January 6, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR DICK CHENEY
JERRY JONES
FROM: Dave Gergen
SUBJECT: Presidential Campaigning

Following up our conversation of Monday, Jerry, I want to summarize some of my views on Presidential campaigning, especially in New Hampshire.

1. Timing -- It is essential that the President continue to emphasize that his job comes first. Consistent with that, I would restrict all initial campaigning to the weekends. So long as he is perceived as "on the job" during the regular work week, most people will "forgive" him for weekend jaunts. Also, by restricting himself initially, he will have a ready excuse for not paying more visits to individual states. Dissenters from this view may say that weekends are not good for national news coverage; that may be true, but if so, that's an even better reason for going on weekends -- we want the national news coverage to emphasize him as President, not as campaigner. Any weekend trip will pick up plenty of local press in the areas where it counts.

2. Skiing in New Hampshire -- I strongly urge that the President not spend his N.H. time, precious as it is, on the ski slopes. If we must show the flag there, Susan might do it. Or perhaps a ski association of N.H. could present an award to the President. But for the President to go there will only highlight the Nessen remark and, more importantly, will be interpreted by many as a signal that the President is not treating the N.H. voters seriously. Personally, I think it would be a little insulting to the voters there.

3. What Appearances Should He Make? Appearances should emphasize three things: friendliness, dignity, and a high tone. We should try to mix "Presidential events" with a few outright campaign type events that show him in the fray. Some ideas:
-- Appearance before N.H. legislature;
-- Dinner by "Friends of Ford" featuring other celebrities such as Carlton Fisk; should be low-budget (perhaps box lunch affairs we discussed) with variety of key groups invited;
-- Local church service Sunday morning in N.H. church;
-- Overnight in N.H. hostelry on a Saturday night;
-- Small coffee clatches over weekend;
-- A rally tied in with the dinner if it can be arranged and if it has pizazz;
-- Meetings with youth groups, elderly would also be helpful; Sunday visit to a nursing home would be well received, especially after the State of the Union.

There are a certain number of events that may be mandatory but should not be strongly emphasized for press purposes unless there are good local reasons for doing so:

-- Chamber of Commerce type appearance;
-- Meeting with local party leaders.

4. Family Appearances -- Appearances by the President's family especially the First Lady and Susan, should be encouraged. They can make the symbolic gestures that are very important for a campaign such as this. For instance, Mrs. Ford would be first rate in a few small coffees and Susan could not only open the phone bank but also ring a few doorbells. We should hypo the press on such events.

5. Other Spokesmen -- This is critical. We should have a full schedule laid out as quickly as possible, emphasizing not only attractive members of the Cabinet such as Richardson but also the athletes and others that Pete is working on. Once we have a list, we should be thinking very carefully about what they could say that would be helpful.

6. Presidential TV Clips -- I have asked about this several times but have not yet gotten a full answer. Do we have clips underway? Where are the scripts? When can we look at them? Since the President will not be able to travel, these, too, are very, very critical. I can only assume they are far along in preparation.
7. **Presidential Literature** -- I would urge that all literature going out under PFC title be reviewed here by those who can appropriately do so. Also, we ought to think about a mass mailing under the President's signature to be sent out to voters shortly before the primary.

8. **Reagan Strategy** -- Do we not have some mechanism for getting an absolute fix on everything Reagan is doing in N.H., Fla., and elsewhere? We ought to be seeing all the newspaper clips, have information on where he is appearing and with what result, and trying to assess it on an ongoing basis here. PFC presumably has a very good handle on this, but we ought to be clued in. And time is growing shorter and shorter on the $90 billion program. The N.H. legislative leaders got in some good licks yesterday, but there must be a follow-up -- no later than before Reagan returns to N.H. on the 15th. This should be the topic of further discussion.
Bo's performance at the Sperling breakfast this morning and his attack on Reagan's $90 billion budget cut seems to represent a major policy decision to use Bo's high campaign position as a platform to attack Reagan (in the sense that it commits the campaign committee as an attack organization against Reagan and therefore ties attacks on Reagan to the President himself -- if these attacks backfire they are tied directly to us). This may or may not be a good decision. And I have no view as to its value. What I am concerned about is how the policy decision was reached. Did Bo decide it on his own? Did he decide it in conjunction with PFC personnel? Did he decide it in conjunction with you and the President? Were other options considered?

It seems to me that Reagan is vulnerable on several and maybe even many issues. It also seems to me that how we deal with each of these issues is very important so that they do not throw back on the President. If we are to do this effectively I would think you would want a combined group of White House and PFC people to thoroughly think through attack options and implementation plans before they are launched. This hopefully is one of Gergen's key roles here. Don't you think it would be a good idea to establish such a group before we destroy the value to us of some of Reagan's vulnerabilities.