

**The original documents are located in Box 17, folder “President - Telephone Calls (8)” of the Richard B. Cheney Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.**

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# President Ford Committee

1828 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 457-6400

July 29th, 1976

## RECOMMENDED PHONE CALL FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO: Jim Field

FROM: <sup>J.B.</sup> Jim Baker / <sup>WR</sup> Bill Russo

RE: Glenn Annexstad (Glenn)  
St. Paul, Minnesota  
507/246-5207

### BACKGROUND:

Mr. Annexstad was elected as an uncommitted delegate at the 2nd. District Convention (Cong. Hagedorn's). He is a close friend of Ancher Nelsen's. Two weeks ago, he committed publicly to Reagan. However, he was very upset by Sen. Schweiker's nomination. Nelsen called him and he opened the possibility of switching. He then called Ancher Nelsen back last night (7/28) and asked who the President was considering for Vice President. Ancher went over the standard list, and stressed the President's statement that the choice would be compatible with the Ford record.

Carol Wilson

### TALKING POINTS:

My friend Ancher Nelsen has relayed a message to me that you are concerned about my Vice Presidential Choice. I want to assure you that my choice will be in step with the record of my administration and my philosophy. (stress if necessary the conservative achievements of the Ford record) I have consistently stood by this position and my credibility in the general election will be at least partially judged by this choice.

8/3/76  
Very good conversation -  
He asked questions + 2 answered  
very satisfactorily -  
I would venture 90%  
for me.

ORIGINAL RETIRED TO  
SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE

(If Annexstad is responsive) It is very important for the Party that we are together going into the convention. As you know, events of this campaign since the North Dakota covention have put me over the top for the nomination. However, the more secure the nomination is, the less chance there is of a division battle at the conventior You can help our Party by your willingness to make a public commitment prior to the convention.



July 29, 1976

*Notation passed  
to Jim Field*

*8/3*

*720*

MEMORANDUM FOR: ~~DF~~ DICK CHENEY  
FROM: JIM FIELD  
SUBJECT: Presidential Telephone Recommendations

I ask that the attached two calls be approved and sent along to the President. I believe the calls are in order.



# President Ford Committee

1828 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 457-6400

August 2, 1976

## RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO: Jim Field

FROM: *JMB* Jim Baker/Paul Manafort *PJM*

RE: Governor Arch Moore  
West Virginia  
(304) 348-2000

DATE: No later than Thursday morning, August 5th.

BACKGROUND: Moore has guaranteed 20 delegates for the President. The present PFC public count reads 20 President Ford, 7 Ronald Reagan, 1 uncommitted. Our actual count lists 10 public, 7 privately leaning, 3 expected to support the President, 1 truly uncommitted.

Moore started to call the delegates to get their public endorsements on Saturday July 31. Their state convention is this Saturday, August 7, and Reagan is expected to address it. Moore assures us that it will have no effect.

The purpose of this call is to spark Moore. The approach should stress that this is an opportunity for West Virginia to appear to put the President beyond the reach of Reagan. Most media counts do not accept our 20 delegates. Their range is from 8 to 13.

### TALKING POINTS:

- 1) How is the West Virginia delegate count coming along?
- 2) The public support of the West Virginia delegation would be of great benefit to my campaign at this time.
- 3) West Virginia has the opportunity to be the state that puts us over the top in everyone's count.
- 4) Do you think you can get your delegates to go public this week? If not, by when?

*8/33/76 - 20 to 22 for sure. Don't worry.  
After State Convention expect to put out commitments  
by signatures.  
See no crisis in Pa or N.J.  
He says Howard Cooverman says.*

ORIGINAL RETIRED TO  
SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 2, 1976

Dick,

Jim Cannon strongly believes  
that the President should  
call the Vice President about  
his Platform testimony.

I recommend that the call be  
made today.

*Mike*

Mike

8/3/76

V. P. will do.  
Is calling Pres. Ray +  
Senator Stucka.

ORIGINAL RETIRED TO  
SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE

Notation passed  
to Duval 8/3

TDD

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 2, 1976

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Vice President Rockefeller

DATE: Monday, August 2, 1976

RECOMMENDED BY: Dick Cheney, Mike Duval

PURPOSE: To ask the Vice President to present the Administration's foreign and defense policies in testimony before the Republican Platform Committee hearings in Kansas City next week.

BACKGROUND: The Platform Committee begins its public hearings in Kansas City on Monday, August 9. You have agreed to ask the Vice President to present the Administration's position on foreign and defense policy.

It is important that the Vice President clearly be speaking on your behalf and at your direction.

- TALKING POINTS:
- Governor Ray will hold hearings of the full 106-member Platform Committee in Kansas City, beginning a week from today (Monday, August 9). I would like you to present the Administration's position on foreign and defense policy.
  - I understand that Governor Ray and Governor Reagan's staff have been consulted about the possibility of your testifying, and they agree that it would be an excellent idea.
  - My staff, working with Governor Ray and Governor Reagan's staff, have developed some Platform language in the foreign policy national defense area. These working papers may be of use to you in preparing your testimony.



# President Ford Committee

1828 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 457-6400

July 12, 1976

## RECOMMENDED PHONE CALL FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO: Jim Field

FROM: Jim Baker *JAB*

RE: Howard Corcoran Delegate  
West Virginia H.304/242-0684  
O.304/232-7337

DATE: A.S.A.P.,

BACKGROUND: Mr. Corcoran did not visit the White House with the West Virginia Delegation. This visit occurred prior to certification by the Secretary of State and at a time when Corcoran was losing in the vote tabulation. Corcoran is publicly uncommitted and he is close to Gov. Moore and expected to vote for The President in Kansas City.

### POINTS OF DISCUSSION:

- 1) I would like to congratulate you on your election as a delegate, and your selection to the Permanent Organization Committee.
- 2) I'm only sorry that you were not able to be part of the West Virginia delegation's visit to the White House.
- 3) We must stress party unity in order to win in November.
- 4) The momentum is starting to build again for us since North Dakota and Colorado, and I hope you will join our ranks now so we can go to the Convention with the necessary votes for a first ballot victory.
- 5) Betty and I look forward to seeing you in Kansas City.



*8/3/76*  
*staying uncommitted.*  
*whether announcement really*  
*upset people.*  
*Don't announce my U.P.*  
*before my nomination.*  
*all for Ford / Reagan ticket.*  
*Note Hall. Moore comment.*

**ORIGINAL RETIRED TO SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE**

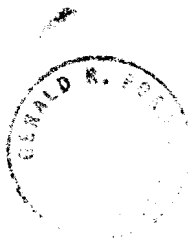


NOTATION PASSED  
to FIELD  
TOP  
8/3

August 2, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:  DICK CHENEY  
FROM:  JIM FIELD  
SUBJECT: Presidential Telephone Recommendations

The attached two phone call recommendations are crucial that they be made within the next 48 hours. Reagan and Schweiker are going to West Virginia Saturday and both of these calls make sense.



*Passed to  
Jim Field 8/3  
BD*

RECOMMENDED PRESIDENTIAL TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Mr. Eldon Ulmer (Uncommitted Delegate from  
Alaska)  
907-277-2567 (o), 907-344-1260 (h)

DATE: As soon as possible

RECOMMENDED BY: *JF* Jim Field (per Jim Baker)

THROUGH: Richard B. Cheney

BACKGROUND: Mr. Ulmer should be called first as Mrs. Zubeck  
is employed by him. Mr. Ulmer is leaning  
towards Reagan. He was unseated as the  
National Committeeman.

