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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dick Cheney

I don't recall
authors but they have
been on my desk
File or _____?

"Thoughts on substantive
strategy in President
Ford's campaign"

ORIGINAL RETIRED TO
SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dick Cheney)

I understand
that Mrs. Engferhardt did
not contribute in Michigan
as we were led to believe.

ORIGINAL RETIRED TO
SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dick Cheney

Sen. Hugh Scott
at Steering Committee urged
we send this to Black
Members.

Are we doing this?

ORIGINAL RETIRED TO
SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dick Cheney

*Meeting with
Att. Gen. + Deputy
re Electors.*

ORIGINAL RETIRED TO
SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*Congressional Attach
planning - campaign.*

ORIGINAL RETIRED TO
SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE

August Gelanda - Tuna Industry

Dupont Plaza,

#671

- 1) Wants delegate names ^{& addresses} from
Convention states. Will call.

Don McAdams -

- 1) Wants delegate names & addresses
from forthcoming Convention
states.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Teeter - education
Cadythe Green

ORIGINAL RETIRED TO
SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Bo Callaway

HAK.

v

ORIGINAL RETIRED TO
SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE

[Nov. 1975?]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Talked to

Senator Roth - OK

Gov. Jim Rhodes.

we are for Ford.
We don't want to
be intervened.

Gov. Holman

All for Rep. Ct.
nominate
Gov. Bowen - OK

ORIGINAL RETIRED TO
SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dick Cheney

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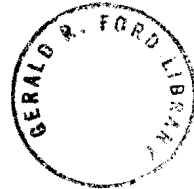
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 12, 1975

Dick Cheney -

The attached was returned in the
President's outbox.

Jim Connor



THE NATIONAL OBSERVER

THE PRESIDENT HAS SHOWN....

NTS ©Dow Jones & Co., Inc. 1975

For the Week Ending NOVEMBER 15

Politics by Perry

Ford's No Shoo-In To Be GOP Nominee



[ca. 1/9/76]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dick Cheney

This copy of a letter
to Jack Marsh was given to
me.

The point is very real.
A

We must work with
these groups.

ORIGINAL RETIRED TO
SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE

January 9, 1976

Hon. John Marsh
Counsellor to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jack:

I cannot adequately tell you how worried I am about the failure of the President's campaign to target discernible voter groups which, with some intelligence of approach, he could win over.

In 1972, we put together for Nixon the best appeal to ethnic groups which the Republicans have ever made. We knew which groups were winnable and on what issues, and we targeted our efforts with accuracy. This was done in all the major industrial states where the ethnic groups largely reside. The result was a dramatic inroad into Democratic strongholds.

President Ford is perceived by almost all people as the prototypic Mid-Western WASP Republican. One simply does not get any flavor of anything else in his Administration, this despite the fact that every study shows ethnicity on the rise. There are Italians, Eastern Europeans, Jews, and Cubans, to name a few, who feel no identity at all with his campaign. What a pity this is, since the issues now moving these people are the very ones for which Republicans have answers.



Hon. John Marsh
January 9, 1976
Page Two

If Scoop Jackson succeeds this year, it will be because he is organizing these communities with ability.

Another great problem I see for Ford is directional. Reagan starts from a conservative base and is rapidly moving toward the center - where victory lies. Ford, on the other hand, is moving to the right, where defeat lies. He will not be able to reverse this successfully several months from now. Many moderates are attracted to Reagan because they perceive he will be reaching out for them. Ford is not - and is simply taking them for granted.

I hope you don't mind my direct words, but I know, by intellect and instinct, that the President is not yet well focused on his targets in this election year. Is there not some way those of us who wish to help can share our experience and wisdom derived from past campaigns? The GOP is as shrunken as it now is because of its consistent failure to pull in the non-WASPS; this can be fatal for Ford in November.

Sincerely,

Rita E. Hauser



[May 1976?]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Vision of future for America

a) good govt - integrity
honesty.

b) world at Peace.
strongest defense.

c) land of opportunity.
equal opportunity
quality of opportunity

ORIGINAL RETIRED TO
SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE

Suggest the President have a national news conference on Monday night the eve of Nebraska and West Virginia.

Should follow up upbeat speech in Nebraska on how he handles world and national affairs - calmly, negotiation from strength, guiding nation back to prosperity etc.

Campaign strategy based in the final analysis on what he does in White House is how people will judge him. Hopefully he can have some new initiatives to disclose.

If asked about Reagan's bellicosity, should quote Goldwater and others.

Should point out that he is the candidate who can win in November, can use his position of world and national leadership and his good record to bind up party wounds, to seize initiatives and to run on his good record and force Carter to attack it. Should imply that anyone else would have very little base -- in power, geography or anything else such as philosophy -- to operate from.

In other words -- he should get over these points:

1. He is a leader.
2. He is a potential winner.
3. He is a moderate in style, approach to issues.
4. He may not equal RR or Carter as a campaigner because he has to mix politics with government, but he is sincere, trustworthy and not a hypocrite or extremist.

[ca. 6/21/76]
file

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dick Cheney

Good statements by
good friends.

ORIGINAL RETIRED TO
SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE

LAW OFFICES

Dent, Kirkland, Taylor & Wilson

HARRY S. DENT
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WASHINGTON OFFICE,
(MR. DENT ONLY)
BOX 19527
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
(202) 785-9454

June 21, 1976

Dear Fellow Delegate:

As you may know, I am helping President Ford in his search for Delegate support in the South. Attached is a column by N.Y. Times writer James Reston echoing a course I have suggested we pursue in seeking to re-unite our party, hold the White House, help our other candidates, and keep our party viable.

Winning in 1976 is vital for all Republicans, especially Southern Republicans. An Imperial Carter Presidency would betray the conservative tide running in America today. It would stifle our progress in building a 2-party system in Dixie. Also, it would accelerate the unionization of Southern industry, thus stalling the rapidly expanding economic and political power which has been shifting from North to South.

The Democrats have agreed on a fuzzy candidate and a fuzzy platform which newsmen say are viewed as conservative by those who want the conservative approach and liberal by those who want the liberal approach. Wisely, the Democrats want no repeat of their 1972 disaster.

In view of the good record our Republican President has compiled in maintaining peace, promoting prosperity, and exemplifying personal integrity and public trust, it would be unwise and unfair to dump him at our convention. His record is worthy of party and non-party support, and no one has a better, longer, or more effective record of service to our party and our Country.

I have not agreed with all the President's actions. However, no one we can elect can do all we may desire because a President has to be responsive to all the people, and he has more information upon which to make the big judgments, as I learned in my service in the White House.

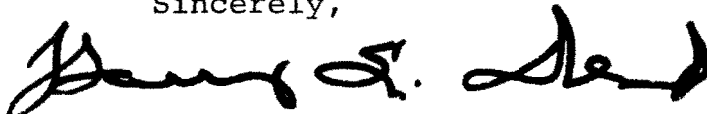
I concede the President is not a good salesman for himself and his record. However, we can give him a running mate and others who can do a better job of selling him, and that is as it should be. Governors Reagan and Connally could do the selling job either as running mates or otherwise.

The attribute of Jerry Ford that most compels me to give my best effort is the undisputed fact that he is a good and just leader who does what he believes to be right and best for America.

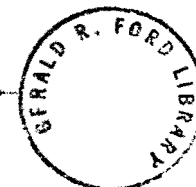
If I can answer any questions I will be glad to try or get you the answer.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely,



Harry S. Dent



HSD:ldw



Friday, June 18, 1976

The Ford-Reagan race for the GOP nomination gets tighter as the hours pass. The one who wins the day at the August convention will do so by a whisker.

Here's how they're now positioned: delegates for Ford, 960; for Reagan, 873, according to an Associated Press tally. Of those remaining, 170 are uncommitted, 255 will be picked in state conventions, one backs Commerce Secretary Richardson.

As to those to be divvied up at state conventions, we did a nose count -- projections based on calls to sources in the states. Here is how it looks:

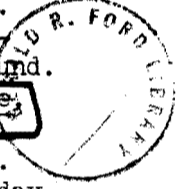
	June 18-19				June 24-26			July 8-10		July 16-17		
	Iowa	Delaware	Texas	Washington	Minnesota	Montana	New Mexico	Colorado	North Dakota	Connecticut	Utah	Total
Ford	18	17	0	6	15	2	0	10	11	35	0	114
Reagan	18	0	4	32	3	18	21	18	7	0	20	141

If our figures are right (you'll be able to check that starting tomorrow), the score as they head for Kansas City will be Ford, 1,074, to 1,014 for Reagan.

They will both be within one good lunge of the 1,130 needed for nomination, and that's why the name of the game is "commit the uncommitted." As for them, big blocs of Reagan leaners in states like Mississippi, Virginia and Wyoming give the Californian an edge, but it now appears that he still won't have enough to overcome the President's lead. That's why most forecasters are picking Ford.

However there's this to consider: Some Ford support is wavering. In states like New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania there is hidden backing for Reagan. This means if he charges in the stretch and Ford trips over platform issues -- such as detente or the wheat "giveaway" -- Reagan has a chance to turn it around.

But we still think Ford will win it, then pick Reagan as his running mate.



Sorry for a sour note about the Bicentennial, but best you be forewarned. It has national birthday.

Labor Has High Hopes In '76

By LEE BANDY
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Big labor has two goals this year and next — to elect a Democratic President and to organize the South.

But the latter cannot be accomplished, union bosses contend, until the Democrats are assured of winning the White House in January. Right now, those chances look bright with the all but certain nominee, former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter.

Labor leaders are deliberately remaining silent about their goals. They do not want to scare off voters who think unions exert too much influence in Congress now. Only a Republican President has kept Big Labor from getting everything it wants.

Most of the pro-union programs the last eight years

have been vetoed by the President and subsequently sustained by Congress, which was unable to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority to override.

But with a Democrat in the White House next year, labor leaders see the Presidential veto, the most effective weapon used against them the past decade, being removed from the political arsenal.

Hence, the path between the generally pro-labor Congress and the White House will be cleared for realization of the most sought after goals of union bosses — repeal of right-to-work laws in 19 states and legalization of secondary boycotts at construction sites.

LABOR, however, prefers not to discuss it. The union bosses are hoping to tip-toe by the November 2 election and then zap the voters in January

with their pro-labor package. And by then, it will be virtually too late for any one person or group to stop them with a Democrat in charge of the nation's affairs.

Carter has already sent a signal to labor leaders promising not to veto a repeal of state right-to-work laws. That's all union officials needed to hear. There's little doubt what Congress will do, especially now that the Senate has made it easier to cut off a filibuster.

Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act gives states the authority to adopt right-to-work laws. South Carolina is one of the 19 states with such statutes banning the union shop, or compulsory unionism. Proponents of right-to-work maintain workers should have the freedom to join or to refrain from joining a labor organization.

Union leaders contend that Section 14-B has served as one of the biggest roadblocks to organizing in the South. If that barrier can be removed, they say they are prepared to move their legion of organizers into Dixie with the goal of unionizing every industry they can get their hands on. And Carter appears to be the key to success at this point.

But labor bosses aren't going to stop there. Common-



come the centerpiece of the Democratic Presidential platform.

The legislation makes the federal government the employer of last resort. Program costs are estimated anywhere from \$16 to \$44 billion a year. Carter caved into pressure from the Congressional Black Caucus after his "ethnic purity" gaffe and said he would support the Humphrey-Hawk-

ins measure. Opponents warn construction and building it will lead to "an economic trades unions to picket an en-police state."

Others caution that Humphrey-Hawkins will create a highly organized federal employment force that every elected official will eventually have to reckon with.

And the worst fear is that such a powerful group could organize and paralyze the government someday if it doesn't get its way. Once these people are on the federal payroll, the agreement goes, you'll never get them off.

This is what big labor Ford wants. And the guess is with any Democrat in the White House, it'll have its way in getting right-to-work repeal, compulsory unionism, and a Humphrey-Hawkins full employment-bloated federal bureaucracy bill which also has be-

IMPACT

Region

4-C THE STATE — Sunday, June 20, 1976

Comment & Opinion

Together, Ford-Reagan May

WASHINGTON — President Ford and Ronald Reagan have got themselves and the Republican Party into such a pickle in the presidential election that maybe their best hope now is to leave room for a Ford-Reagan ticket and fight the Democrats together.

This is not now a happy thought for either side. They are engaged for the moment in a scramble for delegates and are cutting each other up, but if this goes on and if the polls mean anything, the Republican Party will be the loser, no matter who gets the GOP presidential nomination at Kansas City.

THE NEW YORK Times-CBS News polls of Republican voters in California; Ohio and New Jersey dramatize the GOP's problem. These polls indicate that about 35 per cent of Ford supporters will vote for Carter if the President is rejected at Kansas City, and that about the same percentage of Reagan supporters will desert their party if Ford is nominated.

This may be a little misleading. In the end, party loyalty would probably cut the defection rate, but even so, the Republicans, with less than 20 per cent of the registered voters of the country, obviously need all the Ford and Reagan supporters they can get if they are to have a chance against the Democratic coalition of governors, mayors and labor union leaders in the big Northern electoral states, who are now reluctantly backing Carter and his supporters in the South, the Middle West, and elsewhere.



Win

James Reston

IT IS INTERESTING that Ford has not ruled out a Ford-Reagan ticket. The President has said he would consider Reagan as his vice presidential running mate, and if he is to hold the Republican Party together, this may be the best he can do.

Separately, Ford and Reagan are in trouble against a Democratic Party that has been captured by Carter. The political and labor union leaders have their doubts about the former governor of Georgia, but they have been out of power for eight years, and will back him rather than Ford or Reagan.

But together, Ford and Reagan might have a chance. At least they would avoid a split in their minority party. They have the presidency, and they have the experience of age, and maybe Reagan could get the electoral votes of California, and maybe even of Texas, while Ford might hold Michigan and other parts of the Middle West.

FOR THE MOMENT it seems an unlikely combination, but no worse than any other. Ford, if he wins, could go to John Connally of Texas as his vice presidential choice. Reagan, if he wins, could go to Elliot Richardson, who is always willing, or some-

body else, but unless Ford and Reagan supporters combine against the Democrats, the Republicans will be in serious trouble.

Would Reagan accept second place? The chances are that, if he lost the scramble for the uncommitted Republican delegates, he would. He has done very well in the primaries, better than he expected against a President of his own party. He has clung obstinately to everything that's out of date, but he has a dedicated following, and in the vice presidency, he would have a better role in Washington than he ever had in Hollywood.

In fact, the vice presidency, if it weren't for the possibility of leading to the presidency, is almost perfect for Reagan: decorative, theatrical, and not too much work. Besides, he would have more power to argue his conservative philosophy in Washington as vice president than in retirement, and even if a Ford-Reagan ticket lost in November, he would have at least one last part to play on the national stage.

WOULD FORD ACCEPT Reagan on the ticket after all Reagan has said against Ford's policies? Probably yes. Ford knows the dangers of going into the autumn campaign with a divided party. He can read the polls. He is not the sort to take Reagan's political remarks about Panama, Rhodesia or the Soviet Union too seriously. He is a forgiving man, and having pardoned Nixon, he could presumably forgive Reagan.

At the beginning of this election, the Republicans had the option of finding their young men and looking to the future, but they have an infallible instinct for doing the wrong thing, and they chose to go with men in their 60's.

The Democratic leaders, if they had had their way, would probably have done the same thing, but Carter, the new boy, knocked them over, and is now putting together the party organization, the labor union leaders and the Democratic governors and mayors in a unified effort to recapture the White House.

This would be a problem even for a unified minority Republican Party. Accordingly, a Ford-Reagan ticket may not be as unlikely or silly as it now seems.



LOS ANGELES TIMES SYNDICATED BY WASHINGTON STAR

CRAMPTON

President Ford

"A Winner in November"

The greatest concern to all Republicans as we draw near the National Convention in Kansas City, is selecting a Presidential candidate who is most capable of leading the Party to victory against the probable Democratic nominee--Jimmy Carter.

As concerned Republicans, we have to listen to every argument, because we are the ones who would feel the grass-roots effect of a Democratic sweep. So what do the non-partisan, independent pollsters have to say?

MYTH #1: Ronald Reagan will run stronger than Ford against Carter in the South.

TRUTH : President Ford has run consistently better than Reagan against Carter in the South.

	<u>Ford</u>	<u>Carter</u>	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Carter</u>
HARRIS SURVEY May 6, 1976	38%	55%	32%	56%
N.Y. TIMES* May 28, 1976	44%	-	39%	-
HARRIS SURVEY@ June 4, 1976	48%	-	40%	-
GALLUP POLL June 21, 1976	32%	61%	30%	65%

Ford Most Electable GOPer

By LEE BANDY
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — If Republican Ronald Reagan has a better chance against Democrat Jimmy Carter in the South in November, as he claims he would, it certainly isn't reflected in the latest Gallup Poll.

The new figures show the Californian would get clobbered by the Georgian in Dixie by an even wider margin than President Ford.

The survey gave Carter a landslide lead of 65 to 30 percent over Reagan, with 5 percent undecided. The former Peach State governor lead Ford 61 to 32 percent, with 7 percent undecided.

That's not encouraging news for either Republican. But it successfully shatters Reagan's main argument that he, not Ford, would do better in the South against Carter.

Reagan has run what he likes to call a "sunbelt strategy," aimed at winning the South, the Southwest and some far west states. He virtually has ignored the rest of the United States.

Nationally, the latest Gallup Poll also shows Ford doing much better against Carter than Reagan. The President trails the Georgian by 14 points. Reagan is much further behind, 23 points to be exact.

So, the question of electability is raised again as both Ford and Reagan pursue delegates between now and the Kansas City convention August 16. And at this point, judging by the surveys, Ford appears to have the better sales pitch: "I'm more electable." He could also add: "I have more experience and am better qualified."

Harry S. Dent, architect of the successful 1968 "southern strategy" for Richard Nixon and now chief Dixie delegate hunter for the Ford campaign, says the latest Gallup Poll findings show "why we need the President at the top of the ticket." Dent is promoting a Ford-Reagan ticket, and claims the Reagan delegates are receptive to the idea.

The former White House aide to Nixon also says the

President now is telling delegates that no one, including Reagan, is being ruled out as a running mate. Ford points out he offered Reagan two Cabinet positions and that he would not have done so if the Californian were not compatible.

"A Ford-Reagan ticket is more of a possibility today than a few weeks ago," Dent stated. He said that with a few exceptions, "every Reagan delegate I talked to, likes that (a Ford-Reagan ticket). It's selling. The Reagan delegates are buying this. They want to preserve the Republican party."

Gov. James B. Edwards, meanwhile, is working at cross purposes with Dent, twisting arms in favor of Reagan. He and other Reagan apostles refuse to bend or believe the Gallup Poll. They don't believe any survey unless it makes their man look good.

While Reagan is considered an effective spokesman for conservative ideas and is liked and respected as a human being, those who have worked closely with him in the past say the former movie actor is unqualified to be President.

Reagan is pictured as a nine-to-five executive who has difficulty involving himself in the day-to-day world of government. His past associates say he lacks persistence and stamina required by a round-the-clock Presidency.

Reagan, the eldest candidate running at age 65, appears to know little about the workings of the federal gov-



ernment and less about foreign policy.

While Ford may not be the strongest and most attractive nominee the GOP could find, he appears to be much more acceptable to the national electorate than Reagan.

A party that represents only 18 per cent of the people could be flirting with disaster, if not destruction, should it defeat an incumbent President at its Kansas City convention.

If Reagan is the nominee, Jimmy Carter will be free to travel the middle road which seems to appeal to the majority of Americans.

But with Ford at the helm of the GOP, the Carter forces fear the President will preempt, the middle ground, thus forcing the Democratic nominee to be cast as the liberal in November.

So, the Republican delegates are faced with two choices: picking a nominee who, regardless of how hard he tried, would not be able to shed his "reckless, extremist" image, or selecting an experienced, steady but not flashy politician who has brought decency and honesty to the White House.

IMPACT

Region

4-C THE STATE— Sunday, June 27, 1976



Friday, June 25, 1976

Dear Subscriber:

The talk in the Oval Office at the White House is -- "team up with Reagan."

Though cool to the idea, President Ford is starting to see the logic of it. He is turning it over carefully -- hearing out the proponents who come to call.

Ford's a realist. He knows that Jimmy Carter is way out front in the polls and he knows too that internal discord could destroy the GOP's election hopes.

Old, close advisers have been putting it to him bluntly: Join with Reagan or forget it -- "only a unified Republican Party can be successful this year."

The victory formula? Hold onto all Republican votes, then go out and get enough Democrats and independents to offset Carter's basic numerical advantage. Conversations at the White House sift some bleak probabilities: Should the GOP fail to come to terms with itself and get Ford and Reagan into the same harness there will be bitterness, defections and perhaps the worst GOP loss since 1964.

Neither Ford nor Reagan can afford at this point to talk openly of a merger. They would lose face and credibility. But -- their friends can do some talking, and that is what will happen in the weeks ahead -- gradual moves toward unity, meetings that don't get in the papers, cooling down of the roughhouse rhetoric.

Ford will take the initiative, because he has a narrow edge in delegates and could make the reconciliation bid in a graceful way through intermediaries.

The approach will be simple: We'd make a great team. Reagan to nail down votes in the South and West -- including some conservative Democrats -- and Ford to exploit Carter's rather shaky position in the Midwest and Northeastern states.

Note that Reagan -- even as No. 2 on the ticket -- would still have stature. Why so? He's made a comeback that is already one of the year's biggest stories. Now a seasoned campaigner, Reagan is persuasive and has proved he's no quitter. Some Carterites, by the way, say a Ford-Reagan team is the only fear they have.

Survey Finds Ford as Strong as Reagan in the South

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON

President Ford would be at least as strong a Republican Presidential nominee in the South and West as would Ronald Reagan, according to the latest national survey of voter attitudes by The New York Times and CBS News.

But the survey also showed that if the election were held today, Jimmy Carter, the apparent Democratic Presidential nominee, would swamp either Republican by a margin of about 2 to 1.

Those findings, along with others in the survey, suggested that electability—the focus of contention between Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan in their current struggle for a majority at the Republican National Convention—might be a moot point. The two rivals seemed, in effect, to be beating a dead elephant in debating which of them would be more electable in November.

The nationwide opinion sampling indicated that the contest for the Republican nomination had produced a more intense and a broader split in the party than had been previously detected.

It suggested that as many as half of the Republicans who supported each contender were prepared either to defect to Mr. Carter or to boycott the elec-

tion in November if their favorite lost the Republican nomination.

The magnitude of the potential defections could buttress emerging sentiment at the President's national campaign headquarters for the consideration of Mr. Reagan as a running mate if Mr. Ford won the nomination.

Conversely, it could compel Mr. Reagan to use the choice of a ticket mate to make some overture to Mr. Ford's supporters if the Californian emerged as the Republican nominee.

The Times/CBS sampling of opinion among 1,453 voters, including 466 Republicans, indicated that Mr. Reagan's successes in party primaries and delegates contests in the South and West would not necessarily make him a more formidable nominee than Mr. Ford in the two regions, as the Californian's strategists have contended.

According to the survey findings, the President would fare better than would Mr. Reagan among all voters in the south—Republicans, Democrats and independents—and in the West would be about as strong a Carter challenger as would Mr. Reagan.

Ford Widens Lead

Despite continued evidence that Mr. Reagan was the preferred nominee of Republicans in the West, the survey showed that Mr. Ford had substantially widened a lead in popularity among Southern Republicans in the last month, a period marked by the President's widely advertised search for an alternative to court-ordered busing as a means to desegregate public schools.

The poll findings most relevant to the intense contest for the Republican nomination were those suggesting the scope of the division that it had created in the party.

While earlier Times/CBS surveys of voters in Republican primaries had indicated that a third or more of each candidate's partisans might defect if the other won the nomination, the new nationwide survey pointed toward an even broader split.

Among Republicans identifying themselves as supporters of Mr. Reagan, 30 percent said that if Mr. Ford won the nomination, they would vote for Mr. Carter and 20 percent said they would not vote at all.

Among those who said that they backed Mr. Ford, 31 percent said that if Mr. Reagan were nominated they would defect to Mr. Carter, and 25 percent said they would not participate in the Nov. 2 election.

The magnitude of the potential defections in the fall campaign could compel the President and Mr. Reagan to give serious consideration to joining forces on a Republican ticket.

A majority of Republicans on both sides of the nominating contest agreed that Mr. Ford had been correct to pardon former President Richard M. Nixon, that school busing under court orders should be curtailed, that the scope of Federal Government activity should be reduced, that the President was right in regarding inflation as a more serious economic problem than unemployment, that military spending should be increased and that the United States should be wary of détente with the Soviet Union.

One curious facet of the survey was that the bulk of Republicans supported Mr. Reagan's contentions that the United States was slipping behind the Soviet in military preparedness and that détente had been more advantageous to Moscow than to Washington.

Even so, the party as a whole preferred the President over Mr. Reagan by slightly less than 2 to 1, a margin comparable to those in four previous Times/CBS national surveys.

The explanation for the apparent contradiction appeared to rest in large part on the fact that the economy was a somewhat more dominant issue among Republicans than was national security. Support for the President among those on both sides of the foreign policy issues rose in direct proportion to the extent of Republicans' satisfaction with the health of the economy.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dick Cheney

1) What is status
of Pres. Ford Agreements
Brochure.

Memo to
Gergen
July 21, 1976

ORIGINAL RETIRED TO
SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Phillips 7/27/76

Bill Walker - the
from Ray Motters.
Received yesterday.

\$500.00

ORIGINAL RETIRED TO
SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE

Dick Cheney

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Log of Morton

Melton Hoffman

3:24 P.M.
7/28/76

Adm.

He wants to know
who to get in touch
with.

Called over
to Melton -
3:24 P.M.
7/28/76
Bue

ORIGINAL RETIRED TO
SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Earl Butz -
Farmers for Food
Duck Liny
✓ Ken French

Pass to
Spencer

AUG 1 1976

ORIGINAL RETIRED TO
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dick Cheney

*Key quotes for
farmers.* ✓

AUG 3 1976

Cheney

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 9, 1976

RBC:

Secretary Butz, Paul O'Neill and Jim Cavanaugh
have all signed off on the Agriculture Brochure.

Do you want to run it by the President so that
we can get it over to the PFC quickly?

Approve

NE

Minor changes.

Disapprove _____

kathie

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THIS HAS BEEN

RECEIVED

August 3, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK CHENEY

FROM:

JIM FIELD

I checked the attached note from the President to you out. Congressman Spences' A. A. is not a delegate and I think the President's brother has the situation confused with Congressman Trent Lott's A. A., Tom Anderson. In any event, both the PFC operation and Harry Dent are working on the South Carolina delegation in toto.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dick Cheney

My brother Tom says that
Floyd Spencer A. A. who
is a delegate from S.C. has
not been contacted by me or
Raym.

Doesn't sound logical but
I will if desired.

Harry Dent's reaction?
Say he is uncommitted.

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