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FROM: JACK MARSH
TO: DICK CHENEY
FOR THE PRESIDENT

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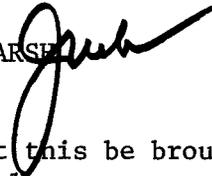
PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 24, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DICK CHENEY

FROM: JACK MARSH 

John Rhodes is anxious that this be brought
to your attention immediately.

Attachment

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL



24 August 1976

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I HAVE BEEN REQUESTED TO PUT MY THOUGHTS ON PAPER AS THEY REFER TO THE COMING CAMPAIGN, AND THE TYPE OF ORGANIZATION YOU SHOULD ESTABLISH TO ENSURE ITS SUCCESS. I WILL BE VERY CANDID AND I HOPE YOU UNDERSTAND AND APPROVE.

I CAN ONLY COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE PRE-CONVENTION CAMPAIGN WAS NOT SUCCESSFUL. GIVEN AN INCUMBENT PRESIDENT WITH THE KIND OF SUPERB TRACK RECORD YOU HAVE, THE NOMINATION SHOULD HAVE BEEN WRAPPED UP LONG BEFORE WE GOT TO KANSAS CITY. IT WAS NOT. I DO NOT ASSESS BLAME TO ANY PARTICULAR INDIVIDUAL, BUT SUGGEST THAT A THOROUGH GOING OVER HAUL OF THE ORGANIZATION IS IMPERATIVE.

I WISH I COULD GIVE YOU NAMES OF PEOPLE WHO ARE READY, WILLING AND ABLE TO STEP INTO THE TOP SPOTS. MEL LAIRD WOULD BE IDEAL, BUT I AM PERSUADED THAT HE WOULD NOT CONSIDER TAKING IT. I HAVE NOT TALKED TO DEAN BURCH, BUT HE HAS MANY ADVANTAGES. HE HAS BEEN IN A NATIONAL CAMPAIGN, AND HAS BEEN CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE. HE HAS ALSO WORKED IN THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF AND UNDERSTANDS THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATIONS AND WHITE HOUSE STAFF. I THINK THIS COULD BE A VERY IMPORTANT ASSET. BILL TIMMONS COULD CERTAINLY DO A CREDIBLE JOB. I AM INFORMED THAT JIM BAKER IS A SUPERB OPERATOR, AND THAT PERHAPS HE IS THOROUGHLY QUALIFIED TO HEAD UP THE ORGANIZATION.

I WOULD HOPE THAT AS MUCH OF THE CAMPAIGN EFFORT COULD BE CHANNELED THROUGH THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE AS IS POSSIBLE. WE HAVE ALL MADE PRONOUNCEMENTS CONCERNING THE DETERMINATION WE HAVE TO MAKE SURE THERE ARE NO MORE CREEPS. HOWEVER, I UNDERSTAND THE FINANCIAL PROBLEM CAUSED BY THE FEDERAL ELECION LAWS, SO PERHAPS IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO FULLY UTILIZE THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE AS WE WOULD LIKE TO DO.

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IN DEVELOPING THE ISSUES, I HOPE YOU WILL CONTINUE TO BEAT ON THE DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS. PEOPLE MUST ALWAYS BE REMINDED THAT IT IS INDEED A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS. IT IS NOT SUFFICIENT TO KICK THE MAJORITY. YOU MUST, IN MY OPINION, USE THE WORD DEMOCRAT, AND ASK BOLDLY FOR THE ELECTION OF MORE REPUBLICANS. THE FACT THAT ONLY 9% OF THE PEOPLE APPROVE- SAY THEY APPROVE OF THE WORK OF CONGRESS SHOULD GIVE US AN IRON CLAD ISSUE, IF WE DEVELOP IT PROPERLY.

A RELATED ISSUE IS ONE OF HARRASSMENT OF SMALL BUSINESS AND INDIVIDUALS BY BIG GOVERNMENT. I HAVE SUGGESTED THIS BEFORE, BUT I WILL SUGGEST IT AGAIN. A FULLDRESS HOOVER COMMISSION STUDY OF THE GOVERNMENT, WITH APPROPRIATE ACTION TO IMPLEMENT STREAMLININGS AND SAVINGS OF OPERATIONS WOULD, IN MY OPINION, HAVE APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE.

ENERGY IS CERTAINLY AN ISSUE, AND THE FAILURE OF THE DEMOCRATS TO RESPOND IN TIME TO YOURVARIOUS REQUESTS TO INCREASE DOMESTIC OIL PRODUCTION IS CERTAINLY SOMETHING WHICH SHOULD BE RUBBED IN THEIR FACES. IF THEY FAIL TO PASS THE SYNFUEL BILL THIS CONGRESS, WE CAN CERTAINLY USE THIS AS AN ISSUE.

I THOUGHT YOUR SPEECH AT THE CONVENTION WAS SIMPLY GREAT. IT WAS THE PROPER MIXTURE OF PRAGMATISM AND IDEALISM WHICH I THINK IS APPEALING, AND WHICH YOU SEEMED TO BE VERY MUCH AT HOME WITH. I STILL THINK THAT THE OVERRIDING ISSUE IS THE COST OF LIVING.

I ADMIRE YOUR BOLD STROKE IN ANNOUNCING YOU WOULD DEBATE JIMMY CARTER. I THINK THE FORMAT OF THE DEBATE IS IMPORTANT. UNLESS THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS ARE FIRMLY IN COMMAND OF THE SITUATION, I MIGHT SUGGEST THAT YOU USE THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS AND PUBLISHERS. IF QUESTIONS WERE SUBMITTED TO YOU AND THE GOVERNOR AND YOUR ANSWERS WERE PUT BACK TO BACK, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE PEOPLE COULD THEN BE INFORMED OF WHERE EACH OF YOU STANDS ON THE ISSUE. I SEE NO VIRTUE IN A FACE TO FACE CONFRONTATION AND A FREE-WHEELING TYPE OF FORMAT, PARTICULARLY WHEN YOU ARE/AN INCUMBENT PRESIDENT.

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THAT
I WOULD BE AFRAID/QUESTIONS WOULD BE ASKED YOU WHICH YOU COULD NOT
ANSWER PROPERLY IN THE INTERESTS OF NATIONAL SECURITY, AND YOU WOULD
COME THROUGH AS BEING EVASIVE OR UNINFORMED. AS AN EXAMPLE, I
UNDERSTOOD PERFECTLY WHY YOU COULD NOT ANSWER THE QUESTION ON RHODESIA
PROPOUNDED TO YOU AT THE "GOOD GUYS" DINNER, BUT EVEN MANY MEMBERS
OF CONGRESS DIDN'T UNDERSTAND IT. IT WOULD BE COMPARATIVELY
EASY FOR THE CARTER PEOPLE TO REALLY PUT YOU ON A BAD SPOT IN MATTERS
LIKE THAT, AND I THINK THAT YOU SHOULD MAKE CERTAIN THAT IT DOES NOT
HAPPEN.

I WOULD USE BOB DOLE EXTENSIVELY, PARTICULARLY IN THE SOUTH, MIDWEST
AND FAR WEST. IF RONALD REAGAN WILL REALLY CAMPAIGN FOR THE TICKET,
HE WOULD BE INVALUABLE IN THE FAR WEST AND IN SOME AREAS OF THE SOUTH.
OF COURSE JOHN CONNALLY COULD BE VERY HELPFUL AS A SURROGATE ALSO.
ABOVE ALL I HOPE THAT NOBODY IN YOUR CAMPAIGN WILL EXPRESS BY WORD,
DEED OR IMPLICATION THE IDEA THAT WE ARE WRITING OFF ANY PART OF
THE COUNTRY, OR ANY STATE OR EVEN ANY PRECINCT. PHIL CAMPBELL TOLD
ME THAT IF CARTER WERE RUNNING FOR GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA HE WOULDN'T
BE ELECTED. THEY WILL PROBABLY VOTE FOR HIM ^{TOMORROW} ~~AS~~ PRESIDENT OUT OF
LOCAL PRIDE, BUT HIS STOCK IS NOT HIGH ANYWHERE.

THAT BRINGS UP THE MANNER IN WHICH TO HANDLE JIMMY CARTER. I
THINK I WOULD COUNTER PUNCH. UNLESS I AM MISTAKEN HE DOES PLAN TO
TAKE SOME RATHER DEFINITE STANDS ON ISSUES, AND IN FACT ~~HAS~~ ALREADY
HAS ON SEVERAL. HE CAN CERTAINLY BE ATTACKED BECAUSE OF THE HUMPHREY-
HAWKINS BILL. WE HAVE A VERY DEFINITE ISSUE IN HIS ^{ESPOUSAL} ~~NEOSTALGIA~~ OF THE
REPEAL OF SECTION 14 B OF ~~THE~~ TAFT-HARTLEY. ~~AND~~ I IMAGINE HE WOULD ALSO
BE FOR COMMON SITUS PICKETING. THESE ARE ISSUES WHICH CAN CEMENT OUR
HARD CORE ~~AND~~ IN MY OPINION APPEAL TO INDEPENDENTS. I REALIZE THAT
I MAY BE A MINORITY OF THE REPUBLICAN HIERARCHY, BUT I THINK WE HAVE
MISSED THE BOAT IN NOT ATTACKING GEORGE MEANY.

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HE IS MADE TO ORDER FOR BEING THE "BAD BUY" OF ALMOST EVERY SCENARIO.
IT MAY BE TOO LATE TO DO IT, BUT HIS REFUSAL TO LOAD SHIPS WITH GRAIN
FOR THE SOVIETS WAS MORE RESPONSIBLE FOR ~~XNE~~/LOSS~~xOR~~/THE WHEAT FARMERS
A TO
THAN WAS THE EMBARGO. ORGANIZED LABOR'S CONTINUING GRASP FOR POWER
-THE HARD HAND WITH WHICH THEY RULE THE CONGRESS- THESE ARE THINGS THAT
THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY WILL NOT LIKE IF THEY ARE KEPT INFORMED.
OF COURSE, THE BOTTOM LINE IS THAT JIMMY CARTER WILL HAVE TO DEFEND THE
DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS. LET'S JUST ASK HIM THE QUESTION OF HOW HE CAN
DEFEND SUCH A CONGRESS, PARTICULARLY WHEN HE PERSISTS IN AN ANTI-WASHINGTON
POSTURE. HE CAN'T HAVE HIS CAKE AND EAT IT TOO.

AS I HAVE HINTED PREVIOUSLY, ONE OF MY MAIN WORRIES IS THE PROPER
COORDINATION BETWEEN THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF AND YOUR COMMITTEE STAFF.
THIS HAS ALWAYS BEEN A PROBLEM IN ~~XXXX~~ EVERY ELECTION IN WHICH AN
INCUMBENT PRESIDENT HAS BEEN INVOLVED. I AM ALSO SOMEWHAT WORRIED OVER
THE FACT THAT YOU SEEM TO BE INCREASINGLY WARY ABOUT ASKING ADVICE
FROM THOSE OF US WHOM YOU HAVE KNOWN THE LONGEST, AND WHO HAVE POLITICAL
BRAINS THAT HAVE BEEN TESTED AND FOUND TO BE NOT SO BAD. FRANKLY I HAVE
VERY LITTLE CONFIDENCE IN THE POLITICAL ACUMEN OF THE PEOPLE YOU HAVE
ON THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF, ALTHOUGH I LIKE EACH OF THEM PERSONALLY AND
HAVE RESPECT FOR THEIR ABILITIES ALONG OTHER LINES. THERE MUST BE A FINE
LINE WALKED BY YOU IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS AS CANDIDATE, AND AS PRESIDENT.
THIS REQUIRES ABSOLUTE CONFIDENCE AND COOPERATION BETWEEN THE WHITE HOUSE
STAFF AND YOUR CAMPAIGN STAFF WHEN YOU FORMULATE IT.

②
NEEDLESS TO SAY, ANYTHING I CAN DO TO BE OF HELP TO YOU
I CERTAINLY WISH TO DO.

YOURS SINCERELY, _

John G. Rhodes

JJR:mm