TALKING POINTS: 1. I would like to congratulate you on your election  
as a delegate.

2. I understand and respect your stand on being  
uncommitted, but I hope I can count on your  
vote in Kansas City.

Date Submitted:

July 22, 1976

ACTION 8/3/76

*Talked with both Mr. Ulmer & Mrs. Zubeck.  
Both truly uncommitted but are reasonable  
& I made a good impression.*

ORIGINAL RETIRED TO  
SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE

**RECOMMENDED PRESIDENTIAL TELEPHONE CALL**

**TO:** Alfred M. Landon, Kansas  
913-233-4136 (o), 913-272-2460 (h)

**DATE:** As soon as possible

**FROM:** Jim Field

**THROUGH:** Richard B. Cheney

**PURPOSE:** To invite Al Landon to the Republican National Convention as your personal guest.

**BACKGROUND:** It has been suggested that you call Al Landon and invite him to the Republican National Convention. Mr. Landon is now 89 years of age and lives in Topeka, Kansas. He served as a First Lieutenant in the United States Army during World War I; served as Governor of Kansas for two terms (1933-37); and was the Republican Nominee for President in 1936.

We are informed that Mr. Landon is in excellent health, comes to his office to work nearly every day, and is active occasionally riding his horse or working around his residence.

**Date Submitted:**

August 5, 1976

**ACTION** \_\_\_\_\_



August 4, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: RICHARD B. CHENEY  
FROM: RICHARD S. BRANNON  
SUBJECT: Alfred M. Landon

Mr. Landon is now 89 years of age and lives in Topeka, Kansas. He served as a First Lt., U. S. Army during World War I; served as Governor of Kansas for two terms (1933-37); and was the Republican Nominee for President in 1936.

We are informed that Mr. Landon is in excellent health, comes to his office to work nearly every day. He is active, occasionally riding his horse or working around his residence. My secretary, Marba Perrott, spoke with his secretary, but gave no hint of any Presidential interest, so they are not expecting any action by President Ford.

Mr. Landon's secretary is: Mrs. Judy Markley

Telephones: (913) 272-2460 - home

(913) 233-4136 - office

Address: 521 Westchester Rd., Topeka, Kansas 66606



# President Ford Committee

1828 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 457-6400

August 2, 1976

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.....

## REQUESTED PHONE CALL FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO : Jim Field

FROM : *JBF* Jim Baker/Paul Manafort *PM*

RE : Cecil Underwood  
West Virginia Delegate and Republican Candidate for Governor  
(304) 233-2060

WHEN : No later than 6:00 P.M. on August 3

BACKGROUND : Underwood is an uncommitted delegate leaning Ford. He is worried that his gubernatorial race could be harmed by his decision. He would like the President to campaign in West Virginia. His opponent is Jay Rockefeller.

He is aware of the President's mandate in the primary (60%) and feels that Reagan would not help him in the general election.

The President spoke with him before the West Virginia delegation had lunch at the White House, and indicated that the two of them would have a private conversation during that luncheon. No such conversation took place. A call now would be helpful on firming up Underwood. If some possibility of a campaign visit can be mentioned, it would be beneficial.

Underwood needs Moore's endorsement and he might ask the President to help arrange it. Moore has indicated that he will endorse Underwood at a later date. Underwood will be leaving on Wednesday for Charleston where the state convention is being held on Saturday. This convention will adopt a platform for the statewide candidates. It is rumored that Reagan will address the convention. Therefore, this call should be made no later than Tuesday.

- 1) at this time, our count shows that we are over the 1130 mark (1134). The key now is to go to Kansas City as unite as we possibly can be in order to insure a victory for our Party in November. To do this, we are trying to announce as many extra delegates as we can.
- 2) I feel that my showing in the primary (60%) indicates that I can be helpful to you in November. (If I can arrange it, I would like to visit West Virginia during the campaign)
- 3) At this time I would appreciate your support. Can I use your name publicly?

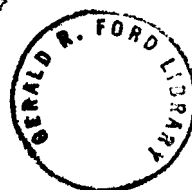
ORIGINAL RETIRED TO SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE

*8/3/76  
out of town  
until wed. 8/4.  
Left word.  
8/6/76 - staying  
uncommitted because  
of Governor's race.*

*Passed this on to  
Jim Field 8/7/76  
JBF*

Cecil Underwood (continued)

- 4) Will you talk with other members of the West Virginia delegation for me? Who do you think you can speak with?



ORIGINAL RETIRED TO  
SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE

*Passed to him  
Date: 8/6*

*TOD*

RECOMMENDED PRESIDENTIAL TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Charles Wolfe (Pennsylvania delegate, 19th District), 717-757-7611

DATE: As soon as possible

RECOMMENDED BY: *JF* Jim Field (per Jim Baker and Richard Frame, Pennsylvania State Chairman)

THROUGH: Richard B. Cheney

BACKGROUND: Richard Frame, Pennsylvania Republican State Chairman, told you last evening that if you were to call Charles Wolfe that Wolfe would then release his support for you. Wolfe is President of the York Container Company and has been uncommitted to this point. He is very fond of Rog Morton and Rog called him earlier but was unable to get a firm commitment. It is very important to the President Ford Committee to be able to announce Wolfe today to counter any Reagan announcement coming out of his meeting with the Pennsylvania delegation today.

*8/6/76  
He is announcing  
locally right now  
with local press &  
authorities to be  
announced.*

- TALKING POINTS:
1. I appreciate the opportunity to talk with you.
  2. I would be grateful if I could count on your support.
  3. November will be a difficult race, but I am confident that I can win; but it is important that the Party leave Kansas City as united as possible. I am sure you realize the stronger I am on the first ballot the better chance there is that we can leave the Convention united.
  4. I appreciate your support and look forward to seeing you in Kansas City and working with you toward victory in November not just for the Presidency but in local and congressional races as well.

Date Submitted:

August 6, 1976

ORIGINAL RETIRED TO  
SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE

**RECOMMENDED PRESIDENTIAL TELEPHONE CALL**

**TO:** Charles Wolfe (Pennsylvania delegate, 19th District), 717-757-7611

**DATE:** As soon as possible

**RECOMMENDED BY:** Jim Field (per Jim Baker and Richard Frame, Pennsylvania State Chairman)

**THROUGH:** Richard B. Cheney

**BACKGROUND:** Richard Frame, Pennsylvania Republican State Chairman, told you last evening that if you were to call Charles Wolfe that Wolfe would then release his support for you. Wolfe is President of the York Container Company and has been uncommitted to this point. He is very fond of Reg Merton and Reg called him earlier but was unable to get a firm commitment. It is very important to the President Ford Committee to be able to announce Wolfe today to counter any Reagan announcement coming out of his meeting with the Pennsylvania delegation today.

**TALKING POINTS:**

1. I appreciate the opportunity to talk with you.
2. I would be grateful if I could count on your support.
3. November will be a difficult race, but I am confident that I can win; but it is important that the Party leave Kansas City as united as possible. I am sure you realize the stronger I am on the first ballot the better chance there is that we can leave the Convention united.
4. I appreciate your support and look forward to seeing you in Kansas City and working with you toward victory in November not just for the Presidency but in local and congressional races as well.

