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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN...  
 POSTAL RATE COMMISSION

Memorandum

September 15, 1976

TO: THE PRESIDENT  
 FROM: PAUL A. MILTICH *PAM*  
 SUBJECT: UPCOMING DEBATE ON SEPT. 23.



Mr. President, I think you did very well in answering the questions put to you on the Today Show regarding the economy, but I would suggest you go on the attack when the issue of unemployment arises in the Sept. 23 debate, as I am sure it will.

You should ask Carter which problem he gives higher priority to--unemployment or inflation. Whatever his answer, he will have a problem explaining why--and how he would deal with both problems. For your part, you should take the affirmative by stating that you are dealing with both problems at the same and making steady progress. If Carter talks of stimulating the economy to bring down unemployment, you should raise the possibility that any actions taken by those of the Carter school of thought would trigger a big new wave of inflation. While it might help some of the seven to eight million unemployed, what would artificial stimulation of the economy do through price inflation to the incomes of the 88 million who presently have jobs? It should be stressed that Carter & Company would worsen inflation while your administration would follow a path of steady economic growth in which unemployment would be lowered in ways other than pumping up total spending. You should point out that you will bring about lower unemployment without a wage and price explosion--both of which Carter policies would risk.

I have run across what I consider to be a most impressive statistic: For the year ended July 1976, the Consumer Price Index rose only 5.4 percent--the smallest 12-month increase since the days of wage and price controls in 1972 and early 1973. What is Carter going to do to improve on the steady progress you are making in fighting inflation? Go back to wage and price controls? Labor is strongly opposed to controls on wages. So is Carter advocating price controls without wage controls? What would that do to the economy and what would be the consequences when price controls were finally removed?

Carter is talking out of both sides of his mouth. He talks about stimulating the economy and at the same time talks about balancing the budget. He cannot pump up the economy by pumping up government spending and at the same time balance the budget. He just is not levelling with the American people.

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POSTAL RATE COMMISSION  
Washington, D.C. 20268

Paul A. Miltich  
COMMISSIONER

September 15, 1976

Miss Mildred Leonard  
Personal Assistant  
to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mildred:

Here is the memo I spoke with you about on the  
phone. I hope it is helpful to the President.

Please give him my regards.

Sincerely,



Paul A. Miltich



Enclosure



Mr. President:

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN ...

I would like to offer you a few thoughts on the coming campaign.

- 1. Ignore the please of members of Congress <sup>Senators</sup> who want you to travel all over the country campaigning for them.
- 2. Concentrate on the TV debates -- and primarily the first debate.

As one who has prepared four candidates for TV debates, I would make the following suggestions:

- a) Candidate and staff should determine amount of preparation time needed for first debate, and then double it.
- b) Practice runs should be made against at least two different people imitating the opponent but using different tactics.
- c) Candidate must appear as if he hasn't spent all his time preparing for the first debate -- but, in fact, he should have spent most of his time in preparation.
- d) A task force should be working right now on the first debate, and must have complete access to the candidate over the next weeks.
- e) Physical image of the candidate is very important. Candidate should be well rested, properly made up, dressed and positioned.
- f) First debate should be rehearsed many times.
- g) One theme or major point should be stressed throughout debate, regardless of debate topic. This should be the key point, theme, of campaign.
- h) Keep in mind mental level of TV audience and rehearse to such an audience. Candidate must speak to TV audience, not to news media.
- i) Candidate should not be too structured -- completely prepared but not up-tight or inflexible. He who is best prepared is most relaxed.

- j) Candidate's answers should be short and responsive. Each answer should be followed by an attack or a positive statement.
- k) Staff work should be completed as far in advance of first debate as possible in order to avoid any sense of urgency or pressure on the candidate.
- l) If the candidate feels comfortable it is a good technique for him to look at his opponent at all times when he isn't looking into the camera eye.

Joel Pritchard

You must be brutal in the handling of the President's time in the coming weeks.



This paper was not prepared by anyone associated with government nor was it prepared in response to a request. Rather it was submitted on a voluntary basis.

JIMMY CARTER'S POTENTIALLY SERIOUS  
LIABILITIES AND VULNERABILITIES



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN....

The polls give Jimmy Carter almost a 20-point lead over either Republican candidate. In tracing the Gallup poll data over the past three decades, we find that no presidential candidate has ever bounced back from such a big mid-summer deficit. Nevertheless, Carter's lead is certain to narrow as the election approaches. His strategists recognize this probability, and they are trying to predict the extent of the erosion. For they see potentially serious flaws and weaknesses in Carter as a man and a candidate. Conceivably, these could defeat him if his opponent can exploit them - a big question mark.

It should be noted that Carter has faced only about 20 percent of the total U.S. electorate under circumstances that may not provide an accurate test of national sentiment. He represents change and uncertainty; Ford represents stability and predictability. While the people say they want "change," they may not want some of the specific changes Carter has in mind. Carter has capitalized thus far on vagueness, ambiguity and even mystery. But the



coming campaign will cast the Carter enigma in another light: risk and danger.

Pollster Louis Harris is among those who believe Carter is "very vulnerable." He recently told newsmen: "Jimmy Carter has not proven himself. He's very vulnerable. We find (in our polls) that he's not an inspirational figure." Almost two-thirds of those polled, said Harris, "are worried about a politician who says he'll never lie."

In our discussions with political, military and academic observers during the past few weeks, they have identified several Carter vulnerabilities. Most of them note an obvious problem: Carter's boundless self-confidence may easily become offensive arrogance. As in the case of "ethnic purity," he may make another highly exploitable misstatement. Many observers attach considerable importance to the not yet fully demonstrated powers of an incumbent President in a time of economic recovery.

Despite his pollstanding, Carter has the same problem that confronts any outsider: the President dominates the news. A successful demonstration of Presidential leadership in an international crisis situation would rally the nation behind Ford and revive the old argument: "don't change horses in mid-stream." Carter has no control over events overseas, which could work greatly to Ford's advantage. The President



and his aides are perceived by the voters as experienced in foreign affairs, while Carter is seen as inexperienced and untested.

Carter's very limited appeal to Catholic voters - particularly urban, working-class Catholics in northern states - is a potentially major problem for him.

There are an estimated 30 million registered Catholic voters, and nearly 7 out of every 10 of them are concentrated in a dozen large states containing 271 electoral votes - one more vote than needed to elect a President. Traditionally, Catholics have voted Democratic by about a 4:1 ratio. They gave John F. Kennedy 78 percent of their vote, and Lyndon Johnson 76 percent. But Hubert Humphrey got only 59 percent and George McGovern a surprising 48 percent - the first time in at least 40 years that a Democratic candidate failed to receive a majority of the Catholic vote.

Carter is an unlikely figure to reverse this downtrend. Even so, in passing over Senator Muskie for his running-mate and picking the very liberal, pro-abortion Senator Mondale, Carter indicated that he felt that his "Catholic problem" is manageable without a Catholic on the ticket. His influential pollster, Patrick Caddell (himself a Catholic), seems less confident, declaring: "Jimmy is perceived as very much of a





Protestant candidate. Carter has run weakly in heavily Catholic states, e.g. New Jersey, Massachusetts, New York and Maryland."

Ford, in contrast, scores well in polls of Catholic voters, for his form of Protestant religion and cultural heritage is more congenial to Catholics, who consider religion a private matter.

Another potential Carter weakness is his tendency to exploit and discard prestigious advisers after they have served their purposes in his goal-oriented political strategy. Carter is not committed to his present foreign policy advisers. Even the highly publicized Professor Brezinski feels neglected. Until this week, he privately complained, he had not seen Carter in almost two months.

Another widely advertised, big-name association, Admiral Hyman Rickover, is clearly marked for oblivion. Rickover's debate with the Pentagon over shipbuilder claims is viewed as insubordination by Carter, according to Navy sources. Carter once drew inspiration from Rickover. As President, however, Carter probably would ask the over-age Rickover for his resignation. This consistently one-sided pattern in Carter's relationships will discourage prominent new recruits to his campaign because of the uncertainty of future rewards.

In a campaign against President Ford, Carter could be weakened by tactics that force him to take clearer stands on issues. Carter's appeal in the primaries was based on a theme: trust me to restore decency in Washington. He skillfully avoided specific commitments.

But Carter is now becoming caught in self-contradictions. For example, his recent effort to sound pro-business before a group of corporate executives in New York failed to impress them. It also annoyed the distrustful unions, especially when Carter came out for keeping the foreign tax credit strongly favored by multinational corporations. His tone in addressing the businessmen flatly contradicted the populist "soak the rich" tone of his acceptance speech.

Carter will be forced to give his views more clearly on important measures scheduled for Congressional debate before the fall recess - e.g. tax reform, federalization of the unemployment insurance system, natural gas decontrol and a protectionist "buy American" proposal. Some Carter advisers already are pitted against important Southern supporters on the issue of "buy American."



Still another difficulty Carter faces is the cumulative effect of the concessions he has made to win the support of the liberal wing of the party - in the Democratic platform, in his policy statements, and in his selection of a running-mate. Senator Mondale, according to a survey by the ultra liberal Americans for Democratic Action, had a "liberal quotient" of 94 percent on his voting record in 1975. Carter has succeeded chiefly by projecting the image of a centrist - a fiscal and social conservative who will pursue activist economic policies. His identification with liberal positions tarnishes this image.

Carter's family, it should be noted, is probably more liberal than he is. His son Chip is a strong advocate of sexual equality even to the point of participating in events sponsored by homosexuals. His son Jeff is an outspoken admirer of Senator Frank Church and admits trying drugs. Folk singer Bob Dylan and Robert Kennedy are family heroes. The family urged his choice of Mondale. His wife and their close-knit family exert far more influence on the man than his advisers. Carter recently went so far as to call Vietnam a "racist" war, which is close to McGovern's 1972 rhetoric.

Republicans who have bothered to add up the additional costs of the federal programs that Carter has endorsed say these total more than \$75 billion a year - mostly in the form of new transfer payments. Pollster Harris says that the Democratic Platform, if fully implemented, would within a few years nearly double the federal budget - to a total of about \$750 billion annually. The implications are plain: high inflation, higher taxes, high interest rates, a return to wage and price controls. Republicans will call public attention to these costs and consequences. Carter's turn to the left puts him in fact - if not yet in appearance - squarely in the camp of those who advocate a larger federal bureaucracy and more centralized controls, precisely the opposite of the "anti-Washington" stance he took during the primaries.

Carter's public image is the gleaming smile. But his eyes and the rest of his face are unsmiling. Still hidden in the shadows is Carter's complex character and personality, his sense of destiny, his obsessive drive and his iron discipline. Herein may lie his greatest vulnerability. The



public may be more afraid of the man's strengths, and the threats they pose to the democratic system, than concerned about his weaknesses. Over the centuries, Americans have displayed a healthy fear of "great" men. They seek leadership and admire excellence but are often inclined to vote for the safe predictability of mediocrity.

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THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES  
August 9, 1976



The President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed is a copy of my basic strategy paper No. 10 for August entitled, "The Five Keys to Victory in November."

Best regards.

Sincerely,

David W. Belin

DWB:cs

Encl.

c.c. Richard Cheney ✓

c.c. Robert Hartmann ✓

c.c. Ron Nessen

c.c. Philip Buchen

P.S. I know your time is precious, particularly as you look forward to the nomination in Kansas City, but I would urge you to read this entire paper before making your Vice Presidential selection.

THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT FORD

BASIC STRATEGY PAPER NO. 10 - AUGUST, 1976

David W. Belin



The Five Keys to Victory in November

The hour is late. We are far behind in the polls. But victory can be achieved in November if we recognize five essential ingredients: (1) The record of President Ford in restoring trust and confidence in government, the maintenance of peace, control of inflation, and ever-increasing prosperity. Together with the emphasis on the President's performance, there must be an expression of the President's goals, plans, hopes and aspirations for the Nation in his first four-year term. (2) The abysmal performance of the Democratic-controlled 94th Congress. (3) The Democratic Party Platform which promises more taxes, more inflation, and more big government. (4) The tremendous emotional and psychological opportunities in this campaign, which are elements that Republican candidates consistently fail to recognize. (5) The selection of the proper Vice Presidential running mate to integrate with the previous four items and capitalize on overall opportunities.

Let us discuss each of these items briefly.



1. The record of President Ford. Basically, President Ford must run on his record. And it is a record that he can be proud of. The restoration of trust and confidence in government, the maintenance of peace, the bringing of inflation under control, and the development of ever-increasing prosperity. (And I think it is important to use the "ever-increasing" adjective so that we do not fall in the box of saying that prosperity is already here but many people do not realize it yet.)

There is one factor that should be emphasized. I think it is fair to say that if there were not peace, then it would be understandable for the Democrats to attack the foreign policy of this country. But how can the Democrats attack foreign policy when there are no American troops engaged in fighting anywhere in the world.

At the same time, I think we can assert that if there were still double-digit inflation, if the Gross National Product were falling, then it might be appropriate to attack the President's domestic policies. But the fact remains that the great majority of the people in this country are gaining an ever-increasing confidence in the economy.

This will be further discussed as a part of the overall emotional opportunities.





2. In addition, the campaign should capitalize on running against the record of the 94th Congress the way Truman ran against the record of the 80th Congress in 1948. There is the fact of Congressional inaction in energy. There is Congressional inaction in tax reform. There is Congressional inaction in welfare reform. There is Congressional inaction in a host of other areas. The attacks on Congress should be in a frame of reference of positive programs that the President has put forth so this does not appear to be an entirely negative approach.

At the same time, the attacks on Congress should be accompanied with compassion for the common citizen. I discussed this earlier in the December paper and the need for the Republican Party to recognize its lack of perception in this area.

The attacks on Congress should also be accompanied by the use of what John Rhoades calls one of the best-kept secrets of the century: The fact that the Democrats have controlled Congress for <sup>40</sup>~~36~~ of the past <sup>44</sup>~~40~~ years.

Finally, the attacks on Congress should be accompanied with an attack on the promises of the Democratic candidate (as opposed to the candidate himself, for I think we should avoid personal attack). Carter promises lots of reorganizations of government. But the Democrats have been in control of Congress for most of the past 40 years and have failed to reorganize Congress.

The public does not hold Congress in high esteem, and we can capitalize on this public perception.

3. In addition, there should be an attack on the Democratic Party Platform. It promises three things: More taxes, more inflation and more big government. There has to be constant reemphasis of this.

This should be accompanied by a financial analysis of what the Democrats promise--between \$150 billion and \$200 billion of added government programs which will mean tremendous increases in taxes as well as tremendous increases of inflation and more and more bureaucracy in Washington. This is a natural Republican issue.

4. Emotional and voter psychology opportunities. As a part of our logical and objective and positive statement of issues, there should be a liberal sprinkling (but not over-



done) of the fact that we are the underdog. The polls show that we are behind. Perhaps we will not win, but we have the story to tell to the people, and we are going to tell that story to the people.

Everyone roots for the underdog. Truman was able to get the people rooting for him because he was an underdog. We should be able to follow the same course.

With this as a foundation, we then enter the last few days of the campaign and add two basic ingredients of emotion: The natural feeling on the part of a human being not to knife another person in the back, and the natural apprehension of the human being for the unknown.

There is a natural tendency not to want to knife a person in the back--particularly when that person has done a decent job. I think this psychological element is particularly applicable to the entire country in the last few days of the campaign. The voter should understand that the President has been working tremendously hard--and has succeeded on the very jobs that were thought to be key when he first assumed office. The country wanted him to bring peace. He did this. The country wanted to bring inflation under control. He did this. The country wanted to have increased prosperity. The President did this. The



country wanted to have a restoration of trust and confidence in government. The President did this.

After having accomplished all of these tremendous challenges that faced him when the President assumed office, is it fair to  
knife the President in the back and throw him out of office?

I think that there are tremendous television opportunities that should be saved for the last few days of the campaign when there are opportunities to sway a tremendous amount of undecided voters.

These opportunities also fit into the other aspects of the tremendous psychological opportunities that can be capitalized on in the last week of the campaign--and in particular the very natural psychological fear of the average voter of the unknown.

"When you walk into the voting booth and are ready to mark an X or pull a lever for one candidate, remember that you know  
what you have with President Ford. He is a man who has restored trust in government. He has brought peace to our land. He has brought ever-increasing prosperity to our land. He has brought inflation under control.

FOR  
LAW

"Before you cast your ballot, think twice and think whether or not you want to change from a man that you know--a man who has performed everything that was asked of him--to a man you do not know--a man who gives many promises, who says one thing one week and another thing another week, and who has engaged in personal attacks on the President, even though he first said he would not.

"When you cast your ballot, do you want to give up what you now have for the promises of an unknown future?"

These are not the precise words that should be used, but this is the basic concept that must be gotten across. And it should be saved for the last week of the campaign because that is when it is applicable, just prior to the time the person goes to the ballot box. At that time, it will also be too late for Mr. Carter to reply.

To put it another way, a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush, and the voter has experienced this time and time again. He will have a natural apprehension of what he cannot foresee. And these natural apprehensions, coupled with the sense of fairness of not kicking a person in the back, coupled



with the emotional use of the underdog elements, offer tremendous psychological opportunities--opportunities that must be captured if we are to win in November.

We Republicans have a great ability to present logical arguments. We have a great ability to present negative arguments. But we have an inability to put an entire campaign of logical arguments together with the seasoning of natural emotions which are part of the character of the average American voter.

5. The Vice Presidential candidate. In order to capitalize fully on this overall strategy, it is essential that the running mate who is selected is the best person to capitalize on this overall strategy. The following are the primary criteria which must be considered:

a. The candidate should be someone who is not part of the Washington establishment in general and who is not part of Congress in particular. Jimmy Carter is running a anti-Washington campaign, and the Republican ticket must have someone on that ticket (assuming Nelson Rockefeller is not selected because of his ability and experience) who can counter the anti-Washington Carter campaign and the anti-Washington general mood. In particular,



the person should be able to capitalize on the opportunities to run against the record of the 94th Congress.

b. The person should have no connection with the administration of Richard Nixon or Watergate and should have no "skeletons" in his closet from such things as milk fund money, oil lobbies money, etc.

c. The person should be philosophically in the middle of the road to balance the ticket philosophically and to help heal the wounds of the Republican Party where so many middle-of-the-road--moderate Republicans are unhappy with the course of the primary campaign which has been dominated by the more conservative elements of the Party.

d. The Vice Presidential candidate must have demonstrated experience in successful state-wide election campaigns. A national Presidential campaign is no place for on-the-job training, and it would be foolhardy to bring someone into the picture who has not really demonstrated on more than one occasion that he is capable of winning state-wide elections in swing states. Election expertise is something that is very sorely needed at this time.

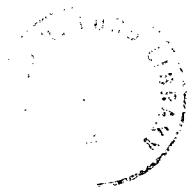


e. The Vice Presidential candidate should be someone who in many ways would be the least controversial and would take away the least from the President.

f. In order to capitalize on the emotional psychology we have discussed, the Vice Presidential candidate should come across as a very nice, decent, genuine, human being--someone whom the voter can identify with, and someone who on television will be sincere when he talks about the fact that it is not fair to kick the President in the back after what the President has done and when he talks about the fact that when the voter walks into the voting booth and is ready to cast his ballot, he should think twice before he makes a decision whether or not to keep what he has or try something new and unknown.

From the viewpoint of this overall strategy, I believe that for many reasons, Governor Ray of Iowa would be far and away the best choice for Vice President. Like many others being mentioned, he offers a philosophical balance of being from the middle of the road. Like many others being mentioned, he has no connections with the Nixon-Watergate years in Washington nor does he have any connections with milk fund money or oil lobby





money, etc. Like some others being mentioned, he is not part of the Washington establishment. But when you want someone who meets these criteria and also has the demonstrated expertise of winning elections in a swing state--most vividly in 1974 in the post-Watergate election where he obtained nearly 60% of the vote at a time when five out of six Democratic Congressional candidates were winning and the Democratic senator was being elected and in face of the best-financed Democratic gubernatorial campaign in history--and when you add to all of this the fact that in a fourth term, Governor Ray enjoys an 82% approval rating from the public with only 8% unfavorable (and 10% undecided), then you have a rare combination.

Who better would there be to ask a voter, is it fair to turn your back on a President who has brought peace to our land, ever-increasing prosperity to our land, inflation under control, and credibility to government?

And who better would there be to ask a voter, when you cast your ballot, do you want to give up what you now have for the promises of a unknown future? The person asking these questions must be a person who has demonstrated his capacity to communicate

with the average citizen of this country. I know of no better evidence than four successive election wins in a swing state and 82% favorable support from a cross-section of the American public.

But the key is that the selection of the Vice Presidential candidate must be made with particular reference to the kind of strategy that will be needed to win in November. This strategy must have a combination in logical arguments and a combination of identification with the natural psychology of the voter.

We have the arguments. And we can put together the right kind of a campaign to capitalize on these arguments and capitalize on the underlying psychological advantages that we have.

David W. Belin  
2000 Financial Center  
Des Moines, Iowa 50309

August 6, 1976