bailey, deardourff & eyre, inc.

PRELIMINARY MEDIA PLAN

for

PRESIDENT FORD CAMPAIGN

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

August 21, 1976

A Ford Advertising Plan

Introduction

This document is intended as an over-view of the media advertising from the convention to November 2.

It is based on a careful review of the MOR polling data, the base campaign planning document, and a detailed knowledge of conditions in many of the States targetted in the plan.

Its contents include:

A. A summary of the current mood of the country.
B. A summary of the public perceptions of the President and Carter.
C. The strategic objectives of the campaign and its advertising.
D. Timing phases of the advertising.
E. A summary of the television commercials needed.
F. The need for pre-testing.
G. Thoughts on radio, print and handouts.
H. Notes on budgetting and staffing.
I. A projected production schedule.

Approval now of this plan in its present form or in an amended form is absolutely essential. Time is critically short and production must get underway immediately if quality advertising is to be on the air by mid-September.

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

A. The Mood of the Country.

America is in a good mood...a dramatic shift from two-and-a-half years ago. Most people feel that things are pretty good - and getting better.

Politically, the mood is conservative. The people take a conservative position on most issues. National health insurance and E.R.A. are exceptions.

There is a high level of cynicism in the country. The great majority of the people feel that the government is wasting their money and is run by and for a few "big interests."

Although inflation and unemployment run high on people's list of concerns, social issues appear to be more important than economic issues. Busing, gun control, abortion, and a strong national defense, for example, are issues voters will respond to.

The issues that people feel most deeply about concern traditional American values. These are emotional issues. Love of family and love of God. Pride in their country and pride in themselves. Morality, freedom, independence, individual achievement are among the things that are most important to people today.

People want a more honest government, and a far higher morality in every walk of life. In their leaders, they look for moral leadership, strength of character, religious conviction, love of family, and great personal integrity above all else.

They want a tough-minded leader - but they want him to be a

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

compassionate man. They want a conservative government -- but it must be tempered with humanity -- with a genuine concern for people.

It is particularly important to note that the people are far more influenced by their own feelings about the candidate's personal traits -- than by the candidates' positions on issues.

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

B. Ford and Carter

At the present time, Jimmy Carter's image closely reflects the mood of the country.

People feel that he represents the traditional American values that mean so much to them.

They feel that he can probably provide the moral leadership they are looking for. And they feel that Carter thinks pretty much the way they do on many of the important social issues. This is true across the political spectrum. Liberals feel that he's pretty liberal - conservatives feel that he's pretty conservative.

However - the commitment to Carter is not strong. People relate to Carter now - but they are by no means sure about Carter. His support is wide - but thin.

Based on studies made prior to Kansas City, we find that people do not relate to President Ford quite as well as they do to Carter. But they do have positive feelings about the President's personal characteristics.

They see him as an honest man who is doing a good job. The see him as a good family man. In fact they see in the President many of the things that they want most in a leader today. But these things are perceived only dimly.

Our judgment tells us that as he comes away from Kansas City people may now have new feelings about the President. They may see him as a tougher leader, as a stronger President, as a man who is standing up to Congress, as a man who is sure of himself.

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

We believe that his performance in Kansas City is a tremendous plus to the campaign. Our advertising should try to build on the momentum of Kansas City.

To win the election - we have to strengthen the positive feelings that people already have toward President Ford.

At the same time - we must weaken the positive feelings that they have toward Carter.

We must bring President Ford closer to the people...and move Jimmy Carter further away from them.

We must build a clear contrast between these two men.

The image of a previously unknown candidate (like Carter) is built not only by his own efforts but also by the public automatically comparing him with his opposition. On all four major qualities of presidential image, Carter benefited in the Primaries:

-- Competence: A campaign that wins week after week gives Carter an aura of competence. The weakness of the opposition helped make Carter look competent.

-- Compassion: The controlled casualness of Carter contrasted nicely with the increased desperation of his opponents. Carter talked about people; the others talked about Carter.

-- Vision: Carter, without Washington experience, found it easier to portray new leadership than his Washington opponents. Carter's opponents all saddled with their Congressional records.

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

-- Integrity: Carter did not seem to us to have any advantage or disadvantage here, but, as a fresh non-Washington face, he may have been given more benefit of the doubt than his Washington-based opponents.

Now the public (for the first time) is comparing Carter with President Ford. The campaign should seek to shape and encourage that comparison. On the same four qualities of presidential image, we believe Mr. Ford will do well and Carter's image will suffer:

Competence: The President as a forceful leader delivering the acceptance speech presented a very strong picture compared to Carter's more soft-sell style.

Compassion: The human qualities of the President and his family, his calm reassurance in a time of national dishonor, and his presentation of his issue view in terms of human needs will probably be at least a match for Carter's presumed compassion. Also, Carter has done little, and voters are interested in performance as much as promises.

Vision: If the President can project a sense of where America and the Presidency should be going it will counter an apparent Carter advantage today.

Integrity: Carter can never compete with the President on this issue if the people remember (are reminded?) of his restoration of honor to the White House. Even if Carter's manipulative style is never perceived publicly, he will never win this comparison.

One last comparison is instructive. Carter seeks to lead as an evangelist -- seeking to inspire people to do good. The President

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

(in his acceptance speech) does not seek to lead, he leads. He does not try to inspire people to do good, he does it himself. Carter talks about leadership; the President leads.

It's the job of the media advertising to shape and encourage the comparison.

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

C. Advertising Strategy

Our advertising should accomplish eight basic things:

1. Strengthen the human dimension of President Ford.
2. Strengthen the leadership dimension of President Ford.
3. More clearly portray President Ford's compassion for less fortunate Americans.
4. Portray his accomplishments in office in a believable way.
5. Present his program for the future.
6. Portray the important differences between the two men.
7. Cut Jimmy Carter down to size.
8. Help boost momentum when we need it.

Obviously, we can't accomplish all these things with a single ad or commercial. But all of the advertising that we do will be designed to meet one or more of these strategic points.

Although we will target our advertising to different sections of the country, and to different voting groups, we will make the same strategic points to everyone. The strategy will te tailored to fit the wide variety of issues and a wide variety of voter groups.

Here are some of the areas we will explore in creating ads to meet the eight strategic points.

1. The human dimension. We will show the various members of the family not just as campaigners, but as warm, interesting individuals. We will show how they relate to each other and how they relate to their father. We would like to place heavy emphasis on

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

Mrs. Ford -- filming her in relaxed, personal conversation about traditional American values, about the feelings she has about her children and her husband. These conversations should be uplifting to the American people - should help to give more purpose to their own lives.

We also think it is important to introduce the real Jerry Ford to America. We want Americans to meet his friends - and hear what they have to say about him. We think Americans should know of his accomplishments throughout his life - not just his accomplishments as President. What are his roots? What are his likes and dislikes? How does he react to and with people in private? What kind of sense of humor does he have?

Finally -- we think the American people should hear how the President himself feels about the things that are important to him - his religion, his home town, his youth, his feelings as he tries his best to solve the problems a President must face.

2. The leadership dimension. We must portray the toughness, the inner strength, which most voters perceive as an essential part of both competence and leadership - and which the President so effectively showed in his acceptance speech. Fight ing for the people, battling against the Congress, standing up against free spending, and the eagerness to debate Carter are all part of the same image.

In addition, Americans should learn what Mr. Ford's philosophy of government really is. A new, more decent kind of leadership. He does not arrogantly assume that one man has all the answers. His

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

purpose is to inspire confidence in people themselves. An open Presidency. A shared Presidency. A Presidency people know they can trust. He does not claim that the President is always right. He admits mistakes, For he knows that government needs more to be restrained by humility than to be fed by ambition. He offers a higher standard of public service.

We also must demonstrate how these leadership qualities have resulted in workable programs that have benefited all the people.

3. His compassion. In many of the target States, where Democrats and Independents are needed to win, the most serious problem a Republican candidate has is the perception of Republicans in general as hard-nosed, big-business types -- against the working people, against the poor people, against minorities. President Ford has to break the Republican stereotype. And it particularly difficult to do it when the country is in a conservative mood.

One way to show compassion is in his treatment of the issues. When he talks about economic issues, he must do so from the viewpoint of those who suffer most. He must talk about people rather than statistics. And it is important that he express strong feelings, and take a leaderhip position, on such matters as the Equal Rights Amendment, black opportunity, the plight of the Indians, and the hardships of older people. In the northern industrial States, Republicans are seldom successful unless their words and a few strong "people" stands make them more popular than their Party.

4. His accomplishments. When we present the President's accomplishments, which of course we must do, it is important that we not overstate

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

them. If it appears that he is taking too much credit, it will work against him. Progress has been made...but it is also obvious that things are less than perfect.

Therefore - we propose that his accomplishments always be stressed in the light of the difficult conditions in which he has been operating.

For example-we don't say simply "He stopped inflation." We say instead..."Here was an unelected President who was tough enough to fight a reckless Congress and slow runaway inflation...in fact cut it in half!"

Some other examples:

"President Ford came to the office during America's most humiliating hour -- our government was closer to stalemate than at any time since Abraham Lincoln...our economy was heading towards the worst recession since Franklin Roosevelt took office. The other nations of the world were watching for any signs of a weakening America. Today we have trust in our government again. Pride in our country again. Faith, in our economic system again. And the world knows again that America is the strongest nation on earth. This has been accomplished in spite of the majority which runs Congress.

Another example:

He came to office without a mandate from the people - an unelected President governing a people who had lost faith in their government - yet his leadership brought the country together again...restored faith in our government...made us proud again. He did it because he does not play upon people's fears, because he so clearly stands for

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

the decency and openness and fairness that we want in our President.

Note: All of the above four strategic points can be and should be summarized in a single campaign theme. We recommend that this theme conclude every television commercial and be used in all campaign literature that talks of President Ford's accomplishments.

The recommended theme is:

"He helped make us proud again."

5. Program for the future. Positively portraying past accomplishments is not enough. Most voters want to know both what a candidate has done and what he will do. Vision (goals, where we're going, where we want to be), is one characteristic most voters seek in a President; it is part of their perception of leadership.

We think it may not be credible to invent some new slogan like the New Frontier, the Great Society, New Deal, Fair Deal to label the next four years. But we should want to find a general summary phrase which can be a consistent thread throughout not just the advertising but throughout the President's speeches also -- a summary phrase which expresses a general issues thrust of the Adminstration consistent with present and future issue stands.

The summary phrase we recommend is:

"a new dimension of freedom."

It seems appropriate for the first Administration of our third century. "A new dimension of freedom" can cover not just an agenda of issues but each of several significant issues:

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

-- Free our jobless from dependence.

-- Free our elderly from inflation.

-- Free our farmers from restrictions.

-- Free our taxpayers from bureauracy.

-- Free our law-abiding citizens from fear.

-- Free our women from unequal laws.

-- Free our children from busing.

Advertising (and speeches) on the future goals would refer to "a new dimension of freedom" as a uniting theme for all these issues.

The combination of portraying past accomplishments ("He helped make us proud again.") and showing a program for the future ("a new dimension of freedom") can also represent shifting gears from one Ford Administration to the next. From an unelected President to a President with a mandate.

6. Cutting Carter down to size. This, of course, is the most politically sensitive area that we will face in the campaign. This is the first year in history that political advertising has been paid for by the people. The very worst thing we could do would be to use that money for advertising that was misleading, or designed solely to undercut the opponent.

We feel, however, that Carter is vulnerable to an honest, straightforward challenge on his positions. He takes both sides of too many issues. He uses different words to talk about the same issue to different people. In matters of defense spending, busing, abortion, the B-1 bomber and Humphrey-Hawkins, he has taken ambivalent positions that can be documented. If used forthrightly, by President Ford himself, these substantive matters can be made genuine campaign issues that are of concern to the voters. We will run an honest campaign. But

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

that does not mean we won't run a tough campaign.

There is a broader issue here. The politics of deception is a real and serious matter - and we think it should be explored in this campaign - perhaps best done by Senator Dole. Carter's personality, ambition and calculating style make him a natural successor to the manipulative politics of the last decade. We are considering some advertising approaches but wish to explore them further before presenting them.

7. The differences between the candidates. The advertising should portray those qualities of the President which present an effective contrast with Carter.

Frequently the comparison will be implicit only -- and left to the voters to make. For example, the forceful delivery of the President's acceptance speech invited a very favorable comparison with the well-known Carter soft-sell. Carter has done well to date by coming across as casual and neighborly; by contrast, the President in his acceptance speech was Presidential...powerful, confident, in full command.

Sometimes the comparison can be explicit. For example: The President's experience vs. Carter's lack of experience.

The contrasts (in addition to issue differences) we should seek to make include the following:

The President		Carter
Experience	vs.	Inexperience
National security experience	vs.	Inexperience
Lives decency	vs.	Talks decency
Candid, honest	vs.	Shades, exaggerates
Forceful leader	vs.	Casual, soft-sell

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

The President		Carter
Humility	vs.	Arrogance
Open	vs.	Manipulative
Modesty	vs.	Ambition
Knowledge in depth	vs.	Superficiality
Anti-Congress	vs.	Congressional ally
Tough leader	vs.	Evangelical
The President	vs.	The Pretender

8. Momentum. At the end of the campaign the advertising should help convince voters that the President is going to win. In the industrial and other target states the best way is to show that Democrats are for him (via man-in-the-street interviews).

One result is momentum when it's needed. Another result is to show Democrats and Independents that they'll have lots of company when they vote for Ford. It will tend to legitimize their own feelings and encourage them to support the President.

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

D. Timing

Some of the 8 advertising objectives are more easily pursued early in the campaign -- and some late. Some must await achievement of others before they can be effectively pursued.

In general we intend to follow the following schedule:

Phase One:

-- Now to October 7: Personal Qualities (#1); Leadership Dimension (#2); Compassion Dimension (#3); and Past Accomplishments (#4).

Phase Two:

-- October 8 - October 21: Future Goals (#5); Cutting Carter Down to Size (#6).

Phase Three:

-- October 22 - November 1: Summary; Comparison (#7); Momentum (#8).

Following this general time-table any "negative" or confrontation advertising will be preceded and followed by positive advertising; we will be ending on strong but positive material; we will be stressing future goals only after showing past accomplishments; we will be "selling" on future goals and candidate comparison only after having established a dimension of comparison to break the Republican stereotype; and we will be generating momentum at the end when we need it.

(Obviously, any single ad could help meet objectives targetted for a different phase. But the commercials should be designed principally to meet the goals of that Phase).

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

E. Television Commercials Needed

To accomplish our objectives, we are going to need as many as 50 separate television commercials. They include packages of network commercials as well as regional and local commercials. Our most immediate need is for an edited version of the President's acceptance speech to be aired as soon as possible, especially in the Eastern Time Zone where we missed a good part of our audience because of the hour in which the talk was aired. We would close this commercial with an appeal for volunteers to join and work for the campaign. It would be accompanied by tune-in spots and newspaper ads telling people who missed the President's speech to tune-in tonight. Getting people to watch the special show could also be part of a grass-roots Republican Party effort. Our crews filmed the entire speech and the color around it, so editing could proceed immediately. The following pages outline the other commercials that will be needed. Production on all these commercials must begin immediately.

Network Commercials

1. One 30-minute documentary film. It will cover all eight basic strategic points in some detail - the man, the leader, his accomplishments, his goals for America, the differences between the President and Carter. This will be a major prime-time film to be aired towards the close of the campaign. It should be noted that the preliminary media plan does not allow for this film, and negotiations should begin immediately to secure the time.

2. Five 5-minute films. They will include:

   a. "This Man Named Ford."

   This film will be designed to meet our first three campaign

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

objectives. It will feature all the members of the President's family - and show how they relate to one another and to their father. We will meet his friends, and hear how they feel about him. The President will talk about personal things - his beliefs, his family, his youth, his personal feelings about the Presidency. We will also hear his own views on leadership, on government, on the part a President plays in the lives of people. We will show what he really feels, and what he hopes to do, for the less fortunate people in America.

b. "He Helped Make Us Proud Again."

This film will be used to accomplish our fourth advertising objective - to show his accomplishments in office. It is the story of America then - and America now. The story of an unelected President who came to office in one of our most humiliating hours - and who found the way to bring us together again, make us proud again. It will show how his tough stand against a reckless spending Congress helped stop runaway inflation. It will show how he took charge of an America in trouble - and renewed our own faith in government, gained new respect for America abroad.

c. "A New Dimension of Freedom."

This film will be designed to illustrate President Ford's vision, to show his goals for America, to give substance to the promise of the next four years. We will show what "A new dimension of freedom" means to the jobless, to the elderly, to the farmers, to the taxpayers, to the law-abiding citizen, to the small businessman, to women, to children,

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

to the handicapped, to minority groups.

d. "Second to None."

This will be a strong film on national defense and national security. It will feature the President and, depending on MOR research findings, certain other members of his foreign policy team. It might show other world leaders as well. This should be a strong, serious film that should influence opinion-makers as well as the general public. Inferentially, we expect it will draw a sharp contrast between President Ford and a man who is without experience in this sensitive area.

e. "Fifty-Five Vetos".

This will be a serious film on economic policy. Again it will feature the President on camera - with a slashing attack on the spending policies of the present Congress. This should be forthright, provocative - telling the people that this November they must take a stand on an issue that will definitely affect their own financial future, and the nation's financial future. It should be illustrated with facts and graphs, to drive home the point, but mostly it will be a film about people.

Note: Although the economic film and the national defense film appear to be issue-oriented only, they are also designed to strengthen the President's dimension as a forceful leader - and to contrast him against a man who has never stood up to these tough problems.

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

3. Two-minute spots: We propose four two-minute spots. The preliminary media plan does not include them. Therefore, this must remain very tentative. We are investigating the possibility of buying them, and the feasability of producing them.

4. 60-second and 30-second spots: We propose a series of spots, in varying lengths, covering the subjects of the five-minute films. We will feature President Ford's family, his accomplishments, his program for the future, and the differences between Ford and Carter.

We also propose making spots that directly confront Carter - to be used as needed.

Local Television

Local and regional television, in targetted states, would include three five-minute films (which may use much of the film in the national effort - with inserts that are appropriate) - and three packages of 60 and 30-second spots.

1. Five-minute spot on Betty Ford: This will be used on daytime TV. It might feature some of Cary Grant's introduction of the First Lady at Kansas City. The First Lady would talk about the things that concern women today. She might comment on important issues - busing, E.R.A., inflation. She can admit that she disagrees with her husband on some issues. We will meet her family. Perhaps Susan should talk about the problems of young women today.

2. Five-minute spot on rural America: This will feature the

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

President and Vice-President during a face-to-face discussion with a group of inquisitive farmers. The issues that will be discussed will be primarily, but not exclusively, farm issues. It will be filmed on location, and will be an actual, unrehearsed conversation.

3. Five-minute film on the problems of the elderly. This will show the President answering questions that concern older Americans. It will be filmed on location.

4. 60 and 30 second spots: We plan three basic packages of commercials for local use:

A. Man-on-the-street interviews with people in specific areas talking about issues that concern them. Most will be Democrats. We will interview old people, farmers, ethnic groups, etc. We will want to build a feeling of campaign momentum swinging toward the President. And we want to make other Democrats feel that they're not alone in thinking that the President is the better man for the job.

B. Cinema-verite type spots of President talking in conversational way with various constituencies.

C. Specific spots featuring specific personalities for local use. For instance, Ford in Michigan talking about Michigan. Dole in Kansas talking about the farm belt. Reagan in the Sun Belt.

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

F. Pre-Testing

There is simply not enough time to pre-test a variety of different TV approaches. All the more reason then to pre-test which of the TV commercials produced are the most effective -- so that we can be having maximum impact.

We will ask MOR to take each commercial package and pre-test it via panel interviews to determine which of the commercials in the package have the most impact (and therefore which to run).

(It is also a good means of double-checking whether an unintended negative impact is created, so that any such commercial can be pulled.)

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

G. Thoughts on Radio, Newspapers, Pamphlets

Radio

We feel that radio is an extremely important part of this campaign. We feel that it can be an effective way to reach specific target audiences - young adults; businessmen; black voters, housewives. We can target messages according to program content and specific geographic locations. We think it is especially important that these messages be imaginative, well-written, and well-produced.

Newspapers

Two full-page newspaper ads are scheduled to run during the last two weeks of the campaign. These ads will be timely - and adapted to the political situation as it exists in each specific major market.

Brochures

We are currently reviewing the campaign literature to see what is needed. We will want to include the new campaign themes in everything we do.

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

H. Notes on Staffing and Budgeting

We have not yet been able to review fully either the staffing or budgeting questions, although we have discussed both at some length with current Campaign '76 employees.

Beginning Monday, August 23, we will be interviewing everyone presently employed by Campaign '76 and additional people who may be needed between now and November. We expect to have all staffing decisions made by no later than September 1. We are particularly concerned with building a strong creative staff and with developing our own production supervision capacity. A preliminary decision has already been made to hire Malcolm MacDougall, the Creative Director of Humphrey, Browning and MacDougall, (Boston) as Creative Director of Campaign '76. Philip Angell will serve as the chief administrative officer of the operation, working directly under John Deardourff.

It is our expectation that the total cost of the "in-house" staff operation, including our own fee, will be between $350,000 - $400,000.

Production

The total cost of producing the media advertising obviously will depend on the final decisions as to what is produced. And with time a critical factor, costs will be somewhat higher than they would under normal circumstances. However, we are in the habit of producing quality political advertising at relatively low costs and it is our preliminary judgment that unit costs can be reduced below those incurred in the pre-convention period.

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

We are tentatively assuming the production of the following broadcast materials:

Television

One 30-minute documentary film

Six 5-minute films

Five 2-minute films

Forty 30 and 60-second spots

Radio

Twenty 60-second spots

Six 5-minute programs

In terms of print media production, we are anticipating six full-page ad layouts and one "double-truck" (two-page ad). We are also anticipating the need for layouts for special publications (ethnic, religious, farmer, labor, etc.) and for some regional magazine advertising.

Our preliminary estimate of the cost of producing the materials described above is $750,000 - $800,000. A detailed production budget will be submitted as quickly as possible following appropriate approval of the general plan.

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

Media Placement

Dawn Sibley, a member of the present Campaign '76 staff has prepared a preliminary media placement budget of $8,654,000 for the general election. (A sheet summarizing that budget projection is attached). We have not had an opportunity yet to review that budget with Ms. Sibley and it does not include a 30-minute documentary or any two-minute TV buys. However, the total $8,654,000 figure,

plus the cost of placing the documentary, appears to us to be a reasonable projection. We will be meeting for the first time with Ms. Sibley later this week and within a day or two thereafter we will have a firm media placement budget to submit.

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

I. Projected Production Schedule

We presume it is as necessary for the White House as it is for us to try to lock in filming dates for the President and the First Family.

Subsequent needs may arise but as of now we see the following needs:

-- One three-hour filming session with the President in the White House early in the week of August 30th. This is principally for an extensive interview on his background, his memories from childhood, memories from college and the service, perceptions of the Presidency, what makes him mad, what makes him happy, etc. Note: We will review the interviews previously done at Camp David but are not optimistic that it meets our needs.

-- One day in the White House during the week of August 30th, for similar personal interviews of Mrs. Ford and the children. These are essential if we are to capture the "real" nature of the man from the people who know him best. We got good footage of Steve, Jack and Susan in Kansas City, but not the kind of interviews we're after. We did get a very good interview with Michael and probably will not need to do more. We got no individual footage or interview footage of Mrs. Ford in Kansas City.

-- We want to film the President in conversational discussions with four different groups in their local habitat:
15 farmers on a farm; 15 factory workers in a plant; 15 college students on campus; 15 senior citizens in a nursing home. Each

GERALD FORD LIBRARY

discussion would last about 1 1/2 hours and be filmed by two cameras. We would then "reach into" the film for the best thirty or sixty second spots to show personality, personal interactions, and issues. (It also seems valuable to us to show the President out with the people). To do it, we will need to have two days of the President's time (on location) between September 10 and September 20.

In addition, we will want to film Senator Dole for two full days on the campaign trail between September 1 and September 15. (Please pick the days but let us help shape the schedule).

GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY