

**The original documents are located in Box 25, folder “Debate Negotiation Notes” of the Michael Raoul-Duval Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.**

### **Copyright Notice**

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Michael Raoul-Duval donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

## Panel

- Max Frankel - N.Y.T.
- Henry J. Fruitt - Balt. Sun
- Richard Holtz - UN  
CBS

## Moderator

- Pauline Fredrick - National  
Public  
Radio



Tuesday

agreements

• Walnut St. Theater - 1<sup>st</sup>

• 9<sup>30</sup> EDT

• Staging

- moderator / Panel together
- candidates up stage
- general: OK to have candidates up stage + panel/moderator down stage
- Audience blacked out

Open - Proximity of candidates

- whether or not two shots

- [~~Barry~~ Barry: perhaps all 6 (moderator, panel + candidates) sitting around talking.] - blocked off

- Open → stand / sit



Elizabeth Owen

EPB

Goals

Inflation

Budget

Unemp. (~~August~~ Rate)

Vetoes

Pause in Recovery

Wage + Price Controls

Investments + Jobs

Ford Job Creation Record

Ford on Unemp.

Missing

overview

(Alan)

Deficit

(Paul)





Lee

→ don't use "individual" say  
"individual family"

→ answers must always go to  
future; interaction of other  
forces. difference between  
Captain of ship of board  
or til vs. Capt. of  
submarine — charts own  
course.

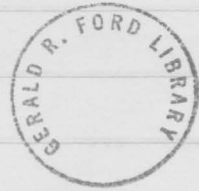
=  
Carter view: only one man  
can lead country; P.  
he can provide leadership  
framework which mobilizes  
other leaders (Cong.  
or Congress, in priv. sector  
etc)

Middle range rhetoric  
Moral base in answers

\* Regulation Issue (MacAulay)

\* Domestic Overview (Greenman / Cannon / Dand)

\* Energy (Zarb)



\* ~~Compassion~~

Lee: → ra: "Hip-flip"  
"Words are commitments for Presidents"

\* Compassion (Sergey)

- Child nutrition
- Health
- Cities
- Housing
- Food Stamp
- NYC

Lee: real compassion is to help people in need — not to subsidize people who are not in need.



What are 5-10 key points  
(in "thought pattern form") P should  
make - (Teeter + Doug)

Bob P is answers must  
leave Carter on  
defensive for his ~~retort~~  
response.

→ P should raise  
Carter's weaknesses

P doesn't have to prove  
himself on details

---

Bob Bob Walther P doing veto analysis  
for P  
do cross-cutting analysis.



Jim KARAYAN

10-19-76 (2:45 p.m.)

Format Suggestion by L.W.V.  
same as V.P.

Opening statements 2 min

90 mins

[	Q	<del>45</del> 45 sec
	A	2 <u>30</u>
	R	2 <u>30</u>
	SR	1 <u>00</u>

Closing statements 3 00

[ re-flip coin ]



Karayan → "feeler" - NOT A PROPOSAL

Oct 28<sup>th</sup> - possibility of fourth Presidential debate

P / Duke v C / Mondale

- or -

P v C

- OVER -

Jim Karayan

10-13-25 (5:12 pm)

Karayan wants

"Production" photos between

2 AV checks on

Friday

People

Walker  
Hauser  
Miron

Karayan  
Clausen  
Lamp

President  
Carter

Option

Individuals ? - I said OK

8/26 2<sup>35</sup>


MTg. L.W.V., Ford + Powell Reqs  
Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C.

Walker - Steering group - will  
make no press statements,  
unless approved by all  
parties involved.

Powell - suit him fine to have  
no press statements.

Ruck - agree



 Agreement: Want to characterize our  
discussions. No leaks etc  
of negotiations.

Walker: fully understood no  
commitment on part of  
either candidate to  
L.W.V.; only commitment  
is that both candidates  
want to debate.

Minow League's plan to confine  
debates only to GOP + DEMO  
candidates; any one of 102 <sup>other</sup> candidates  
may challenge.

Hawser - funding decision of FEC  
will be followed.  
\$ 150,000 budget  
League has assured that  
debates will be funded.



Karayn - no movement in Congress  
towards waiver of § 315

Walker - Steering Comtee. <sup>has</sup> full authority  
to negotiate — not League.

- Reason for V.P. debates: one  
could become President by  
Act of God; what it says  
about candidates' view of  
role of Vice President.

V.P. debate subject - his role;  
confidence in govt; issues

Powell - League sent proposal including  
U.P. debate. Dole challenged.  
What is Ford view.

Hanser - defer U.P. issue 'til  
after settling Presidential  
debate issue.

# of debates

Ford - 4

Carter - 3



Hanser . First debate : Domestic Issues  
(possibly split in 2 :  
• economic issues  
• social issues

Second : Foreign & defense

Third : Making Govt work ;  
restoring morality ;  
FBI - CIA

Ruck - we agree w/ need for  
specific subjects.

Powell - No strong feelings on  
restricting subjects; it will  
vary anyway.

willing to let questioners  
decide subjects - way to  
avoid issue of which subject  
goes first.



Ruck - purpose is to convey  
to American people  
positions on issues.

Powell - no hardy up doing it  
either way.

Klinow - looking for place to  
accommodate 6-700.

Walker - Audience very carefully selected - ground rules negotiated - no reaction - no participation



Ratshoon - won't light the audience.

Powell - should explore possibility of Press as audience.

I foresee  
ST. Louis Post Dispatch  
passing out slips of  
paper w/ Ford-Carter;  
circle winner + collect  
afterwards.

Hamer - Re: audience - League  
has responsibility to  
its members.

Powell - can we get preliminary

Hauser - smaller audience public

Powell - Press at front,  
audience at rear.

Hauser - Small Hall  
250 - 350 people  $\frac{1}{2}$   
League people,  $\frac{1}{2}$   
Press. If small  
audience we



Burch - re: format  
 • favor succinct opening  
 statements  
 • favor panel of journalist

Powell - favor journalist panel of journalist

Hauser - League presents <sup>large</sup> panel;  
Carter - Ford elements;  
League chooses final panel



Hausser

- 1- TV
- 1- Print (daily)
- + Periodicals  
(magazines, wires, Editorial, etc.)

Ruck - shouldn't exclude any one.

Powell - shouldn't exclude traveling press.



Hausser \* 25 names for every category

Powell - League come up w/ list + we take a look

Hausser - Ford + Carter will have final review + approval.

Summary - Each side submits  
~~three~~ <sup>three times</sup> as many ~~names~~ <sup>names</sup>  
 as panel for 3  
 categories:  
 TV  
 Print (daily)  
 Periodicals, etc

Re: Moderator



Powell - Inclined towards a  
 moderator.  
 No questioning by moderator

Rafshoos - have TV moderator  
 Bill Moore type.

Harner - we should submit  
 names of professionals  
 for moderator.

Ruck - general time for lengths  
 of answer; no  
 buzzer, etc.

Powell = agreement??

- panel of journalists
- type of people
- opening + closing statement + summary statement only?

agreed - no notes or books, etc.



RE: TIME

Powell - dealing w/ ~~per~~ perception of candidates. Con. + cover all issues anyway.

Hauser - Compromise - have 1<sup>st</sup> debate 90 mins + others 1 hr.

Bunche - 1<sup>st</sup> 90 min - others open

Ruck - not issue of network ratings. Issue of ~~pro~~viding information.

Powell - re: direct questioning  
would like this but  
not at top of his list.

deal: . elements opening  
statement; no  
direct Qs bet. candidates

Agree - no opening statement  
- Qs from panel of  
journalists  
- opportunity for follow  
up Q  
- Comments by other  
candidates.  
- closing statement up  
to 3 mins.  
(leave open on length  
of closing statement  
to depends on length  
of whole debate)



DATE

Powell - agree w/ League's  
Schedule.

Hammer : Compromise between 8<sup>15</sup> + 28<sup>00</sup>  
~~W.B. Sullivan??~~

Powell - week of 22<sup>nd</sup> Carter has a  
train event.

Rude - Will Carter forces  
consider 3 debates  
beginning week of  
8/20.



or we back off  
4 to 3 of 90 mins

\* Powell - better compromise  
3 early start for  
3 days.

\* 22<sup>nd</sup> (Wed) "bump day"

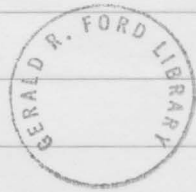
Rude - agree to 90 min for  
first one and leave  
others open.

Possible date 23<sup>rd</sup>

Carter-side: don't want Washington

## Tentative Agreement

- 3 <sup>Presidential</sup> debates
- 1<sup>st</sup> Thurs 23<sup>rd</sup>



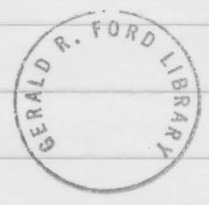
~~to meet (R)~~

- Basic format
- audience

## Big Qs

- U.P. debate ?
- Subject matter ?
- length of time ?
- Place or location ?

# Post Mtg Review w/ Bill R.



① should keep open option of 3<sup>rd</sup> debate on Role of Presidency (Watergate) issue. We may want to take this on.

