	04	8.1	11	14.6	23	20.7	12	18.1	01
12 4 AND UP	0.5	005	01	01	2.2	03	8.1	11	17.2	10	12.7	01
14 CUMULATIVE:												
16 2 OR MORE	18.5	18	38.3	40	55.9	76	74.0	115	79.3	46	70.3	04
18 3 OR MORE	2.1	02	4.0	05	10.3	14	22.7	34	37.9	22	30.8	02



JIMMY CARTER'S INEXPERIENCEOVERVIEW

Jimmy Carter is the most inexperienced person to be nominated for President in recent history. As of fifteen years ago, the only office he had been elected to was the Sumter County Board of Education.

It should be stressed that Jimmy Carter has never spent the time necessary to know how government works for the people it serves. In every office he has held, he has been preoccupied with thoughts of how to win a higher office. Jimmy Carter is a relentless and ambitious campaigner who has not used the offices in which he has served to gain experience, but rather to further his own personal political ambition. Jimmy Carter's only real experience has been one of constantly campaigning for himself. He is a candidate, not an executive leader; an ambitious campaigner, not a proven leader.

It should be emphasized that one undebatable qualification for the office of the Presidency is experience. The American people cannot trust the future of this country to Jimmy Carter, a one-term governor. The American people cannot trust the safety of our country to Jimmy Carter, who has had no experience whatsoever with foreign affairs or defense matters. It should be repeated again and again that Americans everywhere must ask themselves first and foremost if they are willing to trust the national security of the United States to Jimmy Carter, a man whose name they had not ever heard of just one year ago.

There follows a number of distinct areas which can be best used to illustrate the theme of Jimmy Carter's inexperience.



1. Carter Experience in State Government

After serving for only four years in the Georgia state legislature, Jimmy Carter decided he was qualified to run for Governor. He ran for Governor in 1966 and finished third, losing in the Democratic primary to Lester Maddox. He campaigned for three successive years and ran for Governor again in 1970, when he was elected to a four year term. After serving less than three years as Governor of Georgia, Jimmy Carter decided he was ready to run for President of the United States, and he has been relentlessly campaigning for that office ever since. The truth is that Jimmy Carter has had no government experience to qualify him for this most important job in the world, that of the Presidency of the United States.

2. Size of Georgia State Government

Jimmy Carter only served as Governor of Georgia for four years. The total state budget he was responsible for was only about .3% of the current Federal budget, and he administered a bureaucracy with less than 1% of the total Federal employees. Nevertheless, the state budget in Georgia during Carter's years increased nearly 60%, state employees increased by 25%, and state indebtedness increased by 20%, an experience which provides little qualification for the job of President.

3. Inexperience with Congress

Jimmy Carter has said himself "That if there's one aspect of my experience that's been neglected, its my lack of knowledge about the workings of Congress." This was clearly evident this spring when Jimmy Carter told a newsman that he would direct Congress to begin work on his proposals one week after the election. Carter had to be reminded that even if he did win, he would not take office until January. Carter has promised a close relationship with Congress, similar to the one he had with the Georgia state legislature. In March, 1974 a poll of the Georgia state legislature by the Atlanta Constitution showed that 75% of those who responded thought Carter was the worst Governor in Georgia in the past 20 years.

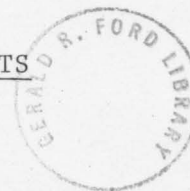


4. Foreign Policy

Jimmy Carter's inexperience is most evident in the areas of foreign policy and defense. He has pledged to cut the defense budget by as much as \$15 billion in a time when the Soviet Union is actively increasing its forces. He has called for a complete elimination of nuclear weapon capability, which would remove the most effective deterrent the United States has to match the Soviet Union's conventional strength. Jimmy Carter has publicly proposed unilateral withdrawal of our forces from Europe and South Korea, which would seriously threaten the welfare of our allies in those areas. Jimmy Carter has no background in dealing with foreign affairs, and the Presidency is no place for on-the-job training. At this uncertain time in world affairs, the American people cannot afford to trust our nation's future as well as its defense system to such an inexperienced person as Jimmy Carter.

5. Personal Experience

Jimmy Carter claims to understand the needs of agriculture because he is a farmer, when the truth is all he is is an agricultural middleman who has done nothing in recent years but campaign for office. He claims to understand nuclear energy because he is an engineer, when the truth is he holds no graduate degree in the field. He claims to understand management because he had experience as a businessman; when the truth is that his brother runs the family business. He promises to reform welfare; when the truth is there were hundreds of thousands of dollars of welfare overpayments in Georgia while Carter was Governor. He promises a national health care system, when the truth is he left Georgia's medicaid system scandal-ridden, and the Department of Human Resources an "organizational nightmare," in the words of Carter's successor as Governor, George Busbee. The American people cannot trust the welfare of their government to a man of such obvious inexperience.

JIMMY CARTER'S LACK OF ACCOMPLISHMENTSOVERVIEW

Jimmy Carter has consistently exaggerated his achievements and his Georgia record. This needs to be constantly pointed out, for it not only demonstrates that his accomplishments are unimpressive -- which strikes at his qualifications to be President -- but also raises questions about his credibility.

Carter's Georgia record is especially vulnerable. A Carter TV ad on his governorship concludes that "What he did in Georgia, he'll do in Washington." If that's a promise he might actually keep, then Americans have good cause to be worried, and to vote for President Ford and against Carter.

1. Budget Increased

Under Carter's Administration, the Georgia State budget increased by 58.5% in four years (compared to a Consumer Price Index increase of only 38%).

2. State Employee Numbers Raised

During his four-year term, the number of state employees, excluding state college teachers, increased by 24%.

Carter talks about the efficiency and savings from his state reorganization plan, but the facts are that state employment went up by 24%.

If he does in Washington what he did in Georgia, you can expect a larger, more bloated, more costly federal bureaucracy.

3. Performance as Governor Rated Low

The Atlanta Constitution polled the Georgia legislature in 1974 and reported that 75% of the legislators responding judged Jimmy Carter to be the worst governor out of 5 Georgia governors in the last 20 years.

If three-quarters of those who know Carter's record and competence as a government leader best -- Georgia legislators -- feel he was the worst governor in 20 years, surely that fact is good grounds for doubting his qualifications to be President.

4. Failure to Implement "Zero-Based Budgeting"

Carter's claim to have implemented Zero-Based Budgeting in Georgia turns out to be more talk than substance. The present Director of the Budget office says that "Without approaching the question of whether 'Zero Base' could work well in the State government, it is my opinion that at present we have the trappings but not much of the substance...that didn't already exist prior to its introduction...".

5. Reorganization; A Shell Game

The facts show that Carter's reorganization of Georgia state government was little more than a shell game. He didn't "abolish" more than 250 state agencies -- he simply merged them into a few large new agencies, and thereby created new management problems in many of them. And almost none of these were funded agencies -- they were mostly bureaus, commissions, and councils, many unfunded or defunct. Once again, the facts show that Carter's claims of accomplishment are little more than carefully crafted deceptions.

6. Department of Human Resources Mismanagement

The Department of Human Resources is a gigantic agency, employing 50 percent of Georgia State employees, created by combining smaller agencies into one big one. It was so confused and difficult to manage that after its first year of operation more than \$40 million could not be accounted for in the initial audit. Thus, the validity of Carter's claim to have improved government efficiency in Georgia seems rather doubtful. If he were to do the same thing in Washington, would we be faced with more waste and unmanageable, giant one.

In addition, more than two years after Carter's reorganization was implemented, DHR officials admitted, in an Atlanta Constitution article, that 45 percent of all Georgia welfare cases contained some fraud or error, one of the highest error rates in the nation. Management problems created by the reorganization seemed to be a major cause of this situation. Former Georgia Governor Carl Sanders has said that the reorganization "was more show than substance. It appears that the state is having to grapple with rather serious problems that have developed in some major departments as a result of (the reorganization)."

7. Medicaid Abuses

Medicaid is a program administered by the states with the help of Federal funds. Carter's successor, Governor George Busbee, commented recently on the Medicaid program he inherited from Carter, saying it "was a shambles," and riddled with abuses. "Those Medicaid abuses were eye-openers," he said. "During 18 years as a legislator, I have never encountered such duplicity."

Once again, the facts prove that Jimmy Carter's claim to have ended waste and achieved efficiency in the Georgia government is simply wrong.



8. Poor Record on Civil Rights in Georgia

Carter likes to mention that he has been a friend of blacks for a long time, even when it was dangerous to do so in the South. The facts refute this claim.

As a Georgia State Senator he voted in 1966 against a measure aimed at preventing arbitrary lay-offs of black teachers in the state. In 1964, he voted for a measure attempting to circumvent the Supreme Court's school desegregation ruling. While serving on the Sumter County (Ga.) School Board, he voted to raise the salaries of white teachers, but not those of black teachers. He proposed the relocation of a planned black school, to which local white residents had objected.

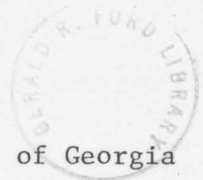
His record as Governor is about as bad. He appointed only one black judge, and to a county civil court, despite the fact that there were 32 vacancies in higher courts. Under his administration the percent of blacks in the state government only increased from 14 percent to 15.7 percent.

9. Fiscal Failures

Not only did the cost of state government go up nearly 60 percent under Carter, but taxes went up, and the state debt increased. In addition, Carter's claims to have lowered the budget in Fiscal Year 1975 and to have left a large budget surplus are not supported by the facts.

9A. Tax Increases

During Carter's term as governor per capita taxes in Georgia increases by 51 percent, which was more than the national average for that period. In addition, he proposed new taxes on the average consumer, and a reduction in the amount of the State personal exemption.



9B. Increased State Debt

Under Carter's administration the bonded indebtedness of the State of Georgia increased by some 20 percent. In 4 years he increased Georgia's debt by one fifth--does that sound efficient and economical, as he claims??

9C. Lower Budget Disputed

Carter claims that his fiscal year 1975 state budget was lower than 1974, demonstrating the efficiency and economy achieved by his reorganization program. But the facts dispute this claim.

Carter reduced the 1975 budget a marginal \$2.3 million below the 1974 budget by vetoing some \$70 million worth of appropriations. However, in the month after Carter left office, emergency appropriations were passed that increased the appropriations level by some \$36 million, some \$33 million more than 1974. In addition, it must be noted that Fiscal Year 1974 in Georgia was, in the words of the Director of the Georgia Legislative Budget Office, "the year of the 'one-shot expenditures'---more than \$100 million in special one-time expenditures such as a tax rebate, which were not repeated in 1975.

Thus Carter's claim to a miniscule reduction in the state budget his last year in office due to the economies of his reorganization is false.

9D. Phony Budget Surplus

Carter claims that he left the state a \$116 million surplus. He had earlier claimed in his book Why Not the Best that it was \$200 million, but that figure was so patently fraudulent that it had to be reduced).

9D. Phony Budget Surplus (Continued)

The facts refute even this claim (although Carter is partially correct in terms of the day he left office). Carter inherited a surplus of some \$90 million at the end of Fiscal Year 1971. At the close of his last fiscal year budget as governor, Fiscal Year 1975, the Budget Office of the Georgia State Legislature reports that the surplus was only \$43 million--- which represents a net surplus loss of \$47 million compared to the surplus he inherited.

10. Claim to Savings is Illusory

Carter often says that his reorganization cut state administrative costs by 50 percent. When asked, by a reporter, to document the claims of administrative savings in Georgia, Carter's staff could produce no evidence. Georgia State Auditor, Ernest Davis, says that he is unable "to identify any savings that resulted from the organization per se."

Again, Carter is guilty of making an erroneous claim.

11. Not a Nuclear Physicist or Nuclear Engineer

Carter has claimed that he is a nuclear physicist, but the record reveals that he only has a bachelor's degree and that he only took some graduate courses in nuclear engineering. Once again, Jimmy Carter is taking excessive liberties with the truth.

12. Not a Peanut Farmer

Jimmy Carter says he is a peanut farmer, but he hasn't been involved with the farm operation for 10 years. His brother really runs the business. For the last 10 years Jimmy has been a politician seeking higher office.



Jimmy Carter's Vagueness

OVERVIEW

Throughout Jimmy Carter's campaign he has deliberately attempted to focus voters' attention on questions of a candidate's personal character rather than on the vital issues that face the American people. On many of the important issues that he's addressed, he has been accused of failing to be specific, and quite often, he has contradicted his previous position.

However, Jimmy Carter's fuzziness on issues results not from changes in his opinion, but from his own deliberate deception. He consciously tries to tell whatever audience he addresses that which they most want to hear. It should be stressed that Jimmy Carter is worse than contradictory; he is deceptive. Such deception by a candidate must be referred to as what it is: a conscious manipulation of issues in accord with shifting voter attitudes for the sole purpose of his own personal political gain. It should be pointed out that Jimmy Carter bases his positions and his emphasis according to whatever group he speaks to. Finally, emphasis should be given to the fact that Carter's failure on campaign issues is the most telling example of his failure to lead. If Jimmy Carter is deceptive in the campaign, will he be deceptive as President?

Following are several examples that can be used to illustrate this lack of specificity:

1. Abortion

Prior to the important Iowa caucuses in the beginning of the primary season Jimmy Carter's campaign gave Catholic voters the impression that, as President, he would propose legislation banning abortions. Prior to the Democratic platform in July, Jimmy Carter enthusiastically endorsed the entire Democratic platform, which includes a liberal section that opposes efforts to endorse an amendment of any kind to outlaw abortion. One month later, in an exclusive interview with a Catholic News Service, Jimmy Carter stated that he disagreed with the Democratic platform plank on abortion. Is Jimmy Carter's deceptive political manipulation of such a sensitive moral and religious issue something that is worthy of the trust of the American people?

2. Amnesty

While Governor of Georgia, a state with strong military tradition, Jimmy Carter declared a day in honor of American fighting men in Vietnam as a reaction to the conviction of William Calley and the war protests throughout the nation. In his campaign for the President, Jimmy Carter is aware of his weakness among liberals who threaten to support longtime opponent of the Vietnam War, Senator Eugene McCarthy. To address this weakness, Jimmy Carter has promised a blanket pardon for all those who evaded the draft during the Vietnam War. Jimmy Carter has also said that those who engage in civil disobedience must accept the punishment administered by the state. Is such a total reversal of Jimmy Carter's attitude a matter of his own conviction, or is it simple political manipulation?

3. Oil Divestiture

Prior to the primary in Texas, a state which has tremendous oil company interests, Jimmy Carter boasted to crowds that he was the only Democratic candidate that

Oil Divestitures (Continued)

had not called for oil company divestiture. After that primary, Jimmy Carter stated his belief that he was in favor of oil company divestiture at the wholesale and retail level to insure adequate competition. What promises is Jimmy Carter going to change his mind on after the election???

4. Proposition 14

Proposition 14 is an initiative on the ballot in California that would allow union organizers on private property without the permission of the owners. In an conversation this August with a spokesman for the California Growers Association, he said he would take no position on the issue. One month later, to bolster his support among the Hispanic community, he told a convention of United Farm Workers that he fully favored the objectives for Proposition 14. In September, he fully endorsed Proposition 14 while in California. Can either the growers or the farm workers really trust Jimmy Carter? Or is this another example of his political deception?

5. Grain Embargo

While campaigning in Iowa, Jimmy Carter emphatically reassured a group of grain farmers, whose support he needs, that he would never impose a grain embargo for overseas shipments. On that very same day, Jimmy Carter told a group of newspaper editors that he would impose an embargo in times of emergency. The Democratic platform, which Jimmy Carter enthusiastically endorsed calls for an embargo when consumer prices are too high. How much is too high? What is the emergency that would cause Jimmy Carter to impose an embargo on grain shipments? Are such dubious answers by Jimmy Carter worthy of the trust he asks for so frequently?

6. B-1 Bomber

All throughout his campaign Jimmy Carter has told the voters that he opposed further development of the B-1 bomber, attacking it as an example of Defense Department waste. However, when speaking to a Strategic Air Command group in Omaha, Nebraska, Jimmy Carter indicated that he would consider the production of the B-1 bomber. Such political deception by Jimmy Carter on this vital issue of national defense is dangerous to the American people. Does Jimmy Carter consider his own personal political ambitions more important than our national security?

7. Right-to-Work

Jimmy Carter, while Governor of a right to work state, wrote to the National Right to Work Committee to express his support of right to work laws. During his campaign for President, Jimmy Carter, who has the support of George Meany and the union bosses, demanded a repeal of the Right to Work laws. In order to attract both the Southern states, who oppose repeal, and big labor, who favor repeal, Jimmy Carter now says he has no opinion on the issue... but that he would sign a repeal of the law if it were passed by Congress. Such deception of both voter groups is a perfect example of Jimmy Carter's failure to provide leadership on important national concerns.

8. Busing

While Governor of Georgia, Jimmy Carter called for a boycott of schools as a protest against Federal court ordered busing. Now, he says he personally opposes busing, but he has mentioned no legislative or constitutional measures to end busing. He has, also, endorsed a platform that specifically mentions busing as a means of achieving school integration, and he has chosen Senator Walter Mondale as a running mate, who is a champion of busing. This issue, which affects thousands of American schoolchildren, has been used by Jimmy Carter for his own personal ambitions. Can the American people trust or believe Jimmy Carter on the issue of busing?

9. Federal Spending

Jimmy Carter has promised to make the Federal government more efficient, and he has promised to reduce the number of Federal agencies to appeal to voters who are concerned about the growth of the Federal bureaucracy and its interference in their lives. He has also promised other voter groups various social programs that would cost an unprecedented \$100 billion dollars in added Federal spending during his first year in office. Every American voter knows you cannot reform bureaucracy and at the same time add \$100 billion dollars of new programs. Can those same American voters trust a man like Jimmy Carter who says he can? Or is this political rhetoric designed to advance Jimmy Carter's own personal ambitions?

10. Decriminalization of Marijuana

Jimmy Carter has told American voters that he is in favor of efforts to curb drug abuse and control crime in the nation's major cities. One of his major financial supporters has been Phil Walden, a rock impresario and head of Capricorn Records. Jimmy Carter is also now in favor of the decriminalization of marijuana. Are these contradictory positions on drugs compatible, or are they just politically expedient for Jimmy Carter?

11. Affirmative Action

During the controversy that followed Jimmy Carter's famous "ethnic purity" remark, he pledged that he would not take a racial attitude or discriminatory attitude toward any group, and if he did, he would withdraw from the race. Less than one month later, in order to placate his party's liberal wing, he said that those deprived of fully using their talent, should be given "compensatory opportunity." Are certain groups receiving special attention from Jimmy Carter, and is this just another example of his political deception?



12. Tax Reform

Jimmy Carter has complained frequently about the tax system, promising comprehensive tax reform. These reforms are unable to be worked out in the heat of a campaign, according to Jimmy Carter. But he has told us that he would eliminate mortgage interest deductions as well as levy taxes on church properties. Are these the kind of reforms the American people can expect from Jimmy Carter?

13. Communists in Western Europe

Jimmy Carter has stated that we should not close the doors to friendship with Communist leaders in countries such as Italy. Yet recently, to add to his own personal political strength, he has argued that he is angered over Soviet domination of Eastern Europe. This political expediency of our foreign policy. Will Jimmy Carter also tell our allies different versions of his attitudes toward Communist?

JIMMY CARTER'S IMPROPRIETIES

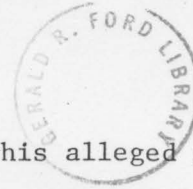
OVERVIEW

Jimmy Carter has based his Presidential campaign on issues of personal character in an effort to appeal to voters disenfranchised and suspicious of politicians as a result of recent political scandals. He has personally attacked President Ford as lacking leadership qualities, and he has also criticized the President for recent news stories involving the Special Prosecutor's investigation.

Jimmy Carter has had a long history of personal improprieties which illustrate the fact that he is not worthy of the trust he has asked the American voters to place in him. These improprieties should be stressed in order to raise doubts about Jimmy Carter's own character and integrity, which he has made a leading issue in the campaign.

1. Personal Income Taxes

Jimmy Carter has repeatedly called for tax reforms to eliminate loopholes and make the "rich" share more of the tax burden. He has also called for complete financial disclosure by public officials. In 1975, Jimmy Carter used an income tax loophole which reduced his taxes by \$41,000 dollars, during a year in which he earned more than \$100,000. Jimmy Carter paid only 13 percent of his own income in taxes. Furthermore, he refuses to release the full disclosure of his financial records from 1971-75, and refuses to disclose the tax returns of his partnership and corporation. Is this deceitful hypocrisy worthy of trust?



2. Coca-Cola and Lockheed Lobbyists

Jimmy Carter has personally attacked President Ford for his alleged golfing relationship with lobbyists. While Governor of Georgia, Jimmy Carter took free rides on corporate aircraft of the Coca-Cola and Lockheed companies. Lockheed has been found guilty of bribing officials of other countries to buy Lockheed planes. Carter took a three week trip which must have cost thousands of dollars to sell Lockheed's planes while Governor of Georgia, and wrote to say he "wanted to help in an active way." Is this kind of hypocrisy trustworthy?

3. Campaign Improprieties

An investigative reporter for the Los Angeles Times discovered that more than \$150,000 of campaign expenditures had been inadequately reported by Carter's campaign. More than \$5,000 was given as a bribe to black ministers in California for their direct support. Jimmy Carter has promised an open campaign, but he had refused to explain these bribes. His reports to the FEC were clearly inadequate, but the Carter campaign tried to escape detection. How many other campaign improprieties have been successfully covered up? Are such tactics deserving of trust?? Will they occur in a Carter Administration?

4. Georgia Paper Companies

While Jimmy Carter was Governor, he accepted free hunting weekends from two large Georgia paper companies for himself and his staff. During 1973 he signed a controversial property tax bill which gave tax rebates to property owners. Corporations in Georgia were the biggest benefactors, and the paper companies were among the largest recipients of these tax breaks. The paper companies Carter visited received thousands of dollars apiece while the average Georgia homeowner received very little. Jimmy Carter also signed legislation giving these same paper companies special environmental loopholes giving them privileged protection from the use of the state's air pollution studies in civil suits. The head of the state's Environmental Division

called the legislation "ridiculous". Can the American people trust Jimmy Carter to provide the same privileges to corporations if he were President?

5. Georgia Archives

One year ago, Jimmy Carter was a virtual unknown to the American public. Today, he is close to becoming the President of the United States. The American public needs to know about Jimmy Carter. Yet D.A. Evans of the Georgia Department of Archives reports that Jimmy Carter has ordered 29 boxes of files closed to the American public. These files include his 1966 and 1970 political campaign papers, his business transactions, his campaign memos, his legislative review files, and papers involving his judicial appointments. What is Jimmy Carter hiding from the American people? Jimmy Carter had asked for sunshine laws to open meetings of the Federal government to the public, while in Georgia he has denied public access to his own records. Is this kind of hypocrisy worthy of trust?

6. 1970 Gubernatorial Campaign

According to Newsweek Magazine, Ray Abernathy, a media consultant to Jimmy Carter's 1970 gubernatorial campaign, ^{has said} there was a campaign "stink tank", which was responsible for dirty tricks. Abernathy indicated the campaign produced and paid for radio spots plugging a black candidate to drain black votes from Carter's opponent. The commercials were "sort of laundered" according to Abernathy through a small ad agency to keep Carter's name clear. The stink tank has also been blamed for a handbill with racist overtones that was circulated by in conservative parts of Georgia.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Dr. James Connor
FROM: Edward L. Weidenfeld
DATE: October 1, 1976

Note

Further thoughts from Adam:

1. Try to answer at least one question "yes" or "no" and try not to use the full time allotment.
2. If Carter moves to right of foreign policy. I do not believe this is the same man who called for cuts in the Defense budget, the withdrawal of American troops from Korea, would halt the development of new weapon systems and would reduce U.S. troops abroad. Teddy Roosevelt's motto of "Walk softly and carry a big stick" would not apply to Mr. Carter. I think his motto might be "Talk tough and carry a flyswatter."

It sounds as though he would return to an era of all out confrontation with the Soviet Union -- that's no answer. Washington and people with experience have been attacked in this campaign for being out of touch with the American people. There may be some who have lost touch, but my Washington experience includes living through an era of all out confrontation and it does not work. The struggle for peace is difficult, but experience teaches that the alternative is even more destructive to our society. This country is at peace today and it will require a thoughtful, balanced foreign policy to preserve the peace.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

10/4/76

TO: Mike Duval

FROM: Jim Connor

Ed Weidenfeld asked
that I send you copies
of these.

encl.



HALL, ESTILL, HARDWICK, GABLE,
COLLINGSWORTH & NELSON, P.C.

1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D. C. 20006
(202) 965-2030

File

DATE: September 30, 1976

TO: Dr. James Connor



Jim:

Attached is a rough summary of Adam's suggestions. We were concerned with an approach, not the underlying facts, and, thus, the facts should be checked.

Adam was also strong in stating the President's gun control speech in the South alarmed many New Yorkers and wondered if there would be some way to soften his position. Adam is available by telephone and I will be glad to arrange a call if you desire.

Jal

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Dr. James Connor
FROM: Edward L. Weidenfeld
DATE: September 30, 1976



This memorandum summarizes some suggestions our friend Adam had with regard to the foreign policy debate.

1. Debate Rules. The rules should not be changed. The President came off ahead and it is psychologically better for Carter to compete under the same rules.

2. The Defense Budget. A Democratic Congress concluded that the present Defense budget was the minimum acceptable for national security. Would you have vetoed the present bill? It is up to the President to stand up for the things he believes in and I support, and will continue to support, a strong national Defense budget -- a budget based on a realistic consensus of those who know our security needs, not the revelations of one man.

3. Secretary of State Kissinger. The Secretary has been criticized, but he is an excellent Secretary of State. For a long period he carried on foreign policy while my predecessor was busy trying to stay in office. During his tenure under me, Secretary Kissinger has played an important role in suggesting foreign policy alternatives and executing the policies I approve. He has helped bring stability and peace to the world. Mr. Carter spends so much time criticizing my Secretary of State, I think it is important that Mr. Carter tell the American people who his Secretary of State will be.

4. Draft Resisters and Deserters. Mr. Carter talks about healing the wounds brought on by the divisive conflict in Vietnam. He is just not being honest. There are 90,000 Americans exiled as a result of draft resistance and desertion. Mr. Carter's pardon would only go to 1,100 draft resisters. The remaining 99 percent of the exiles are deserters. Mr. Carter agrees with me that as far as deserters are concerned, we must preserve military discipline. In short, Mr. Carter is offering no more than I am to 99 percent of the Americans abroad as a result of the Vietnam war.

Nixon Pardon if it comes up. As for former President Nixon, his case is unique. No one else involved with Watergate was pardoned and I remain convinced that in pardoning Nixon I did the right thing for the American people. It may be argued that I was wrong, but I continue to believe I was right.

5. Helsinki Agreement. We entered the Helsinki Accords because of our concern for the people of Poland, Latvia, Estonia, etc. [enumerate]. The purposes of the Accords is to try to gain some breathing space for these suppressed minorities and help them achieve their aspiration for freedom. As with so many agreements with the Soviet Union, they are dragging their feet in implementing their commitments. If they continue to attempt to frustrate the Accords, they will find that there are provisions which the United States wishes to interpret and examine before we implement our obligations. Some may debate the Accords and our relationship with the Soviet Union, but I believe we should never miss an opportunity to help the ethnic minorities in the Soviet Union to achieve their freedom.

6. Kurds. Whatever commitments were made to the Kurds were made privately by my predecessor and kept secret from the American people. On assuming office, I determined that our foreign policy should be conducted in the open and that it was not appropriate for us to interfere in the internal policies of any country where our vital interests are not at stake.

7. Grain Embargo. Throughout our history, people have made great sacrifices for this country in war and in peace. These sacrifices were made because we agreed the national interest demanded them. We are a nation, not a collection of strangers, and there are times when the national interest is paramount. It is possible, though I do not foresee any situation on the horizon, that an embargo could be imposed. If it will help us avert a war or prevent a great hardship on our people at home, we will not ship weapons, grain, computers or other strategic materials.

An embargo must never be imposed frivolously or arbitrarily and compensation must be made to those who suffer, but the President is the President of all the people and should never make foolish promises to curry the favor of special interests.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Dr. James Connor
FROM: Edward L. Weidenfeld
DATE: October 12, 1976

get Ed
over

This memorandum summarizes some suggestions from our friend Adam and also Max R. I think the ideas are good, but the numbers haven't been checked.

One general observation, that we have tried to incorporate in these suggestions, is that in a debate every answer should anticipate Carter's rebuttal and force him to answer some specific charge. Then he will not be able to use his rebuttal as a platform.

1. Georgia Governorship. (The needling is important and should continue.) He is asking the country to "trust him" to handle 250 million people, 50 states and our relations around the world -- but he could not even govern the State of Georgia. Georgians are still paying the tax bill for his incompetence.

2. Eastern Europe. I made a mistake, an overstatement to keep the hope of the people fighting within Eastern Europe alive. As President, I cannot let Eastern Europeans lose hope.

My record on Eastern Europe is clear. The attempt to distort my record is a desperate move, a total fabrication, from a man who says he will never lie.

3. Closing Loopholes. Let's look at the loopholes my opponent - who says he'll never increase the burden on the working man - wants to close. What he calls "loopholes" are deductions taken from income.

Two-thirds of the personal deductions taken from income are attributable to mortgage interest payments, local taxes and medical expenses. Eliminating the deductions for mortgage expenses and local taxes will mean that every homeowner's taxes will go up while their home values will go down. The savings of most American's are represented in the value of their homes. Furthermore, the building industry is an area of particularly high unemployment. Carter's tax reform would be a disaster. In fact, it is more than a disaster, it is a fraud on the American people. When Senator Jackson criticized Governor Carter for this tax scheme, Carter said criticism was a "disservice to the country." I think it's a service to bring this out.

4. Taxing the Rich. As for shifting the tax burden to the rich -- although I still wonder whether his "median income" is not really \$14,000, let's give him the benefit of the doubt and assume he is talking about raising taxes for those making over \$25,000 -- he is once again trying to pull the wool over the eyes of the American people. ^{06 WDR} More than seventy-five percent of the families reporting income over \$25,000 have two wage earners in the family. We are talking about cops whose wives teach school, truck drivers whose wives work as secretaries, and so on. We are talking about the hardest working families in America. People who should be rewarded, not penalized for their labor.] My opponent must know these facts. So then, are his advisors not telling him what he doesn't want to hear? Or isn't he listening to his advisors? Or has he listened to his advisors and still decided to try to fool the American people? Whatever his reasons, he's misleading people who believe in him.

Re-do
Sweet
at Y



5. Foreign Policy. I made an overstatement in the foreign policy debate and I admit it. I made an overstatement, but my opponent did not make even one clear statement in the course of that debate. He offered cliches and platitudes, no more -- and cliches and platitudes are no substitute for a foreign policy that has brought peace, respect and strength to the United States.

6. Attack on Integrity. Look, this is another of my opponent's gross distortions to divert attention from his character and his integrity. As for my taxes, they are in order and they have been investigated, audited, published and scrutinized in every possible way. My opponent is trying to make a big issue out of the audit. I doubt there is anybody in the country that has been through an audit that has not had some differences with the IRS, and it is true that we changed the characterization of some deductions and, like everyone else, I ended up paying the IRS the difference.

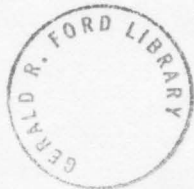
But the important thing is that I pay _____ percent of my income to the Government in taxes. Mr. Carter, who preaches about the immorality of the system, managed to pay only _____ percent of his income in taxes. Although he earned over \$_____, he paid the same amount as a typical wage earner making \$_____, and that may be only part of the story, for he has never made public the tax returns for the corporation and partnership he controls.

There are shortcuts to try to use to win an election -- like personal attacks on your opponent and promising everything your polls say people want to hear. But, as much as I want to win this election, I want to bring the same values to the campaign I've

brought to the Presidency -- hard work, decency, honor and a sincere trust in the American people.

7. Unemployment. Our high level of unemployment, though it is improving, is one of my greatest concerns. Unemployment is a complex problem that cannot be dealt with emotionally.

John Kennedy approached this problem by providing incentives to industry to stimulate employment, and he was right. When industry creates employment, industry pays employees and new money is put into circulation. When Government creates employment, no new money is created, we just take money from those who are working to pay those who aren't. Sure, for a brief time Government can get away with creating jobs with mirrors. Eventually, though, new money must be printed and that means inflation, which falls most heavily on those least able to afford it - the working poor and the elderly on fixed incomes. I know my programs are working. I also know that common sense and compassion require that we make them work better. ~~We can create work in projects like Bedford Stuyvesant, a former slum that's now bustling.~~ False promises by false prophets create unreal expectations, but they don't create jobs.



Connor

11 1/2% ^{taxpayers} ~~families~~ have ~~annual~~ income
over \$25 K

50% of these are families
~~that~~ ~~many~~ w/ 2 or more
wage earners
(e.g. cop + wife teacher)

hardest working people in
country.

(Carter tax "reform" hits these people)

These figs available in any
Census book. Carter either
knows and ignores or
doesn't know — either
way, devastating.

Majority of deductions go to
home ownership

Carter plan will put even greater
burden on charitable institutions
— then this will mean more
taxes

I should have good
remarks re Poland
(Carter can't use self-deprecating
humor)
e.g. my way of stating my position of
Eastern Europe as ~~the~~ was
about as my effort to
get into Helsinki

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Dr. James Connor
FROM: Edward L. Weidenfeld
DATE: October 13, 1976



A few further thoughts on our discussion.

1. The apologies. Somehow it does not make sense to write about Carter's apologies, when he is being portrayed as a mean, unstable person. It seems to me the stress should be on Carter's intemperate statements. Let Carter explain that he later apologized.

Kent State, if it can be documented, should be added to the litany of mean, unfeeling statements giving an insight to the man's basic instability.

2. The tax loophole answer could be expanded to include the issue of taxing churches. The Treasury Department should prepare a summary of deductions. My guess is that state and local taxes, mortgage interest payments, medical expenses and charitable deductions comprise a very high percentage. If this is so, the President should say: "These charitable deductions support our churches, hospitals, parochial schools and community chests. It would seem that the only institution Mr. Carter cares about is the Federal Government. In addition to wanting to close these so-called loopholes, he has also stated he would tax church property not used directly for worship."

3. Everything I hear about the press traveling with Carter indicates their disillusionment with the man. How big a risk do you think we would take if we suggested that a reporter poll the

press traveling with both candidates? The balloting could be anonymous with a mimeographed form given to each accredited member of the press and a locked box placed in the plane. If the poll comes out right, I will bet a friendly reporter would write about the nervousness of the press that Carter cannot be trusted.

EDWARD L. WEIDENFELD
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 965-2030

Mibe -
As promised.

EA

NO



A neutral forum should invite the President, McCarthy and Carter to a debate following the October 22 debate between Ford and Carter. The President should immediately accept the invitation.

This debate would be a no-risk proposition. McCarthy's most slashing attacks have been against Carter and I am reasonable certain a debate between the President and McCarthy, without Carter, will become a debate against Carter. McCarthy's attacks on Carter will be given national exposure and, since this is not an all-or-nothing debate, the President should be relaxed and his character will come through. If Carter accepts, he will spend most of his time debating McCarthy, permitting the President to talk positively about his policies while Carter defends his character.

During the period that Carter is deciding what to do, the press will be focused on his indecisiveness while liberals pressure him to accept the debate. If he does not accept, the commentary on the October 22 debate will surely underline Carter's refusal to appear against McCarthy.

Furthermore, simply accepting an invitation to debate McCarthy will give McCarthy and his views national prominence.

I will be glad to discuss thoughts on the various scenarios, but I wanted you to have the idea in digested form.

HALL, ESTILL, HARDWICK, GABLE, COLLINGSWORTH & NELSON, P. C.

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Mike Duval
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

RED TAG PLEASE

RECEIVED AND SECURITY UNIT
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1976 OCT 15 AM 10 35

EDWARD L. WEIDENFELD
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 965-2030

October 18, 1976

Mike:

Enclosed are some further thoughts for the third debate and a copy of a memorandum I sent to Jim Connor on a Presidential visit to Bedford-Stuyvesant. The Bedford-Stuyvesant memorandum was prepared by a friend in New York. While it rambles a bit, I think there are some worthwhile debating points.

Also enclosed is a summary of income of American families, by the number of wage earners, based on the 1974 census.



M E M O R A N D U M

Some further suggestions for the third debate:

1. The Pardon Issue. Refer to my September 30, 1976, memorandum, point 4. on draft resisters and deserters, then go on: It's not easy to remember how bad things were in the post Watergate period. When I issued the pardon, I was convinced that I was doing the right thing for the country and the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Special Prosecutor and others agreed with me. Now, in hindsight, the decision is being questioned. It is possible the questioners are right, but I think the emotion lying behind the criticism shows why I was right. A prosecution would have focused national attention on the Watergate and diverted our efforts from bringing peace to Vietnam and an economic recovery to the country.

2. Eastern Europe. As I've said, I overstated the situation. It was half a slip of the tongue and half a recognition of the independence of spirit of the people living in Eastern Europe. I believe that expressing a hope for greater autonomy does the people of Eastern Europe more good than being negative.

But the issue is far deeper than a slip of the tongue. Governor Carter has distorted the statement and in his distortion he is implying that he will follow a different policy. Governor Carter, do you really propose to change our policy toward Eastern Europe? You must know that you are playing on the hopes and aspirations of people. Do you propose to send troops and tanks into Eastern Europe? If you're going to follow my policy of encouraging progress without provoking war, say so.

For twenty-five years I have been meeting with ethnic leaders and championing the cause of oppressed ethnic minorities. In twenty-five years of working on this problem, I have never seen Mr. Carter at one meeting or heard one statement from him until he began running for President.

3. Tax Reform. See October 12, 1976, memorandum, point 4., then insert: Governor Carter telegraphed me to say he would not raise taxes for those who were working. I do not understand what he means, since that would mean no tax reform, unless he would propose to raise taxes on those who receive income but don't work. There is a problem with the rich who use loopholes to avoid paying taxes, and we are working on that problem. But raising the revenues Governor Carter's spending demands, requires increased taxes for everyone who receives unearned income. That's not just going after the wealthy it means taxing the elderly on fixed incomes, widows and the disabled. It just will not work.

The only way to have real tax reform is to lower taxes. Lawrence Klien, Carter's chief economic advisor, has stated that there will be no lower taxes in a Carter administration [have research check last week's press for Klien's statement].

4. Question on New York City. State President's position . . . in the primaries Carter said he was against any Federal aid to New York City. But in the election, with the electoral votes of New York high on his priority list, Governor Carter said he would stretch out New York City's debt repayment. The total tax basis for New York City is \$6 billion. New York City's present interest

on its debt is \$2.3 billion. In other words, Governor Carter would stretch out the intolerable period of having almost one-half of New York City's revenues go to interest payments to the big banks. Almost one-half of New York's revenues will continue to be spent without paying one cop, teacher or sanitation man. That may be attractive to the bankers Mr. Carter lunches with at "21," but it does not make sense to the United States. The government of New York must come up with a plan to reduce its debt.

I am committed to support, and have supported, all reasonable efforts of the government of New York to get on its own feet provided their plan has real promise to helping the people of New York City.

5. Carter's Contradictions. If the opportunity arises, after a series of Carter contradictions, without arguing the specific contradictions, the President should say: "Governor Carter, you cannot repudiate your whole life just to run for President. I am not going to argue your contradictions now, but I think our viewers will read about them in tomorrow's papers."

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 pro 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 MacDonald's), housing rehabilitation and construction, and community pride and well-being must be seen to be appreciated. Just for the magnitude and permanence of its accomplishments, let alone the pittance of federal money involved, it far outdistances any other project in the United States.

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.

OK (for AG)



TAX LOOPHOLES

See OCS memo

Governor Carter telegraphed me to say he would not raise taxes for those who ^{are} were working. ^{But his chief economic advisor, Professor Klien, ~~incidentally~~ ^{has}} indicated taxes will not be lowered for those who ^{are} were working either. ~~But~~ ^{He has never said no one} if we take Governor Carter at his word, I do not understand what he means. ^{How will he pay for his spending programs?} Is he proposing to raise taxes on those who receive income, but do not work? We do have a

problem with the rich who use loopholes to avoid paying taxes and we are working on that problem. ^{one explanation of} But if I understand ^{Mr.} Governor Carter's

^{is that} and the spending his programs demand ^{is that} taxes will ~~have to be~~ increased for everyone who received ³ unearned income. That ~~is~~ ^{is} just not going after the rich, it's ~~means~~ ^{means} taxing the elderly on fixed incomes, widows and the disabled. It is a program that just will

not work. The only way to have real tax reform, is to lower taxes.

Let's look a little further into Governor Carter's proposal to close tax loopholes. What he calls loopholes are deductions taken from income. More than 75 percent of the personal deductions taken from income are attributable to local taxes, mortgage interest payments, medical expenses and charitable deductions. Originally, Governor Carter was going to eliminate mortgage interest expense deductions, now I understand he would propose to scale them down drastically. Either way, every homeowner's taxes are going up and the value of their homes will go down. The savings of most American's are represented in the value of their homes. Furthermore, the building industry, is just beginning to recover from particularly high unemployment.

As for charitable deductions, they support our hospitals, parochial schools and community chests.

It would seem the only institution Mr. Carter cares about is the

Federal government, for he has also stated that in addition to wanting to close these so-called loopholes, he would tax church property not directly used for worship.



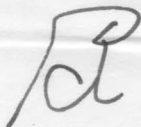
EDWARD L. WEIDENFELD
1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 965-2030

10/19/76

Mike:

Attached is a one paragraph summary that I am convinced is my most important contribution to the debate. As we discussed this morning, the President must have a concept and direction for the debate and for every answer to the debate.

I hope you find the attached helpful.





Do not criticize without saying something positive. Almost every answer should have the theme that Carter is a fraud or has misled the American people together with a refrain of our past or proposed actions to solve the problem.

10/20

Ed Weidenfeld called ...suggested response below
for questions on Gen. Brown's statements in
controversial interview.

I disagree with his views, but there is a more important
issue. As President of the United States, I'm not going to
play politics with the military in the closing days of the
campaign.



EDWARD L. WEIDENFELD

Ed



Some final debate thoughts: ✓

1. Everyone is getting tired of the negativism of the campaign and we should be careful in this debate about being too negative. Of the 7 questions it would seem to me that no more than 2 or 3 answers should be negative.

2. I think there is an advantage to decry the negativism of the campaign and shift the burden to Carter. An appropriate way to do this would be to throw the following comment into the first question on an issue where Carter has criticized Ford:

Mr. Carter's criticism has gone beyond this issue. He says I am worse than Nixon and implied that I am responsible for the crimes and dishonesty of my predecessors. I know the criticism is untrue and do not think that kind of campaign is helpful to the American people.

3. On Carter's criticism of Ford's leadership:

For eleven years, from 1963 to 1974, our country was led by men who believed they knew what was best for the American people. We were drawn into a war and domestic policies vacillated with each man's belief that they knew best. Their speeches were eloquent, but most Americans agree that an imperial presidency does more harm than good.

I think Senator McCarthy is right when he says "This would be a pretty good country if the President would just learn when to leave it alone."

The President has an obligation not to recreate an imperial presidency while helping people achieve those things they cannot obtain for themselves. We do not want -- and cannot permit -- one man to tear away the institutions we have created for ourselves.

October 21, 1976



HALL, ESTILL, HARDWICK, GABLE, COLLINGSWORTH & NELSON, P. C.

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

1701 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

Mr. Mike Duval
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

RED TAG PLEASE

Waidenfield

October 25, 1976

Mike:

Enclosed is the suggested text of the TV commercial we discussed yesterday.

I'm convinced its worth the effort to get it taped and distributed, for it reinforces our themes -- positive and negative -- with out best concrete issue.

Ed



LET'S TALK TAXES



Taxes, unfortunately, are the most direct contact most of us have with our government. Taxes are determined by Congress, and, if the economy is to continue the recovery I've started, Congress must provide for ~~taxes to keep up with the government~~ ^{revenues to support} spending they also control.

There's no question that our tax system cries out for reform, and I've fought -- and will continue to fight -- to get meaningful reforms through Congress.

But the only meaningful reform is lower taxes. Changing the tax laws without lowering taxes will increase public criticism and rekindle the flames of frustration and distrust in government.

My opponent promises tax reform by "closing loopholes" and raising taxes on "median income" taxpayers. But, while he sounds like he's talking tax reform, his chief economic advisor says "[spending program will prevent tax cuts]."

When my opponent talks about closing loopholes, he doesn't limit himself to the abuses of the very rich, he's talking about the deductions from income that mean the most to you. Almost 80 percent of the so-called loopholes my opponent would close are the deductions you take for local taxes, mortgage interest payments, medical expenses and charitable deductions.

Eliminating local tax and mortgage interest expense deductions means that every homeowner's taxes are going up and the value of their homes will go down. The savings of most

American's are represented in the value of their homes. Furthermore, the building industry is just beginning to recover from particularly high unemployment.

The medical expense deduction is no loophole for the rich, it's the way middle income people relieve the burden of accidents and illness.

As for charitable deductions, they're the way a community determines which institutions -- hospitals, churches, schools and other community service organizations -- will survive. If these deductions are eliminated, these institutions will have to look to the government for support, or drastically curtail their programs.

As for shifting the tax burden to the rich -- although I still wonder whether my opponent's "median income" is not really \$14,000, let's give him the benefit of the doubt and assume he's talking about raising taxes for those making over \$25,000 -- they're still trying to pull the wool over the eyes of the American people. More than seventy-five percent of the families reporting income over \$25,000 have two wage earners in the family. We are talking about cops whose wives teach school, truck drivers whose wives work as secretaries. We are talking about the hardest working families in America. People who should be rewarded, not penalized for their labor. My opponent's advisors must know these facts, for they're readily available. Are his advisors not telling him what he doesn't want to hear? Or isn't he listening to his advisors? Or has

he listened to his advisors and ~~and~~ decided to try to fool the American people? ~~What are his reasons, including~~

~~_____.~~

My program of [Summarize] may not sound like a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow, but it is realistic. It will mean lower taxes. It will mean continued economic progress, with a budget that won't feed inflation. And, it will mean continued trust in a government that responds to the needs of its citizens.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE 10/12/76

TO

Mike Duval

GUIDANCE PLEASE _____
FOR YOUR INFO _____
FOR YOUR HANDLING _____

THOUGHT YOU SHOULD SEE THE
ATTACHED IN CASE YOU MISSED
IT.

Sheila Rabb Weidenfeld
Press Secretary to Mrs. Ford
208 East Wing
X 2164



UP-233

(MCCARTHY)

CHICAGO (UPI) -- INDEPENDENT PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE EUGENE MCCARTHY CONSIDERS DEMOCRAT JIMMY CARTER A MILITARIST WHOSE MISCONCEPTION OF THE PRESIDENCY WOULD LEAD TO ABUSES OF POWER OR BATTLES WITH CONGRESS AND THE COURTS.

THE FORMER DEMOCRATIC SENATOR, WHOSE STRONG SHOWINGS IN THE 1968 DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES PRECEDED LYNDON JOHNSON'S DECISION NOT TO SEEK RE-ELECTION, SAID THE PUBLIC SHOULD NOT ACCEPT CARTER'S PLEDGES THAT HE IS WORTHY OF THE PEOPLE'S TRUST.

"IN THE DEBATE THE OTHER NIGHT, CARTER WAS TRYING TO PROVE THAT HE'S MORE MILITARISTIC THAN FORD," MCCARTHY SAID IN AN INTERVIEW DURING THE WEEKEND. "HE SOUNDED LIKE BRINKMANSHIP.

"HE'S GOING TO CUT OFF FOOD (IN RESPONSE TO AN ARAB OIL EMBARGO). HE'S GOING TO CONFRONT EVERYBODY. BEFORE THAT DEBATE, SUPPOSEDLY IT WAS THE OTHER WAY.

"THERE'S NOTHING IN THE RECORD TO SUGGEST THAT CARTER IS ANYTHING BUT EXTREMELY MILITARISTIC."

HE ALSO CRITICIZED AN ALLEGEDLY HARDLINE STAND ON CAMPUS DEMONSTRATORS TAKEN BY CARTER AT THE TIME FOUR STUDENTS WERE KILLED IN A CONFRONTATION WITH THE NATIONAL GUARD AT KENT STATE UNIVERSITY IN 1970.

MCCARTHY CONTINUED: "HIS (CARTER'S) CRITICISM OF VIETNAM WAS WE DIDN'T GO ALL OUT TO WIN. WELL WHAT DOES THAT MEAN? WE BOMBED VIETNAM MORE HEAVILY THAN WE BOMBED GERMANY IN WORLD WAR II."