The original documents are located in Box 16, folder “Convention Delegates - General” of the Richard B. Cheney Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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Honorable Gerald R. Ford
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20013
Honorable Gerald R. Ford  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20013  

Dear Mr. President:

As a delegate to the Republican National Convention I respectfully request that you advise me of your position on the following:

1. Do you now intend to retain Dr. Henry Kissinger as Secretary of State?
2. Will you continue to oppose the present government of Rhodesia under the circumstances now existing?
3. What is your position on the retention of control and ownership of the Panama Canal by the United States?
4. Do you favor full recognition and "preferred nation" treatment to Cuba, Russia and/or China?
5. Do you have any present preference as to your running mate?

Please accept this inquiry in the spirit in which it is sent. I am, at this point officially and personally not committed to you or Mr. Reagan. I would like to know your position so I can intelligently make a decision. I have posed similar questions to Mr. Reagan.

Thank you for your time. I remain,

Respectfully yours,

Toxey Hall Smith, Jr.

May 15, 1976
QUESTION #1

Do you now intend to retain Dr. Henry Kissinger as Secretary of State?

Answer

The President believes that Secretary Kissinger has done the job he is supposed to do -- maintain the peace. As long as the Secretary continues to successfully carry out the President's foreign policy directions, he can remain as the Secretary of State.

We have been successful in the Middle East. We have continued to have a proper dialogue with the Soviet Union on one hand, and the People's Republic of China on the other.

We are solidifying our foreign relations with countries all over the world, most recently at the talks the President had this past weekend in Puerto Rico.

Basically, it is an affirmative, well-directed, constructive foreign policy which has maintained America's military strength and, at the same time, maintained peace.
QUESTION #2

Will you continue to oppose the present government of Rhodesia under the circumstances now existing?

Answer

As you know, the President is now seeking a rapid negotiated settlement in Rhodesia.

It is the American policy to support self-determination. Support for majority rule has been the consistent policy of several Administrations and reflects traditional American values. This policy has had strong bipartisan support -- and rather than inciting to violence, support for majority rule is the one means to encourage peaceful transition.

Our support of majority rule carries with it insistence on full protection of minority rights, and the President will not endorse any developments in Rhodesia which do not provide for such rights.
QUESTION #3

What is your position on the retention of control and ownership of the Panama Canal by the United States?

Answer

Through process of negotiation, we can avoid the use of troops and enhance our ability to defend our interests in the Canal.

Our interest in that area of the world involves maintaining good relations with our 309 million Latin American friends, operating, maintaining and defending the Canal. These interests would be jeopardized if we broke off negotiations.

The President's diplomatic approach to the Panama Canal problem is the best way to protect American interests. If diplomacy fails, the President will not hesitate to use other means to protect U.S. interests -- including, as a final resort, the use of military force.
QUESTION #4

Do you favor full recognition and "preferred nation" treatment to Cuba, Russia and/or China?

Answer

* Cuba - The President has strongly stated his position regarding the recognition of Cuba. He considers the Castro regime to be aggressive and anti-freedom. Recent Cuban intervention in the domestic affairs of other nations such as their encouragement of the independence movement in Puerto Rico and their massive involvement in the Angola conflict, is unacceptable and precludes an improvement in relations between the U.S. and Cuba.

The President has made it clear that no improvement in U.S. relations with Cuba is possible as long as Cuba pursues such interventionist policies.

* Russia - The President uses the term "peace through strength" to discuss our approach to the U.S. - Soviet relationship -- not because there has been a change in U.S. policy, but rather because he wants that policy to be clearly understood.

In dealings with Russia, it is the President's policy to move beyond an era of constant confrontation and crises, to prevent Soviet expansionism and to develop a more stable relationship based on restraint.

The President feels strongly that in our discussions with the Soviets, the U.S. has not gotten the short end of the deal. There is no give-away, no one-way street. The President is pursuing this policy because it is in our national interest to do so, and not out of a fear of Russia. We are still the strongest nation on the earth ... and the President's efforts to limit strategic arms safeguards our national security. Our trade with Russia does not represent a give-away -- rather it benefits the U.S. in jobs and dollars.

* China - The President has emphasized that our relationship with Peking remains an important element of American foreign policy. Through the constructive dialogue with China, we are now able to strengthen opportunities for cooperation and parallel action on many global issues. Our relationship serves the interests of our two peoples and contributes to the cause of a more stable world order.
Regarding America's relations with Taiwan, the President remains concerned for the well-being and security of the people of Taiwan. He will maintain active ties with Taiwan and will continue to assist in normalizing relations between Taiwan and Mainland China.

We must never forget that if the two largest Communist nations, Russia and China, were to patch up their differences, the U.S. would face a potential adversary with a population of over 1.2 billion people.
QUESTION #5

Do you have any preference as to your running mate?

Answer

While the President has not yet announced his list of potential running mates, he has a large potential of excellent candidates to choose from, many of whom have been named from time to time.

The President is keeping an open mind on the matter and, with the cooperation of the Convention delegates, will give careful consideration to a wide variety of fine choices. His goal is to choose a running mate who could assume the awesome responsibilities of the Presidency, and who will help him win a GOP victory in November and serve as an active partner in four years of accomplishment.
MEMORANDUM FOR:  DICK CHENY
FROM:        MIKE DUVAL
SUBJECT:     CALL TO A DELEGATE

Jim Field and I recommend that you telephone Mr. Toxey Hall Smith, Jr., a delegate from Mississippi. Mr. Smith wrote the President, asking him for his position on five questions. (See Tab A for the incoming letter.)

According to news reports, Smith has said, "Probably Reagan is more popular here in Mississippi and would probably do better against Carter than Ford."

Smith, an attorney, claims to be uncommitted, according to the CBS report.

Jim and I both believe that it would be better for Smith to receive a telephone call than a letter because of the controversial nature of the questions he raises.

Also, he probably should receive the call from someone of your position because he appears to have a very sensitive ego.

Attached at Tab B are talking points for each of the questions he raises.

cc: Jim Field with copy of attachments
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MAX L. FRIEDERSDORF

SUBJECT: Delegates

Representative Donald Clancy (R-OHIO) has suggested that the PFC provide each friendly House and Senate Member with a list of uncommitted delegates, including telephone numbers and brief biographical sketches.

Clancy believes Members may be acquainted with uncommitted delegates in other states through past associations. He cited a former law school classmate whom he discovered was an uncommitted delegate. Clancy phoned the delegate and believes he made an impression.

I suggest that such a project, if approved by the President, be coordinated with Griffin and Michel.

~

Check with Dick Cheney.
I approve in concept.
Neither President Gerald R. Ford nor ex-California Gov. Ronald Reagan has managed a decisive stroke in their few-holds-barred battle for the Republican Presidential nomination since our last Report. We find Mr. Ford ahead in our delegate count by a scant 21 delegates. After the next two weekends, the Ford margin may well be reduced to 17 delegates - but only 26 short of the nomination - with approximately 68 uncommitted delegates left. This is all close enough for nobody to be certain of anything, but our arithmetic leads us to conclude that President Ford will be the probable winner.

Gov. Reagan’s problem is that he has failed to make a breakthrough with Northeast uncommitted delegates - and may not be able to make it. Mr. Ford has not been all that successful in wooing delegates either, but he will get the nomination if he can hang onto his New York and Pennsylvania delegates.

The one and only point of interest for the Democratic Convention is the Vice-Presidential choice, which only ex-Georgia Gov. and soon-to-be Democratic Presidential nominee Jimmy Carter knows, if indeed he does. Our feeling is that the finalists in the Great Elimination Contest are Sens. Ed Muskie (Me.), John Glenn (Ohio) and Frank Church (Ida.), with Walter Mondale (Minn.), Henry Jackson (Wash.) and Adlai Stevenson III (Ill.) trailing in that order.

GOP Delegate Chase: Since our last Report, the delegates have fallen generally as expected, with Ford doing a little better than anticipated in Minnesota but Reagan cleaning up in Montana, Idaho and New Mexico. According to our count (which, like all other counts, must allow for a margin of error), it looks as follows going into the final two weekends of state conventions: Ford-1057, Reagan-1036, Uncommitted-68, To Be Selected-98.

Of these 98 delegates still to be selected, here are the prospects:

North Dakota (18 delegates, July 8-9): There are the makings here of RR’s worst debacle west of the Mississippi since Kansas many months ago - at a time when he can ill afford it. Everybody - the Reagan high command included - had been thinking in terms of a 9-9 split, with the edge going 11-7 at most either way. But now the Reagan forces feel that they have been misled by State Chairman Allen Young, who they claim represented himself as a Reagan sympathizer but whom they now regard as a Ford backer. Young’s delegate slate, which was supposed to be evenly split, is rated 12-6 Ford by some Reagan men and 14-4 by some Fordians. Will the Reagan camp risk a 0-18 blanking by going to the convention floor Thursday with their own slate? Ford insiders and Party Regulars think not.

If Reagan really does lose here, it will be the first unexpected Ford win in some time and - in a game of ones and twos - could be important.

Colorado (31 delegates, July 10): Reagan already has six delegates and has a good shot for the remaining 25 on Saturday. Ford is at best hoping for...
three but is likely to be shut out.

Utah (20 delegates, July 17): Previous Ford hopes for one delegate have just about disappeared. Probably 20-0 for RR.

Connecticut (35 delegates, July 17): The Regular slate is probably 35-0 Ford. Two or three RR delegates could slip in, but the prospects are slim. Reagan sweeps in Utah and Colorado, a Ford sweep in Connecticut and a 6 Ford edge in North Dakota would make the count 1104 to 1087 in Ford’s favor with 88 delegates undecided. If this is the case, these are the states Ford will watch between mid-July and the August 16th convention opening.

New York (154 delegates): Our count is 116-Ford, 20-Reagan, 18-undecided, but that may actually be a bit too modest for Ford and too strong for Reagan. RR desperately needs some kind of breakthrough here, and we simply do not see where it is coming from. We went to the Suffolk County (Long Island) GOP fund raiser last week and talked to half the key group of seven uncommitted delegates. Our conclusion: at least five and probably all seven will wind up in the Ford column within the next two weeks.

New Jersey (67 delegates): Tremendous pressure buffeting Sen. Clifford Case the past two weeks to get him to commit as many as possible of the officially uncommitted delegates to Ford, but he has refused to budge on the theory that moving now would not enhance the President’s position of a minimum of 60 delegates (with five for Reagan and two genuinely uncommitted). We see no real chance of RR picking up more than seven at a maximum.

Pennsylvania (103 delegates): We call it 87-Ford, 7-Reagan, 9-undecided. If RR can move into those undecided, it will be a major plus. But we have our doubts.

Mississippi (30 delegates): After a recent reporting trip here, we feel a little more confident in talking about this confused situation. We are now certain that the unit rule will not hold for RR, and that Ford will get four or possibly five delegates. There are about 20 sure Reagan delegates, meaning that there will be a battle for the other five or six. Our guess is RR 25-5. But it could go better for GRP.

Illinois (101 delegates): This big delegation has pretty much broken down to a hard 82-16 for Ford, with only three uncommitted delegates, who could be important.

West Virginia (28 delegates): Nobody, including the President Ford Committee, takes seriously Gov. Arch Moore’s claim of 23 Ford delegates. The hard count is 13-Ford with four undecided, who could go either way.

Delaware (17 delegates): A big uncommitted proportion on a per capita basis. We call it 13-1 Ford, with three undecided. All three are leaning toward Reagan, but he could end up with Ford.

South Carolina (36 delegates): Like Mississippi, the scene of fierce infighting. We call it 5-Ford, 27-Reagan, 4-undecided. Harry Dent is working hard for Ford, but Gov. James Edwards is RR’s bulwark.

Wyoming (17 delegates): We don’t know there all the talk of uncommitted delegates came from in the alleged “blackmail” on the minerals lease bill. The best bet is 14-Reagan with the others split 2-undecided, 1-Ford.

Unless RR has delegates squirreled away that nobody knows about (and since they haven’t been exposed so far, we doubt their existence), we think he is going to have trouble with this crop of uncommitteds and come up short. But in a race this tight, firm predictions are ridiculous. Even the rival managers, in private at least, are cautious these days.

Ford: His one-on-one delegate haranguing isn’t doing all that much good. A delegate uncommitted this long isn’t going to swoon in the presence of the Oval Office. We offer two examples, both from the first two delegations – West Virginia and Delaware – to be invited in en masse.
are worries about his temperament, irascibility and stability.

Glenn: His greatest asset is his contribution to carrying Ohio and the fact that he would lose no appreciable amount of votes. On domestic issues, he is probably more conservative than Carter and the most conservative of the lot but he does not scare liberals. He would not be a risk to preempt attention from JC (as, indeed, none of those being considered would). Apart from construction labor opposition, his position on the common situs picketing bill has earned him no great enemies in Big Labor. His problems are that intellectuals and Brahmin journalists would turn down their noses at a Carter-Glenn ticket.

Church: He's not Carter's cup of tea, but he would go over very well at the convention and with the public, which apparently liked his Intelligence Committee performance. We doubt that Carter wants him, but there are no specific negatives.

Mondale: We get the idea that Carter doesn't care for him, and some of his insiders feel that Mr. Busing is too heavy a burden to bear. The fact that he decided against running for President seems to bother Carter.

Stevenson: He's a pretty cold fish and does not seem as bright at first glance as he really is. We find his prospects pretty remote but not as remote as ... Jackson: Ironically, he is very well thought of by both Carter and his senior adviser, Charles Kirbo. But younger Carter aides object on grounds that 1) Scoop is ponderous and turns off the electorate, and 2) He alone among all the V.P. possibilities could scare off the Party's Left Wing, giving some substance to ex-Minnesota Sen. Eugene McCarthy's independent Presidential movement, which is attempting to get ballot position in 45 states.

Carter: Despite disavowals of overconfidence, we find supreme - and certainly understandable - confidence in the Carter camp. His insiders, however, may err in feeling that his vulnerability is in the Northeast when, in fact, we cannot see any GOP prospects there right now. There may be a little too much sensitivity to the McCarthy threat.

The present plan is for Carter to come over with a series of substantive positions, both in speeches and TV commercials. But we have the strong feeling that the shape of the Carter Administration is still very much in flux. We don't believe he really knows which way he is going on defense and foreign policy and how far Left he intends to take the country on domestic policy. Don't count on the general election being any more revealing than the primaries.

Outside Atlanta, talk is growing, and not just among Republicans, that JC may not be all that much a sure thing in November. He has not come through the post-primary period totally unscathed: 1) His refusal to take up the women's fight at the National Committee meeting infuriated them, and his refusal to stop a strong pro-quota drive by blacks may backfire when the Party realizes its full implications; 2) The lack of positions on major issues is becoming legendary, but to correct this he risks losing major voting blocs; 3) We hear more talk about JC's tendency to belittle staffers and other Democratic leaders, and it is hurting him.
MEETING WITH BILL ARMSTRONG AND DAVID TREEN

Wednesday, July 28, 1976
9:35 a.m.
The Oval Office

FROM: JAMES A. BAKER
SKIP WATTS

I. PURPOSE
To gain public support of these two prominent uncommitted delegates to the National Convention.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS, AND PRESS PLAN
A. Background: Congressman Armstrong was elected uncommitted delegate from his own 5th District with strong support from Ford forces and general opposition from the Reagan camp. We have dealt with him almost daily on the prospect of his supporting the President but he has maintained neutrality, a position which has not brought him political hardship.

Since the Reagan - Schweiker announcement Armstrong believes that the possibility of Reagan's nomination has been terminated.

Of great concern to Armstrong is Reagan's lost credibility which may inhibit his ability to help the President unite the Party after the convention.

Another major concern to Armstrong is the question of who the President will choose as a running mate. Armstrong is apparently opposed to John Connally as Vice President.

Congressman Treen was elected as an uncommitted at-large delegate from Louisiana after intense pressure from the Reagan forces to commit for their candidate or, at a minimum, to agree to be bound by the majority of Louisiana's delegates -- an agreement which, of course, would be tantamount to a Reagan commitment. Congressman Treen instead agreed to take the majority's position into consideration in arriving at his own personal decision.

The Congressman's road to arriving at a decision has been tortuous. One of the most important factors in his decision is the choice of a Vice President. He has been attempting to push a Ford-Reagan ticket. The Reagan choice of Senator Schweiker has greatly disturbed Treen, as he is a man of deep conservative principles.
At a recent meeting of uncommitted and "soft" Reagan Louisiana delegates with Jim Baker, Congressman Treen argued against what he felt was a hasty decision and successfully kept several Louisianians from committing to the President at that time.

Both Congressmen have taken a leadership role among uncommitted delegates, especially in their states. They may still believe their neutral posture best serves the GOP.

B. Participants: Bill Armstrong and David Treen

C. Press: None

III. TALKING POINTS

1) I want you both to know that I personally respect the courage you've demonstrated in maintaining your uncommitted status in the face of intense pressure.

2) We're very encouraged by the momentum developing our way in the "Sunbelt Region" and throughout the country. As you know, we believe we have the nomination on the first ballot, especially in light of recent development.

3) I'd like to have your commitments -- now -- it would mean a great deal to me personally and in terms of the nomination.
MEETING WITH CALVIN SMITH

Wednesday, July 28, 1976
4:45 p.m.
(10 mins.)

The Oval Office

FROM: Jim Baker

I. PURPOSE

To thank him for publicly switching over to the President after having been elected as a Reagan delegate.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS, AND PRESS PLAN

A. Background:

Smith, 50, a small businessman from Portsmouth, is the only black in the Virginia delegation. He was elected as an at large Reagan delegate but switched to the President along with his friend Willard Forbes and made public their commitments on 7/20/76.

Prior to switching, Smith had received some criticism within the black community for his support of Reagan and consequently has received criticism from Reagan people for switching. In short, he's been pushed around pretty good but is firm in his support for the President. He has said he'll now go to the convention even if he has to walk.

He is a member of the State Central Committee from the 4th District. He is a member of the Electoral Board of the City of Portsmouth, and is assistant to the President for Special Projects of Bernard Fine Foods, a food specialty company specializing in institutional food.

B. Participants: Jim Baker and Calvin Smith

C. Press Plan: Photo only

III. TALKING POINTS

1) I wanted to personally invite you here and thank you for your public commitment to our campaign.

2) I know you've taken some heat and been subjected to criticism since you took your stand, so I wanted you to know how much I appreciated your standing firm.

3) We're very encouraged by the momentum now developing our way in Virginia and throughout the country and we will win the nomination on the first ballot.

4) Betty and I will look forward to seeing you and working with you at the Convention.
August 9, 1976

Dear ---------,

As we approach the opening of the 1976 Republican National Convention, I want to thank you for your support of my candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination.

In my many years of public life, I have learned that the friends who are most cherished—the ones who are the most special—are the ones who give their support from the beginning. You are one of these friends.

The challenge that lies ahead of us is a great one—but I am confident that we will be victorious in November and that we can continue to keep America moving in the right direction.

A Republican victory will be ours if we work in the spirit of strength and unity that has made our Party and our Nation great.

With sincere appreciation.

Very truly yours,

Gerald R. Ford

[Signature]

Who gave their support when the real test came.

8-5-76 Sent copy to Roy Hughes.
MEETING WITH HANNIBAL TAVARES

Thursday, August 12, 1976
4:15 p.m.
The Oval Office
FROM: JAMES A. BAKER III

I. PURPOSE

To personally ask for his support at Kansas City and during the general election.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS, AND PRESS PLAN

A. Background: Mr. Tavares is a highly respected lobbyist for the Alexander & Baldwin (A&B) Company of Hawaii, one of the "Big Five" Hawaiian corporations. He is involved in the sugar industry and may want to discuss matters relating to sugar with the President. He resides in Wailuku, Maui, the same island recently visited by daughter Susan.

Mr. Tavares is an uncommitted delegate whom we believe is leaning towards President Ford. Several weeks ago, 15 of Hawaii's delegates announced they will vote for the President; three remain uncommitted (including Tavares) and one for Reagan.

Mr. Tavares' support in the general would be most effective because of his popularity and the fact that he is a very good speaker.

As you know, Hawaii has been strongly Democratic since statehood. Retiring Senator Fong is the only Republican elected statewide. Former Republican Governor Quinn is seeking to succeed him, as are Congressman Matsunaga and Congresswoman Mink. Matsunaga is expected to win both the nomination and election.

B. Participants: Dick Cheney and Hannibal Tavares

C. Press Plan: Photo only

III. TALKING POINTS

-- over --
III. TALKING POINTS

1) I very much appreciate you traveling all the way to Washington to meet with me.

2) I also appreciate the efforts of Carla Coray (Republican National Committeewoman) and Ed Brennan (Republican National Committeeman), as well as Vern Brye (PFC Chairman).

3) I was very much encouraged by the public statement of personal preference for me from the 15 Hawaii delegates.

4) I understand that you and Gay Hawley and Alvin Amarel are still uncommitted. I sincerely hope that when you reach Kansas City I can count on your support as well as Gay Hawley's and Alvin Amarel's. (Do not use Miss, Ms. or Mrs. with Gay Hawley. She has made it known she does not use any such title.)

5) I also hope we can count on your help and support in the general election.