② # debates

- go w/ 3 (add V.P. debate as 4<sup>th</sup>) want to start until 23<sup>rd</sup> anyway.

② Hold to 20<sup>th</sup> → 23<sup>rd</sup> for first debate.

③ need to list priorities

① 90 min

② Subject

③ date

④ V.P.

⑤ place

(work off - we could lose + really be in trouble; if Carter dictates subject, then he must win.)

////

Economy/Energy — very important;  
need separate debate,

need to decide what is  
strongest subject + rank  
in order.





	Subject	Ford	League	Carter	Outcome
?	Place	D.C.	ST. Louis	ST. Louis (?)	not D.C.
LC	number	4	3/1	3	3/1
LC	date <del>place</del>	8 <sup>th</sup> -10	28 <sup>th</sup>	28 <sup>th</sup>	23 <sup>rd</sup>
?	Subject #1 #2 #3	Foreign / Refs	① Domestic ② Foreign / Refs ③ make Govt work	none " "	?
1P	Length	90+	60	60	?
	Moderator	TU	academic	TU	TU(?)
	Audience	none	yes	none	1/2 (200)
	newsman	OK	NO	OK	OK
	Format 3 or 4 no opening				
	Follow up	yes	NO	?	yes
	Qs Newsman	yes	NO	yes	yes
	opening	yes	NO	?	NO
	closing	yes	yes	yes	yes
	selection of panel	OK	OK	OK	OK
	V.P.			yes	



## Ideas

\* P should refer to local things  
AT site of debates.

where the local citizens have  
solved their own problems.

(e.g. here in Seattle Pollution  
problem solved.



25 28 2008  
- State Referral  
- State Referral  
- State Referral

10001

# I should refer to local things  
AT site of debate.

where the local citizens have  
asked their own problems.  
(e.g. here in Seattle collection  
center closed.)



Road - Denver Box 25  
- Debate Negotiation Notes

## DECISIONS REQUIRED

File  
delete  
notes

Insert

### 2) For Negotiations

#### A) Guidance:

- Location of first one
  - second
  - third
- Dates
- Place
- Number / Length
- Subjects
- Format
- V.P.



#### B) Priorities:

- subjects (options)
- Length / number (3 at 90 ; 30 at 75 ; 1<sup>st</sup> at 90  
rest to be negotiated)
- dates
- locations (St. Louis, New York)

### 1) Preparation

#### A) Press Guidance

- line on preparation

Recommendation:

- I'll sit in on the Gergen / Nessen / Greenor daily meetings.

- Dick should ask junior staff not to comment or speculate

## B) Research



- Briefing Books

- Format: - By subject

- Q+A (with updates twice a week)

- Key points

- Submitted to (me or Gergen)

And then edited (key one-liners)

- On Carter personality / style ;  
Press Criticism ; statements (Gergen)

- On potential Press Qs  
(Buchanan)

- Polling  
- Panel ?

9/15



ABC Telegram protesting

- ① restrictions on Andriaco coverage; and
- ② unilateral vs. pool.

Dean Bush

if § 315 Exemption both  
Ford - Carter will stay  
with League + format

9/15

~~60~~  
K

mtg w/ Sen. Javits + Stevens  
re: V.P. debate.

Q - should dole-mandate debate  
~~have~~ be limited  
to role of V.P.  
or what kind of P  
will he make ?



Panel ? ? general view - No.

Should P define  
Dole's role and  
Dole state it  
during debates

PANEL

- Meg Greenfield
- Jim Gannon
- George Herman

dates

(2<sup>nd</sup>)

OCT

6

(NO) / 8<sup>th</sup>

(V.P.)

15<sup>th</sup>

(3<sup>rd</sup>)

Fri

22<sup>nd</sup>

(OK)

- Mon 25

- Tues 26<sup>th</sup> St. Louis at Wash.





Handwritten notes

# DEBATES

## Project Officer

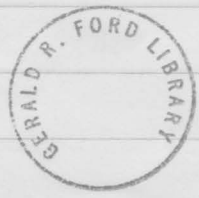
- Plugged into Strategy Review Group
- Overall in charge
- negotiates with networks + Carter Staff

## → Format / Ground Rules Group

- Functions:
- Review Nixon - Kennedy tapes
  - Develop plan + negotiations strategy
  - Location, physical set up
  - Research

## → Preparation Group

- Functions:
- Research people
  - Carter tactics / personality
  - Issues (President's + Carter's)
  - Press as questioners
  - TV consultant
  - President's preparation
    - Briefing Books
    - Briefings
  - Referrals + Taping



## — Press / Advertising Group

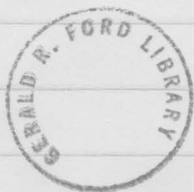
- Strategy
- Pre-debate plan
  - Press
  - Ads.
  - Carter impact

- Debate Press Plan

- ~~Debate Ad~~

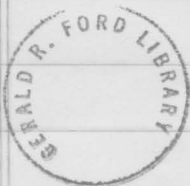
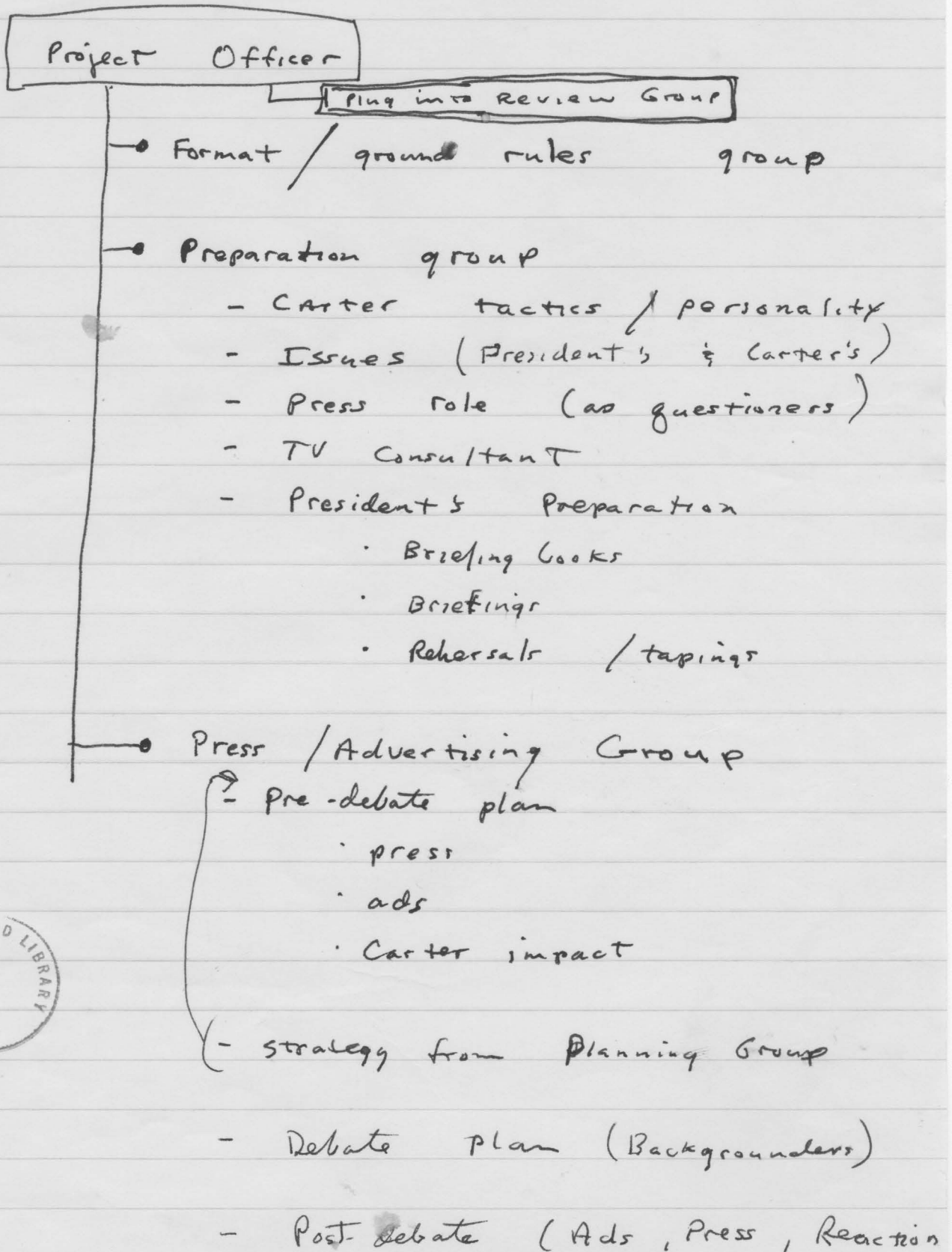
- Post debate Plan

- Press
- Ads
- Reaction teams



# DEBATES

## ORGANIZATION



6 pm

file  
debates  
notes

435  
IAD

NW  
FH 78

Dick Moore

• Position during negotiations as important as debate;

we should stick to our position of wanting to debate — period.

Working with Roosevelt  
Annual Rosenman



• P may have to say: I can't comment because of National Security / Negotiation, etc

must discount in advance / turn into advantage — get columnist to say this is a disadvantage a P. has.