**Date Submitted:**

August 6, 1976





August 6, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK CHENEY

FROM: *JF* JIM FIELD

SUBJECT: Presidential Telephone Recommendations

*done*  
There are two critical telephone calls that must be made today. One is attached to Charles Wolfe in Pennsylvania and is self-explanatory and based on the President's conversation with Dick Frame last night. The second is the one to West Virginia gubernatorial candidate Cecil Underwood. The West Virginia State Convention is tomorrow and Reagan and Schweiker are going to be there.

Dick, these calls have to be made today.

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~  
~~\_\_\_\_\_~~

cc: Terry O'Donnell



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

8/7

Kathie —

This is probably  
already done —  
but a good  
idea —



Jan 7.

# President Ford Committee

1828 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 457-6400

August 5, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JIM FIELD

FROM:

JAMES A. BAKER, III/  
CLIFF HUMPHREY

RE:

CONDOLENCE TELEGRAM TO THE  
FAMILY OF DECEASED INDIANA  
DELEGATE - O.C. CARMICHAEL

BACKGROUND:

Mr. O.C. Carmichael was a former treasurer and finance committee chairman for the Republican National Committee.

Mr. Carmichael was to be a Ford delegate to the National Convention in Kansas City.

Mr. Carmichael is survived by his wife and two daughters.

I recommend that we send a telegram expressing our sincere sympathy to Mr. Carmichael's family. It should be addressed to:

The Carmichael Family  
110 North Esther Street  
South Bend, Indiana 46617

Attached for your information, is a clipping from the New York Times of Mr. Carmichael's obituary notice.



*Flowers were sent & letter was sent to Mrs. Carmichael*  
*KB*  
*8-10-76*



Thursday, August 5, 1976



O. C. Carmichael Jr.

## O. C. Carmichael Jr., 56, Dead; Headed G.O.P. Finance Group

SOUTH BEND, Ind., Aug. 4 (AP)—O. C. Carmichael Jr., former treasurer and finance committee chairman for the Republican National Committee, died here yesterday after suffering a heart attack while playing tennis. He was 56 years old.

Mr. Carmichael was chairman of the board of the Associates Corporation of North America and the FBT Corporation Inc., a holding company controlling a South Bend bank and finance companies in Indiana and southern Michigan. He has been a behind-the-scenes power in Indiana Republican politics.

Mr. Carmichael served as director of development and dean of students at Vanderbilt University, from which he received both bachelor's and master's degrees.

### Served in the Navy

He was a Navy commander in the Pacific in World War II. He later earned a law degree from Duke University and a doctorate in public law and government from Columbia University.

In recent years, Mr. Carmichael served as chairman of the Indiana Commission for Higher Education and as a trustee of the University of Notre Dame.

He resigned his national posts with the Republican Party last September in the wake of reports of a squabble between himself and the national chairman, Mary Louise Smith.

Mr. Carmichael, who had considerable fundraising success with the Indiana Republican party, accepted the posts at President Ford's invitation. He held them about a year and a half before resigning.

Mr. Carmichael had been elected a delegate to the upcoming Republican National Convention in Kansas City, Mo.

### Served As College Head

Special to The New York Times

SOUTH BEND, Ind., Aug. 4 —Mr. Carmichael was elected president of Converse College, Spartanburg, S. C., in 1956. He resigned in 1960 to become board chairman of the Associates Corporation, which became a subsidiary of Gulf & Western Industries Inc., and in 1969 was elected to the Gulf & Western board of directors.

Mr. Carmichael is survived by his wife Ernestine, two daughters, Carmen and Ernestine, and two sons, Oliver and Stanley. A funeral service will be held tomorrow at the First Presbyterian Church in South Bend.

Passed to  
Field  
8/9/76

TELEPHONE CALL RECOMMENDATION

**TO:** Mr. Frank Gargullo  
New York Delegate  
212/625-6327

**DATE:** Friday, August 6, 1976  
Call must be made between 8 and 9:00 AM

**RECOMMENDED BY:** Dick Cheney and Jim Baker

**PURPOSE:** To ask Mr. Gargullo for his support.

**BACKGROUND:** Mr. Gargullo is a New York Delegate for Reagan. Both Dick Rosenbaum and Jim Baker feel that a call from the President to Gargullo would spring an endorsement for the President, as he is soft.

*Washer*

*(10:40 A.M.)*

**ACTION:** 8/9/76 - He is committed  
August 5, 1976 *for Ford & will let Dick Rosenbaum know.*



ORIGINAL RETIRED TO  
SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE

Found to be  
8/9/76  
TAD

August 6, 1976

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: MR. BEN HARBOR  
Telephone: (504) 775-7391  
Louisiana Delegate

DATE: As Soon as Possible.

RECOMMENDED BY: JIM BAKER

BACKGROUND: Ben, Harbor, the only Black delegate from Louisiana, indicated a week ago that he wanted to switch from Reagan to President Ford. He was on vacation in California at the time and wanted to wait until he got back to Louisiana to make his statement. Upon returning to Louisiana, he received substantial pressure not to switch and told Jim Baker he was going to wait a week or so to really make up his mind.

About 4:00 p. m. today (Friday, August 6, 1976) Mr. Baker got word that Mr. Harbor had resolved his problem and would commit if the President called him. The President should call Mr. Harbor and ask him to send Jim Baker a telegram (COLLECT) saying "I pledge my vote to President Ford in Kansas City." The telegram should be sent to Mr. Baker at the President Ford Committee, Suite 250, 1828 L Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. (Mr. Baker can be reached at area code 202-363-9637, should Mr. Harbor want to reach him.)

*9/9/76 - 10:30 AM*  
*Will try to do something by Thursday. In some cases he is bothered by his commitment. Yachopp with R. forces pushing him too hard. Worried about community pressure.*

ORIGINAL RETIRED TO  
SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE

#1

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

FOR MR. S. S. S.

AUGUST 9, 1976

DICK

TIMMONS WANTS THE  
PRESIDENT TO CALL SENATOR  
SCOTT TO ASK HIM TO GO OUT  
TO KANSAS CITY TOMORROW  
TO BE PLATFORM COMMITTEE  
WHIP. PFC AND DUVAL AGREED

TERRY

*8/9/76  
Talked with him. He  
will be active.*

ORIGINAL RETIRED TO  
SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE

Passed to Field  
8/9/76  
TOP

RECOMMENDED PRESIDENTIAL TELEPHONE CALL

TO: State Senator John Ostlund (Uncommitted Wyoming Delegate) 307-682-4649

DATE: As soon as possible

RECOMMENDED BY: Jim Field (per Jim Baker)

THROUGH: Richard B. Cheney

BACKGROUND: The Wyoming State Convention elected a national convention delegation that most media sources list as heavily Reagan. However, we believe there are targets of opportunity within the delegation, even though most have met with Reagan.

Mr. Ostlund is a State Senator who lives in Gillette, Wyoming. He is a delegate from Wyoming who supports President Ford. The Reagan people, especially their state Chairman made a special effort to foreclose from the delegation any person who would not commit to Reagan, including Mr. Ostlund. Our people saved him and several others through implementation of certain rules and procedures at the state convention.

Ostlund was a guest at a State Dinner last week and is very close to committing to your candidacy. He will undoubtedly raise the subject of the recently vetoed mineral leasing bill.

I wanted to touch base with you because I am very anxious to have support from members of the Wyoming delegation. I was pleased that you were able to come to town last week for the dinner in honor of Prime Minister Fraser and enjoyed seeing you.

1. We are confident of a first ballot victory in Kansas City but would like to go to the Convention with as big a margin as possible. I need the help of elected leaders, like yourself, and hope that you will take a public position.

9/9/76 (11:10 AM)  
Must stay uncommitted  
but in position he is  
with us. Ford close  
gentleman. I don't think  
we should push him too  
hard

TALKING POINTS: 1.





284 West Main Street  
Danville, Virginia 24541  
July 13, 1976

## ATTACHMENT "A"

Jim  
File-0  
2m 191  
EOB

President Gerald Ford  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear President Ford:

I am writing as a uncommitted delegate elected at a district convention in Virginia, who in some polls is being counted as a Reagan delegate. I have appreciated all of the correspondence from you and others and after receiving Barry Goldwater's thoughtful well written, and persuasive letter, I had decided to vote for you at the convention.

However, today in the same mail I received two letters, one from Ronald Reagan, a thoughtful, issue oriented, sincere well done one; and one from Rogers Morton. I have now returned to uncommitted and because I sincerely believe this is one of the most difficult decisions I must ever make, I have some observations and questions.

First, the observations--I believe your strongest point is that you are the incumbent President who has done at times a tremendous job under trying circumstances of returning this country to economic and emotional stability. Also using Goldwater's argument this country does not need six more months of upheaval if a new President is elected. Then Rogers Morton's letter argues from auth Time magazine and the Washington Post that you are less far behind Carter than Reagan and therefore, should be nominated. To me this is incredible. I wonder if your Presidential campaign is going to be run in that manner and therefore, lose your advantage as the sitting President. Perhaps that has been the difficulty all along. In addition, I received the Delegate Special which on first appearance seems to be a Republican Committee publication and not partisan and that reminds me too much of the type of materials received in the not too distant past for which we as Republicans have paid too dearly already.

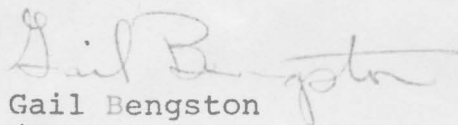
A final observation, it appears from the quality, legibility, readability of your staff's publications that the problem lies within the staff and their lack of competency. This is critical.

Finally, my questions--I have been unable to determine your position on the following issues and would appreciate knowing. Do you favor any type of guaranteed income? What is your position on Federal Health insurance--do you have a proposal and, if so, what are the basics? What, if anything, can the President do about forced busing--which is presently slowing down and destroying our schools here in Danville even though it was voluntary? How do you plan to maximize the benefits of incumbency?

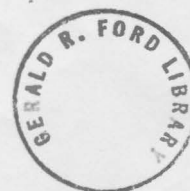


I feel it is imperative the the Republicans retain control of the Presidency, but I fell it can only be done on a straightforw issue oriented campaign. WE Now have the advantage. If you are th nominee, Carter must give people a good reason to remove you as President, and that, I believe, is something all polls have overlooked---and also something which sadly your campaign staff has overlooked also.

Sincerely,



Gail Bengston  
(Mrs. Gary L.)



# President Ford Committee

1828 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 457-6400

Passed to Field  
8/90  
TA)

July 22, 1976

## RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO: JIM FIELD

FROM: JIM BAKER *JMB*

RE: Mrs. Gary Bengston (Gail) (R)  
284 West Main Street  
Danville, Virginia 24541  
804/797-4010 (O)  
804/792-4842 (H)

DATE: A.S.A.P.

BACKGROUND: Mrs. Bengston wrote the President on 7/13/76 (see Attachment A). Although elected as a Reagan delegate, she indicated to Linwood Holton in a 7/16/76 phone conversation that she had planned to vote for the President at the convention but that a recent mailing from the PFC (see Attachment B) had upset her because she felt a recent Reagan mailing had been substantive and addressed the issues whereas she felt the PFC mailing didn't. This has turned her back to an uncommitted posture.

- TALKING POINTS:
- 1) I received your letter and wanted to personally respond to the substantive points you raised (see Attachment C).
  - 2) We're very encouraged about the campaign, the momentum that's developing our way and particularly by the developments in Virginia. We're now confident of getting over the 1130 mark before the convention.
  - 3) I would like to have your support in Kansas City. Betty and I look forward to seeing you there.

*9/10/76 - 6:30 P.M.  
Very friendly. Answered all her questions. No remaining uncommitted. Impressed by need of continuity*

ORIGINAL RETIRED TO  
SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE

## President Ford Committee

1828 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 457-6400

July 8, 1976

Dear Delegate:

As preparations continue for the Republican National Convention in Kansas City, I thought it would be helpful to keep you updated on developments in the campaign.

Here at the President Ford Committee, we believe that with each passing week, we are drawing nearer to the nomination of the President and -- of great importance -- to emergence from Kansas City with a strong, united Republican campaign leading to victory in November.

Yes, we can win. Skeptical? Don't be. For starters, take a look at this week's Time magazine which did a lot to put things in perspective:

"Despite Jimmy Carter's . . . lead . . . in all the national polls, Americans are far from sold on the Georgian as their next President. Doubts about him persist . . . "

Adds Time:

"Thus, the election may be closer than predicted, particularly if the Republicans nominate Ford, who is far more popular among the voters than Reagan."

In the last few days, there has also been good news on several other fronts:

- Members of the Republican National Committee met recently here in Washington in a session marked throughout by harmony. During their deliberations, the committee members overwhelmingly passed two resolutions that will surely help to strengthen the party. One explicitly calls upon Republicans to avoid divisive intra-party contests and urges that elected Republican officials not be excluded from major Party functions. The McGovernites of 1972 showed just how dangerous it is to practice the politics of exclusion.
- The second resolution is one that you are likely to hear more of in Kansas City. It calls upon each State delegation at the Convention to honor the results of the Presidential preference primaries in their respective states. Many RNC members are rightly concerned that the integrity of the primaries be maintained so that voters will not be disenfranchised and the primaries will not become meaningless exercises. The President Ford Committee strongly supports this resolution, and we urge its adoption at Kansas City.



- President Ford recently completed a very successful economic summit with the leaders of six other nations, winning agreement that inflation must be the number one economic concern of the major industrialized democracies. A slight uptick was reported in unemployment, but the overall economic indicators showed their biggest increase in ten (10) months, fueling greater confidence that by the end of the year, unemployment will be below seven percent (7%) and inflation will be less than half of what it was a year earlier. The economic recovery is becoming a highly potent weapon for a victory in November.
  
- On the delegate front, the President is now less than 100 votes from the magic number needed for nomination. Within the last few days, he has scored striking break-throughs with heretofore uncommitted delegates. There are increasing signs that this will continue. Result? A sweep to victory on the first ballot.
  
- Moreover, as November draws nearer, voters are beginning to think much more seriously about the kind of leadership they want in the next four years. And, as they do, the answer is more and more: "President Ford".

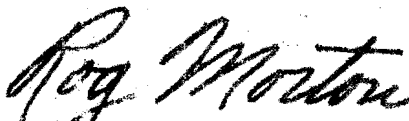
- Time magazine's poll shows that Governor Carter has widened his lead over Mr. Reagan from ten points (46-36) to a full twenty points (51-31).
  
- But against the President, Carter's lead is at a slim nine points (47-38).
  
- In the Midwest, the President leads Carter 43-41, but Carter beats Reagan 47-34.
  
- In the West, the President trails Carter by only two points (44-42), but Carter whips Reagan by 47-36.

What these figures tell me is that we've got a lot to be optimistic about.

Enclosed are several items which I hope that you will have a chance to read -- they point up many of the positive aspects of our campaign. In the meantime, if you have any questions, we welcome a call or letter.

I look forward to seeing each of you in Kansas City so that we can begin building toward a great victory in November.

Sincerely,

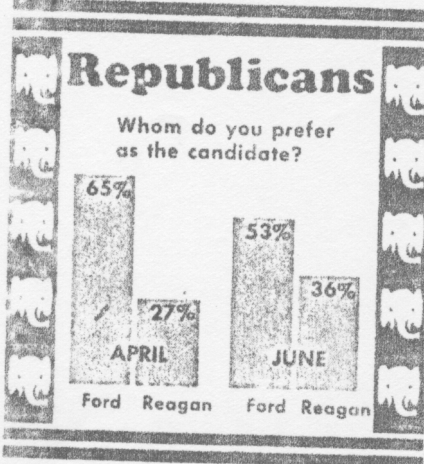
  
ROY C.B. MORTON



# The Election Could Be Close

Despite Jimmy Carter's wide lead over Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan in all the national polls, Americans are far from sold on the Georgian as their next President. Doubts about him persist even among registered Democrats: while 47% are satisfied with him as their party's nominee, 44% would prefer someone else. Thus the election may be far closer than predicted, particularly if the Republicans nominate Ford, who is far more popular among the voters than Reagan. This is the chief message of a nationwide telephone poll of 1,007 registered voters conducted for TIME from June 21 to 24 by Yankelovich, Skelly and White, Inc., an opinion-research firm.

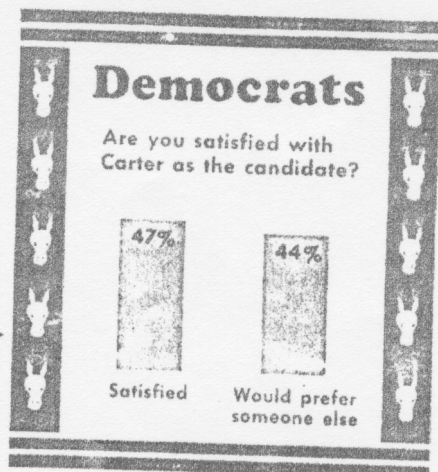
The survey found that Carter's lead over Reagan has widened since the early primaries. If the election were held today, Carter would trounce him by 51% to 31%, up from 46% to 36% in a poll in March. But Carter's edge over Ford has remained almost the same since late



April, 47% to 38%. The reason seems to be Carter's failure to overcome the antagonism of many Democrats and independents, particularly those who have liberal views on the issues.

Among the Democrats and independents who would like next week's convention to nominate someone else, 62% regard Carter's positions as fuzzy, and 58% believe that he changes them depending on his audience. More than a third of this group fault him for lack of experience in national office, and 40% feel that he does not understand regions of the country outside the South. By contrast, there is not much concern about Carter's evangelical religious beliefs or lack of a sense of humor.

Of five possible Democratic nominees for Vice President, Senator Frank Church of Idaho emerged as the most popular, followed by Senators Adlai Stevenson of Illinois, Walter Mondale of Minnesota and John Glenn of Ohio and Governor Michael Dukakis of Massa-

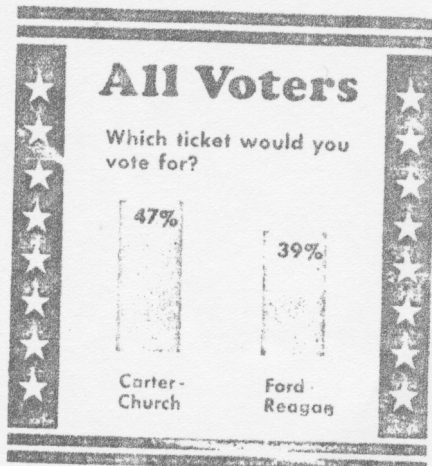


chusetts. A net of 14% of those polled said they would be more likely to vote for Carter if Church were on the ticket; any one of the other four men made much less difference to them. Church would strengthen Carter in those regions where he needs help the most: the West and Midwest.

On the Republican side, the poll found that Reagan's aggressive campaign has cut into Ford's support among the party's rank and file; he now leads Reagan among Republicans 53% to 36%, down from 65% to 27% in April. Reagan has also persuaded significant numbers of voters that Ford is "too soft" on the Russians (a view held by 45% of all voters interviewed), has no program for the country (38%), and has been a weak President (37%). Moreover, 45% are still upset about Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon.

But Ford remained a much stronger potential candidate than Reagan, even in the Sunbelt states. For example, in the West, Ford's support was almost the same as Carter's (42% to 44%), while Reagan trailed the Georgian 37% to 46%. In the Midwest, Ford led Carter, 43% to 41%, but Reagan was far behind Carter, 34% to 47%.

Large numbers of voters also have



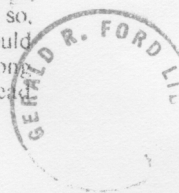
serious reservations about Reagan. Among them: 40% feel he does not understand foreign policy, 37% fear that he might get the U.S. into a war. Moreover, the poll suggested that many Republicans will defect to Carter if Reagan becomes the nominee. Among Republicans who back Ford, only 36% say that Reagan would be an acceptable nominee. In contrast, 64% of Reagan's supporters regard Ford as an acceptable candidate if the Californian loses the nomination.

For many Republicans, the best solution would be to have both candidates on the same ticket; 37% say that they would be more likely to vote for Ford if Reagan is his running mate, even though Reagan insists there is "no way" that he would run with Ford. Asked about four other possible nominees as Vice President, Republicans ranked Senator Howard Baker of Tennessee as their second choice, followed by Commerce Secretary Elliot Richardson, former Treasury Secretary John Connally and Vice President Nelson Rockefeller. But Baker and Richardson made a Republican ticket more attractive to the important independent voters, while the idea of Reagan, Connally or Rockefeller as a vice-presidential candidate turned them off. The survey found that none of the possible choices for Vice President would strengthen a Republican ticket headed by Reagan.

**Upbeat Mood.** Though Republican voters prefer a Ford-Reagan ticket, the poll showed that among all voters such a pairing would run behind a Carter-Church ticket 39% to 47%. That would be about the same outcome as a hypothetical contest between Ford and Carter without running mates.

If Ford gets the nomination, his chances of winning the election will depend largely on whether he can persuade Americans that the economy is really improving. Of those questioned, 44% now rank the economy as a more important issue than "moral leadership"; 35% thought it was the other way around. Inflation worries 47% of those surveyed; only 23% are deeply disturbed about unemployment, down seven points since April. The economy and leadership rank far ahead of all others as the most important issues, including crime (12%), taxes (8%), Big Government (6%), busing (4%), the Middle East (3%), pollution (2%), racial problems (2%) and the oil companies (1%).

A composite of questions designed to measure the national mood found that the proportion of Americans who feel things are going well in the country and are optimistic about the future has leveled off since March at 34%. Ford obviously is not getting across his message that the nation has rebounded from war, Watergate and recession. If he does so, and if he wins the nomination, he could make the election a horse race. Among voters in an upbeat mood, he runs ahead of Carter 53% to 35%.



# Ford Found Strong In Reagan Territory

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 election 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.

"I hate to say it," said a well-placed Ford campaign official, "but Reagan is beginning to make sense on a Ford ticket."

Although they emphasized that their assessment of a ticket containing the President's

rival was somewhat premature—Mr. Ford has not won the nomination—and that they had not discussed the matter with the President, Mr. Ford's political advisers said grudgingly in interviews earlier this week that the ticket had some advantages.

## Support in the West

"Reagan is going to come so close" to winning the nomination, said one Ford associate. "He is a good campaigner, and he does have a lot of support in the West."

The West is the region where Mr. Carter failed to win a Democratic primary and, based on Times/CBS polls and others, has the least substantial following.

While it would theoretically be possible for Mr. Reagan to offer the second spot on a ticket to Mr. Ford, the President's associates said that it would be implausible for Mr. Ford to show any interest in being a Reagan running mate.

Much more likely was the possibility that Mr. Ford would use the question of a running mate as a gambit in the final stage of the contest for the Presidential nomination.

"Just speculating as an individual," said one of Mr. Ford's campaign aides, "suppose the President got to the convention early in the week and let it be known that [Mr. Reagan] was his guy."

The prospect of a ticket combining the two rival factions in the party might be enough to persuade uncommitted convention delegates to align themselves with Mr. Ford, the Presidential aide said.

Contrary to a common assumption among Republican politicians, the Times/CBS survey suggested that rank-and-file party members who supported Mr. Reagan were no more intensely loyal than were those who supported Mr. Ford.

Among Republicans who said that they favored Mr. Reagan, 46 percent said their support was very strong. The comparable figure among Republicans listing themselves as Ford supporters was 48 percent.

Although partisans of Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan were divided on the questions of how well the President was managing the economy and foreign policy, the divisions in the party appeared to be based more on personal loyalties than on issues.

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.

Even the anti-Washington sentiment that Mr. Reagan's campaign leaders have regarded as a central element in his candidacy against an incumbent President does not appear to have worked sharply to Mr. Ford's disadvantage. Four of every 10 Republicans who told surveyors that the White House should be occupied by someone divorced from the Washington establishment nonetheless said that they were supporting Mr. Ford.

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.

For all that, the judgments of rank-and-file Republicans about Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan did not bear directly on the shape of the Presidential contest. The President and the former California Governor remained in a toe-to-toe fight for the nomination.



# The GOP's best hope is to go with what it's got

President Ford faces the double ordeal of watching Jimmy Carter behave as if he were already running the country while he endures six more weeks of the most picayune variety of delegate-snagging.

Nothing is less calculated to make a President look like a President than the exercise in which Ford must engage to keep Ronald Reagan from filching the Republican nomination. The contenders are not battling over state delegations or issues. They are competing fiercely for the loyalties of about 150 uncommitted delegates whose highest aspiration, in most cases, is to wind up on the winning side.

The odds remain heavily in Ford's favor, conceding all the Colorado, Mississippi and Utah delegates to Reagan, the President should emerge at the end of the state convention season (July 17) with some 1,080 delegates, or about 50 short of what he needs. He will be obliged to pick up only 50 or one of three of the uncommitted. Since Reagan is going to need twice as

many, the President could be booked as a 2 to 1 favorite.

The pursuit of delegates scattered across the country is going to be a painstaking activity to which Reagan can give more time than the President. Political aides pressed Ford to call in the Puerto Rican delegates when he visited the island on Monday, but he was reluctant to mingle politics with international economics. He cannot afford, either in terms of personal stature or campaign travel costs, to swing around the country courting delegations.

One of the delicacies in the situation is the fact that although Ford controls more state delegations and delegate votes, Reagan has at this point some 10 more delegates who will do his bidding. Some are Ford delegates locked in by primary results, but they are free to take Reagan positions on all issues except the nomination balloting. This is why Reagan may control the outcome on procedural and platform issues at the convention.

An obvious hazard for the President is the possibility that Reagan delegates pledge to Ford in primary states ... try to avoid voting for his nomination until they are free to vote their personal preference for Reagan. In most cases they will be free after three ballots, so there will be a great temptation to abstain.

To meet this risk, the Ford camp will offer a resolution which asserts the obligation of all delegates to cast their votes in accord with the laws of their

states. The expectation is that every convention delegate will find it difficult to vote against this one.

Reagan is taking Ford off one awkward hook with his consistent avowals that he will not accept the vice-presidential nomination. Some key Ford supporters like Harry Dent of South Carolina say this would be a healing combination. Others like George Hinman of New York warn that it would cause some Ford loyalists to walk out of the convention hall. Hopefully Reagan is going to be stubborn in his disinclination to run for the second spot.

The grueling struggle between Ford and Reagan has revived prophecies of the end of the GOP. Some see an expression of the party's death wish in the contest. But despite the strains, the spirit of the contest has been amazingly agreeable. Reagan and his supporters have seemed unrealistic on Panama and insensitive in brushing aside party bright lights like Gov. Dan Evans of Washington and Sen. Pete Domenici of New Mexico. But neither side has given any severe cause for lasting bitterness.

Barry Goldwater put the practical situation succinctly in his endorsement of the President. With a conservative mood running and an upturn in the economy, this is clearly not the time for the "months and months of reorganization that would be necessary if we had a change in the office." The Republicans' best hope is to go with what they've got, and the results may yet surprise those who believe Carter when he declares he is going to be elected.





Editorial Page**The Sunday News****A Carter avalanche?****Ford's Midwest support strengthens his GOP bid**

Can the Republicans hold back the Jimmy Carter avalanche?

The answer is yes, provided they nominate Gerald Ford — and provided Mr. Ford can then exploit his own areas of strength and somehow cut into Carter's major base of support, the South.

The President's home state, Michigan, could play a key role, as we'll explain in a moment.

Certainly no realistic person, Democrat or Republican, can deny the evidence of Carter's growing strength. Carter went over the top last week in his quest for the 1,505 delegates necessary to win the Democratic nomination. During a visit to Washington, he won the applause of congressional Democrats, further evidence of his success at unifying the party. A new Louis Harris poll showed him leading both President Ford and former California Gov. Ronald Reagan nationwide.

However, not all the findings of the polls are disheartening to the Republicans.

While the Harris poll confirms that Carter has a firm hold on the Deep South and the border states, the poll also finds that Mr. Ford leads Carter by a small margin in a very important region, the Midwest. (However, a Gallup Poll shows Carter leading slightly but not significantly in the Midwest.)

Meanwhile, a poll conducted for The Detroit News by Market Opinion Research finds President Ford leading Carter slightly in the key Midwestern state of Michigan.

Readers may examine the full report on The Detroit News poll elsewhere in today's newspaper. However, one fact deserves special emphasis. In

Michigan, as in the Midwest as a whole, Carter leads Reagan by very substantial margins.

Similarly, in California polls, President Ford and Carter run neck-and-neck while Carter demolishes Reagan in Reagan's own home state.

These findings support the belief that Mr. Ford stands a chance of defeating Carter in the final election but the nomination of Reagan would be disastrous for the Republicans.

We can't agree with the suggestion of one Ford supporter that Reagan should "lay down the sword" in the name of party unity. That's not a fair thing to ask of Reagan while he still stands a fighting chance to win the presidential nomination himself.

The responsibility for picking the best man and the man most likely to beat Carter lies with the delegates to the Republican National Convention. It is up to those delegates to take the sword from Reagan and place it in the hands of Gerald Ford — which they will do unless they have a political death wish.

The nomination of Ford won't necessarily stop the Carter avalanche. But Mr. Ford obviously stands a chance in Michigan and the Midwest. If he obtained the right kind of running mate, he could offset Carter's power in the South. Naturally, that running mate would have to appeal not only to a conservative South but also to moderates elsewhere who find Carter so attractive.

If they can't put that combination together, the Republicans in 1976 may fulfill Speaker Carl Albert's prediction that Carter will win the biggest popular vote since Lyndon Johnson's landslide of 1964.



# CITIZENS FOR REAGAN

1835 K Street N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20006 • 202/452-7676

June 30, 1976

Mrs. Carla W. Coray  
83 Lunalilo Home Road  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96825

Dear Mrs. Coray:

Clarke Reed, Chairman of the Southern Chairmen's Association, asked me recently what kind of campaign I think we ought to run against Jimmy Carter and why I feel I am better equipped to run such a campaign than Mr. Ford.

I answered Clarke at some length and I thought you might be interested in my reply (a copy of which is enclosed).

As we approach the convention, I am sure you, too, may have some questions for me. If you do, please don't hesitate to contact me through my Washington office.

I look forward to seeing you in Kansas City.

Sincerely,

*Ronald Reagan*

Ronald Reagan

Enclosure



June 28, 1976

Mr. Clarke Reed  
Post Office Box 894  
Greenville, Mississippi 38701

Dear Clarke:

It does indeed appear that Mr. Carter has the Democratic nomination sewed up. I have, therefore, given a great deal of thought to the question you posed the other day concerning the sort of campaign I would conduct against him in the fall.

Let me start by saying that in one respect, Mr. Carter has gotten a bad rap from the press and some of his opponents. They have charged him with a lack of specificity on the issues. They are wrong. Mr. Carter has been very specific in the course of his 18-month campaign. The problem is that his stands are virtually all in accord with the latest liberal agenda, and as a body contradict his anti-Washington rhetoric.

If you had to put yourself in the shoes of the Washington liberals, and name the five issues that mean the most to them in campaign year 1976, I'm sure your list wouldn't be very different from mine: a guaranteed annual income for all Americans, a Federal plan for compulsory health insurance, a scheme (the Humphrey-Hawkins bill) to create millions of government jobs, indefinite continuation of forced busing, and a Federal blank check to aid New York City or any other jurisdiction that spends itself into fiscal chaos.

Mr. Carter favors all of these positions, and so does the Democratic platform draft his forces have masterminded. One of the central tasks of a Reagan campaign will be to show the American people why each of these stands is erroneous and must be repudiated at the polls.

- Why a welfare system that has failed for more than 10 million Americans should not be extended to include 10 or 15 or 20 million more; that the answer to this crisis is not an expansion of the Federal role but a Federal withdrawal from welfare, so that the states and localities can attack the problem with even more freedom than we had when we turned the tide in California.

- Why the experience of nations throughout the world proves that government medicine is bad medicine--less and slower service at higher cost.

- Why for every job "created" by the Federal Government, we are subtracting a job from the private economy. (If government employment really contributed to economic health, New York would have the healthiest economy of any of our cities!)

- Why the answer to inferior education in the black communities lies not in ordering white children into black schools, but in getting the Federal Government out of education so that our local communities--black, white, and inbetween--can regain control of their school districts; and why it is useless on the part of Mr. Carter to deplore the effects of court-ordered forced busing without a willingness to do something about court-ordered forced busing--up to and including the



Mr. Clarke Reed

Page 2

June 28, 1976

constitutional amendment Mr. Carter says he opposes.

- Why the precedent of federal guarantees for New York City bonds must never be repeated; why, if established, it will lead to a spending quagmire in Washington and to a fatal attempt by Washington to take over direct management of our cities. Even if the guarantees were to be limited to local governments facing bankruptcy-- why establish the principle of reward for those cities that live beyond their means? This is what Mr. Carter would be doing with his proposal to have Washington guarantee state bond issues whose purpose is to shore up fiscally mismanaged cities.

Here, in a nutshell, is Mr. Carter's vision of our anti-Washington future; in addition to what it is already trying to do, Washington would be guaranteeing every American a job, an income, and "free" health care (financed, according to his platform draft, by three kinds of Federal taxes); Mr. Carter's Washington would do nothing for communities threatened with court-ordered forced busing, but everything for local politicians who spend tax money with abandon. Mr. Carter's anti-Washington campaign is a smoke screen masking the most ominous extension of Federal power ever proposed by a major-party nominee (only three of these five positions were endorsed in 1972 by George McGovern). If I am the nominee, Mr. Carter's days as a anti-Washington candidate are numbered.

Unfortunately, Mr. Ford would be incapable of making similar points. He has said that he shares Mr. Carter's position on guaranteed income, Federal health insurance, and forced busing. (He has said he will introduce the first two programs at the beginning of his new term.) On the other two "liberal agenda" items--federal guarantee of state bond issues and the Humphrey-Hawkins jobs boondoggle--Mr. Ford has not yet endorsed the Carter position. But his decision to bail out New York provides a precedent for the first, and his signature of a more limited public-jobs bill last year will undermine any attack he might want to make on the second.

When it comes to defense and foreign policy, Mr. Carter says he deplores the giveaway spirit of Dr. Kissinger's detente, but too often when it comes to specifics it appears that Mr. Carter's opposition to current policies is more a matter of rhetoric than reality. How will it help counter the Soviet drive for superiority around the world to cut American defense spending by 5 to 7 per cent, or to withdraw all our soldiers from the UN command in South Korea without reciprocal moves by the other side? (These are specific Carter proposals, already incorporated into the Democratic platform draft.)

Another key issue in a Reagan-Carter campaign would be our respective records as Governor. I welcome such scrutiny. Did you know, for example, that during the years (1971-74) when the two of us were Governor, California's state spending increased 20 per cent less than the national average, while Georgia's increased 20 per cent more? Or that in those same years, the number of state employees in California increased little more than half the rate of the national average, while Georgia's increased nearly 50 per cent more than that average? These are just two of the comparisons that I am sure the American electorate will want to make in evaluating who is more likely to cut the fat out of Washington.



Mr. Clarke Reed  
Page 3  
June 28, 1976

But above all, a successful Presidential campaign must set forth a vision of our nation's future. Mr. Carter's vision is a beautiful one, filled with faith in the people. The trouble is that it has nothing to do with his specific positions--a point that can be brought out only by someone who opposes those positions and knows why he opposes them. Mr. Ford's vision of the future was typified in his recent statement that he would not accept the resignation of Dr. Kissinger--that he would retain him for five additional years to go with the seven we have already had: Mr. Ford's vision of the next few years is pretty much a continuation of what we have had for the past few years. Maybe that is good enough for the American electorate in 1976. I don't think so.

I think the American people are ready for a vision of our future in which the principal actors will be the American people themselves--not the President, or the Congress, or the Washington bureaucrats. I think the American people are ready to reclaim control of their daily lives in welfare, education, housing, and all the other areas where Washington's intervention has brought us high taxes and waste instead of results. I think they have learned that higher government spending is not the answer to our economic problems, because they have the results of higher government spending all around them. They have learned that the way to create jobs and halt inflation is to let the people keep a larger share of their income after taxes, and spend or invest or save it as they see fit--not as Mr. Carter or Mr. Ford or I see fit.

And my campaigning has convinced me as well of something I didn't know when I began: the American people are ready to halt the retreat of the last several years that has gone under the name of detente. They are ready to support the restoration of American military superiority. They have tried Dr. Kissinger's approach and found it wanting. The last thing they want is five more years of it. The best guarantee for peace--the guarantee our Soviet adversaries understand--is military strength and loyalty to our tradition as the greatest friend of freedom the world has even known.

This is the kind of campaign I think will win in November. Let's conduct it together.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan



ATTACHMENT C

TALKING POINTS

GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME

- Q. Do you favor any type of guaranteed income?
- A. I do not favor providing a guaranteed income. Instead, I have called for major reforms in the welfare and food stamp programs in order to minimize benefits to the truly needy and to end welfare abuses by tightening regulations. Twice I have submitted reform legislation to the Congress which would seek authority to modify both federal assistance programs, eligibility requirements, benefit levels, and program administrative authority. The welfare reform issue that is now being discussed includes a plan to simplify income assistance, as well as to define and inform the public of income assistance programs. The reform of the Food Stamp, Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid programs is aimed at improving their efficiency after removing the ineligible from the list of recipients.

FEDERAL HEALTH INSURANCE

- Q. What is your position on Federal health insurance -- do you have a proposal and, if so, what are the basics?
- A. I have addressed the question of a National Health Insurance program many times during this campaign. I have come to the conclusion that we cannot at this time realistically afford national health insurance for all Americans. Both the cost of such coverage and the experience of other countries with programs of national health care raise serious questions about the quality of care that is possible under such an approach.

The costs of health care are a very real concern to all of us, but most particularly to the elderly and the poor. I have proposed, therefore, provisions of catastrophic health insurance for everyone covered by Medicare. Short term fees shared by individuals will increase, but nobody after reaching age 65 will have to pay more than \$500 a year for covered hospital care of \$250 a year for doctor's fees.

To assist the States to meet the health needs of their citizens, I have proposed consolidation of 16 existing Federal programs including Medicaid into a single \$10 billion program distributing funds through a formula which provides a larger share of Federal funds to the States with the greatest number of low income people.



BUSING

- Q. What, if anything, can you do about forced busing -- which is presently slowly destroying our schools here in Danville even though it was voluntary?
- A. I am opposed to forced busing as a means to achieve racial balance to accomplish quality education. Large scale, court-ordered busing has not achieved its objective, and has led to community strife in many areas. On June 24, of this year, I submitted to the Congress, legislation establishing guidelines for the lower federal courts to follow. Under this proposed legislation, busing would be employed as a means of a last resort to redress educational inequalities. Furthermore, the maximum period of time for which a court could order busing would be five years where there was compliance with the court order. This would also establish a committee composed of citizens with community experience in school desegregation to assist other communities in voluntarily desegregating their schools.

PRESIDENTIAL INCUMBENCY

- Q. How do you plan to maximize the benefits of incumbency?
- A. The greatest advantage that a President enjoys as the incumbent is the record he has established during his 23 months in office. In the case of this Administration, we have seen the country emerge from the worst recession since World War II to the point where the United States economy is now the strongest in the Western industrial world. There are more Americans working today than ever before in history. Significant reductions have been made in both unemployment and inflation. Our country, engaged in war when I took office, is now at peace. I have tried to conduct myself in such a way as to restore the faith of the American people, in their government and institutions, and have strived to make sincerity and candor hallmarks of this Administration. I feel it is this record, Mrs. Bengston that makes my incumbency an advantage. We are fully confident that once the American people are aware of these accomplishments, they will enthusiastically support our campaign in the fall.



# President Ford Committee

1828 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 457-6400

August 10, 1976

## RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO : Jim Field  
FROM : *JBF* Jim Baker/ Paul Manafort *PSM*  
RE : Joseph Laurita, West Virginia Delegate  
304/242-6441  
DATE : By 8/12

BACKGROUND : Laurita is an uncommitted delegate, leaning Reagan. He is very interested in who the President chooses as his running mate.

Laurita, orginally, wanted to be the West Virginia PFC Chairman. After Seibert was chosen, Laurita's support of the President cooled. He is not close to Governor Moore.

Laurita ran for Attorney General and Congressman and is interested in running for public office in the future. He is very ambitious and rather opportunistic.

TALKING POINTS: "Joe, as we prepare to go to Kansas City we feel confident that we are over the 1130 needed (1134) However, the way the convention is viewed by the public will have a definite impact on the national and state elections.

"I know that you have remained uncommitted throughout the campaign but as we near Kansas City, it is imperative that we are unified.

"With this in mind, I would appreciate it if we can count on your support in Kansas City and your active participation in the general election.





# President Ford Committee

1828 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 457-6400

August 11, 1976

## RECOMMENDED PHONE CALL FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO: JIM FIELD  
FROM: JIM BAKER *J.B.*  
RE: Louis Sylvester (U)  
Illinois Delegate  
1817 North 78th Court  
Elmwood Park, Illinois 60635  
312/237-1157

BACKGROUND: Mr. Sylvester, 53, is President of the Allied Mechanical Industries, Inc. (mechanical contractors) of Greater Chicago. He has not previously been a delegate to a national convention.

Sylvester is close friends with Lee Getschow, a Chicago contractor. Getschow is close to Ned Jannotta who has indicated to the PFC delegate office that Getschow feels Sylvester is leaning toward support of the President.

He is very conservative and wants a conservative for Vice President. He supported the President's veto of the Common Situs bill and is disturbed by Schweiker's position on this.

### TALKING

#### POINTS:

- 1) Have you made up your mind yet on whom you will support in Kansas City?
- 2) Lee Getschow has indicated through friends in my campaign organization that you were particularly concerned about the Common Situs bill. I trust you are familiar with my position?
- 3) I am polling all the delegates on the Vice Presidential selection. My intention is to choose someone whose views closely reflect my own.
- 4) Betty and I look forward to seeing you and working with you in Kansas City.



August 12, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK CHENEY  
FROM: JIM FIELD  
SUBJECT: Recommended Presidential Telephone Call

I ask that the attached call to Louis Sylvester in Illinois be approved and sent along to the President. I believe the call is in order.

ZBL  
Original went in  
to the President

*Annals - Independence*



forward to Field  
TDP 8/11/76

RECOMMENDED PRESIDENTIAL TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Mrs. Connie Nicholas (Ford delegate)  
Cando, North Dakota 701-968-3419

DATE: As soon as possible

RECOMMENDED BY: *JF* Jim Field (per Jim Baker)

THROUGH: Richard B. Cheney

BACKGROUND: Mrs. Nicholas, 27, is a wavering Ford delegate. Her husband is a State Representative and a farmer, and they are both concerned with the grain embargo and the drop in wheat prices announced today (\$2.85). It is imperative, according to Baker, that you call Mrs. Nicholas immediately to reaffirm the Administration's agricultural program, which is of long-range benefit to the farmer. Ben Clayburgh feels this call is critical too.

Mrs. Nicholas is the Secretary of the North Dakota State Federation of Republican Women, Chairman of her legislative district, and a teacher. She is a strong Party loyalist and has committed to your candidacy in the past.

- TALKING POINTS:
1. I understand you have some questions with regard to the grain embargo and the price of wheat, and I wanted to call you personally to discuss my agricultural program with you.
  2. Both Betty and I look forward to working with the North Dakota delegation in Kansas City next week and towards working to make November a big Republican year.

Date Submitted:

August 11, 1976

ACTION

*8/12/76 - OK*

*Sec. Duty straighten  
her out of ag/bno*

ORIGINAL RETIRED TO  
SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE