

**Campaign—Miscellaneous, 6/76-10/76**

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*Kos-lead  
JC*

INTER OFFICE MEMORANDUM

Date June 28, 1976

From: De Jongh Franklin

*To De Jongh -  
Yes - proceed R  
C*

To: Hamilton Jordan

Re: Robert E. Kintner

~~Mr. Kintner is in his late sixties and resides in Washington (we almost worked out the use of his house for Frank Moore); was a Washington columnist and the only person to have been President of two major networks (ABC and NBC).~~

~~Frank Moore and I had a nice visit with him several weeks ago and he is completely sold on Jimmy Carter.~~

~~The enclosed letter dated June 24th appears to be a reasonable offer and I would like to know how to respond.~~

De Jongh Franklin

DF:rs

- cc: Honorable Jimmy Carter ✓
- Mr. Frank Moore
- Mr. R. J. Lipshutz
- Mr. Jody Powell

*7/27/76*  
*Dear Jimmy -*  
*Here are the first of Kintner's*  
*memos - #1 before the convention and*  
*#2 after the convention -*  
*Hamilton had a copy of these -*  
*D. Jongh*

MEMORANDUM FOR AN INTERESTED PERSON

No. 1

P R I V A T E

7/9/76

The following stark, undefined conclusions are based on my judgment which, in turn, is supplemented by knowledge of the thinking of owners of top media, columnists and commentators, business and financial leaders and political satraps. Any part of the memorandum may be used but none of it can be attributed to me in accordance with our discussion.

The conclusions I want to suggest, for deep thinking now, are based on the belief that the Gallup Poll will be wrong as of November and the presidential race will be high competitive, quite close and extremely bitter.

Governor Carter has, either publicly expressed or privately held, a deep segment of opinion which has serious doubts as to his ability, experience and background to be President. These doubts focus as follows:

- A. While little discussed, I feel the "religious issue" is the most important issue in the campaign. Unfortunately, it is not clear cut like the opposition Jack Kennedy had as a Catholic. Unfortunately, it cannot be fought as easily. Jack Kennedy's critics talked of the Pope "controlling the United States", simple argument to combat. Governor Carter's doubters express concern over separation of church and state and the imposition of an unwanted morality on individuals.

The solution is obviously similar to Kennedy's appearance in Houston but it should take a different form. The Bill Moyers interview was cogent but was read by few people. I actually literally almost know of no one who understands a Southern Baptist, a moral re-birth and the meanings and objectives. These are vague doubts

PRIVATE

7/9/76

but they will have a real effect in the voting booth. Governor Carter should have a well planned campaign to explain his religion - unknown in the North; to explain his personal position and to guarantee separation of state and religion.'

- B. For some reason, I find that the average Catholic thinks the Southern Baptist is anti-Catholic. I also find that many persons of Jewish faith are nervous about the Baptist religion. No one can get elected President without the bulk of the Catholics in the suburb and the bulk of the Jews in the big cities. They need reassurance from their leadership even though the Catholics have broken away, in part, from their hierarchy. There should be a well organized campaign for support from the Cardinals of the various dioceses and from the leaders of the many militant pro-Isreal Jewish organizations in the clergy. President Roosevelt was the past-master of this with Cardinal Spellman of St. Patrick's in New York City.
- C. While Pennsylvania showed that Governor Carter can win without militant support from either labor leadership or Democratic organization leadership, it will not quite be the same when he is fielding President Ford or Governor Reagan. While individual unions such as the UAW will will work hard alone, I learned first hand at the White House what whole-hearted support of George Meany really means. Meany likes to be "on the inside"; he likes to know about events ahead of time. President Johnson, before 1964 and for a couple of years after, saw him two or three times a week, alone, in his bedroom early in the morning. To Meany, Johnson could do no wrong - war or no war, etc.

PRIVATE

7/9/76

Governor Carter already has Mayor Daly. Where he is weakest is in New York where he does not really have Governor Carey; in Massachusetts where he does not have an all-out from Senator Kennedy; in California where Governor Brown's organization is anti-Carter and in Pennsylvania where, unfortunately, there is only a remnant of Democratic politics left. To be certain to carry New York and Massachusetts, you certainly need both the New York City leaders and Governor Carey and you need Ted Kennedy who is probably the best campaigner in America and a Catholic, no matter what his morality. In Pennsylvania, you have to, in effect, build your own organization, particularly in Philadelphia and in California, in my opinion, Brown will never be for Carter and you have to turn to the "financial fat cats" to create a parallel organization to Brown's in that state. All of you know more about this field than I do but on the basis that Governor Carter will carry the South and Southwest, all he needs are several industrial states to be elected.

- D. To return briefly to the religious field, besides an unspoken uncertainty about Governor Carter's religious zeal, the various Northern Protestant denominations, such as my church, the Northern Presbyterians, etc., all have unspoken doubts on fundamentalist religion, as I will call it for lack of a better word. While the Catholic population has grown tremendously, and in my judgment, the suburbs are controlled by \$15,000 - \$25,000 Catholics, this is still a Protestant country but what goes as a Protestant in the South is not quite the same as a Protestant in the North, vis a vis Roosevelt's Episcopalian and Johnson's Church of Christ. Since neither President Ford nor Governor Reagan are religious - at least outwardly, Governor Carter has a tremendous advantage here among clergy, many of whom, both black and white, can have real

PRIVATE

7/9/76

effects on the electorate. Protestant clergy has never really counted except to the degree that Jack Kennedy could do it as a Catholic and Harry Truman automatically got their support as a mid-West Baptist. This is the year, I believe, they should be brought into political circles just as politicians always bring in Catholic and Jewish leaders.

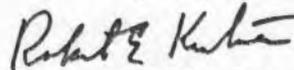
- E. This paragraph is hard to write. There is an uneasy feeling among important opinion makers that I talk to that Governor Carter tells listeners what they want to hear. I think the opposite is true, and I think his political record shows it. However, his opponents have sold a good segment of the voters that the Governor takes no stands and constantly alters positions. This can only be changed by the speeches of the candidate himself, his personal conduct and his actions.
- F. Finally, Governor Carter, strange as it sounds, is getting too much national exposure, for too pica-yune reasons. I realize better than most that the demands of newspapers and TV must be met for goodwill purposes. Governor Carter's first success in the primaries came as a "new face". He is now an "old face". Part of Governor Brown's success came as a "new face". Reagan controls his exposure carefully and Ford, of course, has exposure doing Presidential duties. As the campaign starts, I believe that an attempt to make exposure of Governor Carter "more important" in relation to the public seeing him on TV which is the guts of exposure is highly important. I also believe Governor Carter should be associated more with "significant policy" and less with details of planning the upcoming campaign. In other words, the public knows that

PRIVATE

7/9/76

Governor Carter is tough, bright and able but to put it nastily, people are asking "is he ready for the big league?" which depends on associating him publicly with important and significant events. His selection of vice president - which I would hope would be a Northern Catholic from the Senate - will have an effect on his public image but I think he should be very careful not to play a game as Johnson did in 1964 in Atlantic City with Hubert. Humphrey.

There is no doubt that if the election were held today, Governor Carter would win. Hanging over his campaign is the memory of Harry Truman beating Tom Dewey. I believe there is too much expression of confidence that "I am going to be elected." I do not think the average voter likes to be taken for granted and I would cut down the optimism and make it more reasonable and realistic.



Robert E. Kintner

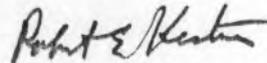
P.S: This memorandum was dictated before Governor Carter's appearance at the Democratic National Convention activities. He did a tremendously effective job - showing experience, ability to express himself and appropriate responses - on "Meet The Press" and on the CBS and NBC programs. He has conducted himself, as of this writing, with dignity and has given an image of a well-informed, thoughtful, purposeful activist which is an excellent public-relations image.

As of this writing, Governor Carter has not selected a vice presidential candidate. Jack Kennedy would not be President if Johnson had not enabled him to carry Texas and hold part of the South. Even more this year, I believe the vice presidential candidate will be a plus or a minus and if Mr. Ford is nominated and selects Governor Reagan, you will have a more united party; an excellent campaign but the Republicans will loose to the moderates.

PRIVATE

7/4/26

If he selects John Connelly, I doubt if he can carry Texas and while John will be an excellent campaigner and an excellent strategist, I think he will be a very weak candidate because of his indictment. Muskey's big advantage is being a Catholic, from the North, with great experience, reliability and well informed. Glenn's attributes are his astronaut training, his following in Ohio and a "hero worship" like Eisenhower had. I do not think Mondale will add much to the ticket and great fun will be made of his presidential withdrawal. If the Governor wants a liberal, perhaps he will be better off with a Church, or if he wants a right-moderate, with Jackson but Jackson has no political appeal. Finally, I believe I am going to be proven wrong in that the Governor has communicated his search for a vice presidential candidate with dignity, fairness, reliability and has yet to reach any impression of a public device which was present with Johnson in 1964.



Robert E. Kintner

PPS. I deliberately declared this before the Convention. The committee has, of course, the Governor's establishment of leadership & the degree of hidden opposition. They will establish the campaign image, plus the V.P. selection.

This man is designed for Governor Carter's "inner circle" - a few people - otherwise it has no point, and in not worth their effort or mine. I want you to get it as Governor Carter & Associates take their brief rest. Let me know.

Bob

MEMORANDUM FOR AN INTERESTED PERSON

PRIVATE  
#1-A

In my memorandum on reactions to Governor Carter's campaign for the Presidency, I ended it, with the weekend before the Democratic National Convention; ending it before a vice presidential candidate had been selected but emphasized the importance of a Catholic from the north and questioned the reaction to the procedure being used by Governor Carter to select a running mate.

The conclusions I have given concerning the Democratic National Convention, the procedure of vice presidential selection, the mood of the convention and the selection of Senator Mondale, in brief, follow:

1. Governor Carter emerged as an experienced leader; an astute administrator; a more warm person, particularly with his family, and the convention delegates showed that they were looking to him for leadership; accepted him as their leader and he carried out that role well, particularly in his acceptance speech; his administration and ability was shown in the remarkable organization of the convention - the best that I have ever seen and I have been to or seen all conventions since 1936, except when I was in World War II. Governor Carter showed compassion, depth, understanding and emotion about his country which characters were obviously real and effective to both the audience there and the TV audience.
2. Governor Carter was correct in the care, the precaution and the study that he gave in choosing Senator Mondale instead of the "farce" of President Johnson in 1964 in choosing Mr. Humphrey. Governor Carter showed a conscience concerning a possible successor as president, a desire to have a man with a good reputation and one who is compatible with him. All of these are pluses. To my mind, it was unfortunate that there was not available -

PRIVATE  
#1-A

there was not - a northern Catholic senator, from a genuinely industrial state. By selecting Senator Mondale, politically, Governor Carter moved the label of himself from a moderate-right to a moderate-liberal figure and, in effect, brought into the Democratic Party "new" New Dealers such as the Humphreyites, the Udalites, etc. In effect, he recreated, at least publicly, a form of ~~of~~ the coalition that re-elected Roosevelt for four terms.

He also brought in segments of organized labor who had been cool to him; so-called intellectual opinion makers on the liberal side who had been unable to analyze his position. Although it was not possible to do, his selection of Senator Mondale made no dent in Catholic and Jewish opposition nor is Mondale really identified with truly industrial states such as Kennedy and Brown are, ~~of~~ whom, obviously, Governor Carter could not select. There are doubts as to the effectiveness of Senator Mondale as a day-to-day campaigner in industrial centers but he handled himself extremely well at the convention.

3. Not only did Governor Carter establish that he was the leader of the Democratic Party, and was determined to be the leader of the country, but the TV pictures of him with his family - with his wife, his mother and his children, etc., showed him more intimately than he has been ~~for~~ before. This was a definite plus, particularly because of the attractiveness and effectiveness of Mrs. Carter and Miss Lillian and the rest of the family. He portrayed a type of American family that most Americans like to see.
4. While Governor Carter is obviously in control of the Democratic Party, as an excellent administrator surrounded by loyal and able people, the convention also showed two weaknesses that remain in his campaign - apathy and too much self-confidence. The convention was possibly the greatest Democratic Convention in history as far as disputes but it lacked the exuberant enthusiasm for the candidate except in the case of Mayor Daly that you might expect. The major problem of campaigning is to arouse the type of enthusiasm, to be frank, that

Page three  
7/20/76

PRIVATE  
#1-A

Governor Brown had when he visited Maryland and Oregon and the type of enthusiasm that was commonplace during all of the Roosevelt campaigns except in 1944. How you get rid of the influence of a one-sided Gallup Poll; how you convince the rank-and-file Democrats that neither Ford or Reagan is a push-over will take all the ingenuity of Governor Carter's press and advertising staff. Union members can be aroused, in part, by their chapter leadership and national leadership. Political organizations can be aroused by political leaders such as Mayor Daly of which there are now very few but to get a spontaneity of support when Governor Carter visits and campaigns will be, in my judgment, one of the tests of the success of his campaign.

5. Finally, the Democratic National Convention must be considered a great success and a great tribute to Governor Carter and his organization. It was mechanically the best organization I have ever seen; Governor Carter stood out as a compassionate, experienced and able leader; he brought back into the Party the liberal forces that were very unenthusiastic; he reunited the Democratic Party as it has never been reunited and he set proper goals and proper objectives for achieving the national interest without sacrificing his desire to make the federal government more effective. But on only one occasion - the closing when the Reverend Martin Luther King, Sr. spoke - did you have the old-time enthusiasm and spirit that I think so necessary to national political success. Whether or not, in previous conventions, the enthusiasm was artificial, as in Nixon's case, it plays a large part in the psychology of a campaign.

There are vital weak spots, politically, in the north. One is the attitude of Senator Kennedy, the leader of the most Democratic state, Massachusetts; the other is the lack of enthusiasm of Governor Brown, in the largest state of the Union; the third is the lack of proper leadership and organization in New York State and in Pennsylvania.

Page Four  
7/20/76

PRIVATE  
#1-A

I also repeat, notwithstanding Governor Carter's moving words at Sunday School last Sunday, that his campaign is faced with a "religious problem" relating principally to the Catholics but partially to the Jews but I think the right overall conclusion is the Democratic National Convention was a great tribute to Governor Carter, a great success for him and for his family and proved once again the skill of his organization but that a vague concept called "hero worship" is now needed - the type of support that Roosevelt had; that Willkie had in the beginning of his campaign; that Truman had ten years after he left office; that Ike had as a military hero; that John Kennedy had as an articulate, handsome young man and that neither Johnson or Nixon had and they wanted because in one case, the Republican Party beat itself and in the other case, the Democratic Party beat itself.

*Robert E. Kintner*  
Robert E. Kintner

ROBERT E. KINTNER  
2727 Que Street, N.W.  
Washington, D. C. 20007

9

August 17, 1976

Dejongh Franklin, Esq.  
2400 First National Bank Tower  
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

PRIVATE

Dear Dejongh:

I have been in the Sheboygan, Wisconsin area, one of the most prosperous manufacturing/diary regions in the country, basically Republican in leadership and Democratic among the workers. I had eight dinner parties given for me by such people as Kohler, owner of a large plumbing company; Reiss, owner of huge coal and shipping interests; Testwuide, owner of banks, holding companies, etc. Most of these people were Republican (two of the Kohlers were, of course, governors of Wisconsin) and found among 100 guests of varying occupations, two principle questions:

1. What kind of a person is Governor Carter - is he a moderate or an extreme liberal - will he increase or decrease government activities, or, in brief, what makes him tick?

2. Everyone should believe in loving one's neighbor, as the Bible says, but what does a Southern Baptist feel about such minority religions and ethnic groups such as the Catholics (Sheboygan is 40% Catholic) and about the Jews (Sheboygan aided Israel substantially)? While this opinion came from rich

professional and outstanding local leaders, from many indications, I am sure both sets of questions are widespread. Obviously, there are no single answers, nor is there any magic formula to convince doubters that Governor Carter is sincere and a moderate-liberal, and that his religion will not interfere with the separation of religion and government. All the questions can only be answered by speeches, press conferences, TV appearances - with the public making its own judgment.

But, I have two suggestions that may ease the relationship between Governor Carter and those of the Jewish faith and Governor Carter and those of the Catholic faith, just as a stone thrown into a lake causes ripples.

I suggest that Governor Carter see, in confidence, the Israeli ambassador to the United States. President Nixon used the Israeli embassy effectively to rally Jewish support to him in 1972. I think if the Governor could take the time and effort, to report personally to the ambassador what he said so ably in his speech during the primaries, the ambassador, in turn, could have great influence among Zionists and non-Zionists in this country. Ford has a record of strong support for Israel notwithstanding Secretary Kissinger's leaning toward the Arabs and aid is at its top point. Kissinger will be very silent on pro-Arab moves during the campaign. Governor Carter should not, and could not, change his basic position of an overall peace, with Israel withdrawing from conquered territory and with the Palestinians having a place in the middle East. But personal contact is extremely valuable with a state that has no real ally except the United States.

*Have done  
so twice  
this year  
already -  
J.C.*

Secondly, the trouble with the "Catholic problem" is that it is now all mixed up with the abortion issue. At first it was a question of the Southern Baptist's attitude towards Catholicism and ethnic races. Now,

as Cardinal Cook says, it is a matter of whether the Governor is for a constitutional amendment prohibiting abortions. Obviously, Governor Carter cannot and should not change his position on abortion but he, I believe, should transfer the dialogue to his acceptance of Catholicism as a religion and no one in this country, since Cardinal Cook seems out of the picture, could be more effective than the Vatican representative in Washington, perhaps buttressed by one or two more reasonable cardinals than Cardinal Cook.

I believe you will think I am placing too much emphasis on the religion issue. There are no questions in my mind that the country is becoming more and more religious; that it is becoming less and less materialistic and that the public is looking for a Christian leadership of honesty, frankness and determination but, unfortunately, a denominational religion is <sup>HIGH</sup>doomed in the north, the northeast and the mid-west - and it is basically of a different type of expression, procedure and terms than that of a Southern Baptist even though all come almost to the same end. It is not like the problem of Jack Kennedy on Catholicism and the threat of control of the United States by the Pope. It is, I believe, a lack of understanding - "a mysterious procedure" which many Northern Catholics, Protestants and Jews do not understand - of the Southern Baptist.

I have one other suggestion. Governor Carter speaks frequently at his church in Plains, Georgia. He has talked many times of the meaning of love, of his religion and of its meaning to him. I think he might consider a talk, in the church, on what Southern Baptists represent, in contrast to Catholics, Jews and other Protestants, in simple terms, easily understood by a layman, because people do not fear facts basically, they fear lack of facts.

The sentiment in Milwaukee, Sheboygan and the surrounding territory is that Governor Carter is sure to be elected - an over-confidence I do not like. There is the beginning of a feeling that the Republicans are the under-dogs just as there was for Truman against Dewey. Unfortunately, Senator Mondale does not have a real following, in my opinion, in the mid-West. His appointment, there, has signified that Governor Carter has moved toward the left, more toward the new deal and becoming less of a moderate. This helped Governor Carter among union members, workers and, in many cases, the farmers who were quite discontented due to the trials and tribulations of the weather. But I do not believe the mid-West farming/industrial states look on the vice presidential candidate as a national leader and, therefore, the election, as usual, will be determined completely by their opinion of Governor Carter.

Unfortunately, since people have impressions, not knowledge, in politics, the Republican campaign and the campaign of Governor Carter's primary opponent, ~~while~~ <sup>THAT</sup> he does not take positions on issues, is being accepted quite generally among the various types of people I talked to. This is not true, if you read his speeches carefully, but the public gets the impression basically from the short summaries of TV. While no candidate can commit himself too much, I believe it important, psychologically, that the Governor and his staff create a clear campaign, to the effect that he is taking positions but really are the positions of Mr. Ford?

What?

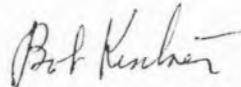
Finally, in my visit to Wisconsin there was an indication that there is a great upsurge of "patriotism" in the country - a flying of flags; a defense of the country; an attack on the Russians and Chinese; and a conclusion that we have been taken by being too pliable in foreign policies a la Kissinger. I think

the country now is looking mostly for a strong America and is not as interested in aid to underdeveloped countries, alliance with the Russians and Chinese as they were after World War II.

I also believe that continuous, steady but reasonable attacks on "Watergate", including Mr. Nixon and naming by name the associates who went to jail, will pay off politically which may well be a job Senator Mondale could do effectively. No one I have ever met tries to defend Watergate except to say "that is a way all politicians are". It is highly important that the Nixon administration be singled out as an exception, not as a rule of government. It is the biggest and best issue, I believe, that Governor Carter and the Democratic party has - no matter what the editorial writers, etc., say about reviving the subject.

Every good wish.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bob Kintner".

Robert E. Kintner

Gov -

There is a rash of  
"for advice" on the  
debates. This is  
among the best. Barry  
& Jody are assimilating  
the rest & will send  
a summary (with  
the original attached)  
to you shortly.

BS

C  
—

ROBERT E. KINTNER  
2727 Que Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20007

August 23, 1976

Dejongh Franklin, Esquire  
2400 First National Bank Tower  
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

PRIVATE

Dear Dejongh:

Since President Ford and Governor Carter have decided to debate, perhaps it will be helpful to Governor Carter to give him certain conclusions I learned since I was one of the two or three network executives who arranged the Kennedy-Nixon debates of 1960. I know I need not emphasize the importance of these debates; the unbelievable audience they will get and the necessity of certain precautions by Governor Carter or his representatives. My conclusions from 1960 follow:

1. Surprisingly enough, the most important factor is the studio itself, and its camera and sound equipment. As I understand it, which I think is wrong but I think is required by law, you will not use a television studio. One of the reasons that Jack Kennedy won so decisively the first debate was that the Chicago studio was perfect for his position, as to camera angles, sound, etc. He also had professional make-up, while Nixon used amateur make-up. I urge you to have a skilled technical television expert--a producer or director--the night before, or the day of the broadcast, to inspect the hall in relation to Governor Carter's position, the location of the cameras, the backdrop, the acoustics from where he speaks, and his ability to hear the questions. I urge also that you use a professional make-up expert, borrowed from one of the networks or from a large independent company.

REPRODUCTION MADE FOR  
PRESERVATION PURPOSES

ELECTROSTATIC REPRODUCTION MADE FOR  
PRESERVATION PURPOSES

2. The debate will get out-of-hand; the questions will be inappropriate and there will be a lack of orderliness unless the moderator is a television professional such as the moderators on "Meet the Press," "Face the Nation" and "Issues and Answers." If, as in the old Town Meetings of the air, the League of Women Voters permits questions from the rank-and-file, they will be rambling, in effect, speeches, and are sure to reflect the political feelings of the questioner. This can be very serious in creating an atmosphere of antagonism toward either debater.

After hour and hour of discussion, we decided only to use skilled reporters who had their reputations at stake, who knew the subjects involved and who were used to presidential conference procedures. Even so, the Kennedy forces fought tooth-and-nail to avoid pro-Nixon reporters and scrutinized the moderator and the questioners very carefully. They were changed with each debate. There is danger of a "plant" by the opposition with any questioner and there is danger of planted embarrassing questions. These, the Carter forces should be alerted to.

3. The word in Washington is that Ford accepted the debates because of his convention performance--most of all, because he felt the questioners or he could make Governor Carter lose his calm. Kennedy won all three debates because he never was flustered as was Nixon. Governor Carter must give an impression of a well-informed, emotionally-controlled, careful leader.

4. Jack Kennedy was briefed by his staff for hour after hour on the night and morning before the debate. They asked him every conceivable question in every dirty way, and through this questioning he not only was alerted to pitfalls but he learned a great deal of background. No holes were barred; no interruptions of Kennedy were permitted during the questioning, and President Kennedy told me (since I was with him on the first debate) after it was over, that this "skull practice" saved him. During the afternoon of the debate, he rested.

5. Psychology is important in the debates. Nixon always arrived ahead of time. Kennedy arrived five minutes before the broadcast, thus keeping Nixon on edge. President Kennedy and Bobby Kennedy had reviewed the set (where Kennedy was to sit, where everyone would be located, where the cameras would be, etc.) the night before, in a very late visit by the two of them. I doubt if this could any longer be done without undue publicity, but it could be done by a Carter technical expert and spelled out on paper, duplicated in a room before the broadcast.

6. The greatest secret of winning a television debate is to convince the viewer that you know more than your opponent; that you act non-hastily and that you keep your temper and talk to him or her as though you were in their living room. The second secret is to slightly alter the questions to fit the facts you want to portray without giving the impression you're not responding.

7. I would suggest a format that permits each participant to make a short five-minute summary of his presidential objectives at the start (Ford is too loquacious to hold to only five minutes). I would suggest that the questions be alternated between the two men, that two minutes be allocated for the original answer, with one minute being the limit for a rebuttal. I would also suggest that ten minutes be allocated at the end for each participant to sum up his views.

8. As you know, better than I, the Republicans have been fairly successful in a propaganda campaign that says Governor Carter takes no stand on major issues, or alters his stand depending on the audience. The fact is that that is exactly what Ford does. His stand on abortion is a good example. His acceptance of the Reagan platform additions is a good example. I would, if I were Governor Carter, try to use the words, "What is your position?" on various key issues, and try to turn the tables on this propaganda.

9. Finally, the dress of the participant is important. It is no longer necessary to wear a blue shirt, but the candidate should be dressed in a very dark suit, very dignified style, and should look like a President, because the 60-90 million who will see parts of this broadcast like their leader to look like a President. I would arrange for one of Governor Carter's trusted staff members who knows him well to work closely with a television expert to be sure that the arrangements are fair to him.

The gist of the campaign against Governor Carter personally by the Republicans, from people who know, is to portray him as an untrained foreign expert, a man without experience in national affairs who intends to regiment the economy and the lives of the people in a way never done before--in other words, to "out-New Deal" the New Deal. Republicans are going to try to portray him as a man who will do anything to get added political support and that he has changed his primary position, with Mondale being used to get the liberals, the left wing, the welfare recipients and the less fortunate, as well as the farmers, who are unhappy with their incomes.

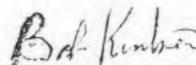
While Senator Mondale speaks well, the task of invective for the Republicans falls to Mr. Dole who, in this respect, has no superior in the Senate. There is some danger in the Mondale-Dole debates unless Mondale directs his fire at the lack of leadership of Ford and is not seduced by Dole to defend Governor Carter. Dole is much quicker than Mondale; he is much more used to this type of personal attack. Perhaps Mondale should seek an image of a well-informed, experienced senator who knows his subject and is critical of the President's leadership (or lack of), but does not stoop to the invective that is sure to come from Dole.

The Democrats' greatest chance for added votes, if you watched the convention carefully, and if you know Ronald Reagan the way I do, is to work to get the Reagan forces, which are at least half of the

Republicans and very conservative Democrats, to sit this one out, or to vote for Governor Carter in order to show the Republican moderates that they do not represent the Republican Party. At least 800 delegates sat on their hands when Ford was nominated. These Reagan delegates know that Ford is not the "nice guy" he is generally made out to be, but is an orthodox Republican politician whose career is based on favors, not principles. My friends in California tell me that Reagan's nose is really out-of-joint. Certainly no Democrat should debate him. He can make the difference between carrying California or not. He should not be the subject of prime Democratic attack. Ford has 100% of conservative support now, but it is not the support of Reagan and Helms. Their forces can put Ford behind the eight ball, and I think most of them, at least temporarily, are looking to a third party in 1980, rather than Ford in 1976. In fact, the Republicans are getting away with murder on the general analysis of "unity" at their convention.

Every good wish,

Sincerely,



Robert E. Kintner

P.S. I am seeing Ted Kennedy either this week or next week, at his request.



MEMORANDUM

September 22, 1976

Maxie  
File

TO: Governor Jimmy Carter  
Governor Dolph Briscoe

FROM: Jess Hay

Since the New York Democratic National Convention, the strong base of moderate to conservative support in Texas for Governor Carter has eroded, principally through our own actions and only secondarily through the advent of John Connally as President Ford's Texas Campaign Chairman.

The problem -- which today threatens (i) our capacity to carry Texas and, in my opinion, (ii) Jimmy Carter's ability to win the election in November -- is that in total public perception Carter's image gradually but discernibly is being transformed from that of an intelligent, anti-big government, fiscally responsible, highly moral and socially conscious candidate (in whom the American people justifiably might place their trust and confidence) to that of an extremely liberal, big spending, pro-Washington, activist (from whom we might expect more of the same -- more complex government, more intrusive government, more costly government, and more restraints on individual liberties and incentives).

Although I do not believe the emerging image is a correct reflection of Jimmy Carter, many thousands are beginning to believe it: and as more and more perceive Jimmy Carter in this manner, the more certain it becomes that by election day he will be feared by some, distrusted by many and rejected by most of our Texas electorate.

The Source of the Problem

The public's imaging of a presidential candidate is a very complex matter and derives from a myraid of factors, many of which undoubtedly are ill-defined and perhaps unfair. Accordingly, I do not purport to know, in total, the reasons for Governor Carter's changing image among the voters; however, based on telephone calls this week to approximately 125 of our friends (principally from the business and "evangelical" communities of Texas), I believe the following have been among the significant factors:

ELECTROSTATIC REPRODUCTION MADE FOR PRESERVATION PURPOSES

1) Issues

- a) Right to Work. In recent weeks the Republicans in Texas have given broad circulation to a report quoting Governor Carter as having said: "Section 14-b should be repealed. If elected I will encourage that repeal and will be pleased to sign such legislation into law." This is significantly different from the position stated by Governor Carter in Houston and Dallas.
- b) Consumerism. All of us are consumers, but a growing number of Americans are disenchanted with Ralph Nader's arrogance and with the growing tendency of Federal Bureaus to nurture and encourage litigious quarrels among our people. This disenchantment is not constricted to businessmen who are plagued daily by strike lawyers. It extends as well to scores of thousands and probably millions who believe themselves to be capable of making their own decision as to whether or not to wear seat belts as they move their cars from the driveway into the garage. Governor Carter's visit with Nader and, more significantly, his statement (if he was correctly quoted) that "the Carter administration intends to out-Nader Nader" resulted in the impression that government under Carter would be more intrusive, more paternalistic and more activist than ever.
- c) Tax Reform. Most Americans respond favorably to the ideal of tax reform, but they intuitively reject the use of taxation to constrict personal economic growth. Soaking the rich sounds politically safe, unless your definition of "rich" results in too broad a class. In a society where plumbers earn \$20,000 per year and hope someday to earn \$25,000, where bricklayers earn \$50 to \$100 per day, where accountants directly out of college earn \$14,000 per year, and where upward mobility still is a formidable force which fuels our economy and sustains our drive as people, it is dangerous to design tax reform in terms of class warfare.

- d) Energy. Contrary to what I understand Governor Carter's position to be, the business community in Texas -- assisted by active dissemination of allegations by the Republican Party -- widely believes that Governor Carter favors (i) continued regulation of oil and gas prices and (ii) horizontal and vertical divestiture by the major oil companies. There also is a vague and general feeling that the industry will have little meaningful participation in the evolution of Governor Carter's energy policy, if he is elected.
  - e) Humphrey-Hawkins, medical care and related issues concern the more conservative members of the Democratic Party of Texas; and, in combination, are perceived as envisioning ultimately a "womb-to-tomb" welfare system in this country.
- 2) Administration Access. Repeatedly I was told this week that Governor Carter was encircled by a closely-knit "palace guard," and that his administration would be closed to any general and meaningful input by representatives of either the business community or moderate members of the Democratic Party.
- 3) The Playboy Interview -- although reflective of Governor Carter's very sound theological posture -- has created substantial unrest among the evangelical communities of Texas, until this week the source of his most dependable strength in the State. In addition, the remarks concerning President Johnson have resulted in resentment bordering on anger among many Texas Democrats.

#### Corrective Measures

From the point of view of carrying Texas in November, the following would be positive steps designed to reverse the current trend:

- 1) I believe Governor Carter would contribute immeasurably to the desired end if, in the future and to the extent consistent with his personal convictions, he would emphasize, as he did during the primary campaigns:
  - a) His belief in the people of the United States, in their creativity, in their resiliency, in their character, in their industry and in their strength.
    - If he so believes, he should state that Americans in general are a self-sufficient people; and although they also are a compassionate people (willing, able and anxious to help those in need) the American people do not need and do not want to be cared for from womb-to-tomb by a patronizing government.
  - b) His belief that government is too big, too complex, too arrogant, too expensive and too restrictive; and his commitment:
    - i) to reorganizing that government into a more efficient and constructive force; and
    - ii) to reducing the imposition of governmental barriers to creative participation by private and local sectors in seeking solutions to our varied and complex problems.
  - c) His record of fiscal responsibility as Governor of Georgia, his zero-based budgeting concept, and his transcendent commitment to achieving a balanced Federal Budget by 1979.
  - d) His commitment to relieving unemployment and broadening participation in the affluence of the United States principally through an expanding economy and not through an oppressive taxation system or inflationary federal programs.

- e) His recognition that inflation indeed is one of the primary threats to our economic well-being and, in final analysis, is the most regressive and debilitating form of taxation.
  - f) His commitment to meaningful welfare reform, designed ultimately to resurrect the recipients to a full participating life as economically productive members of our society.
- 2) In Texas, we need a more coherent direction in the campaign. In my opinion, the basic strategy should derive principally from Governor Briscoe and a few advisors (including Calvin Guest, Bob Armstrong, John White, Harry Hubbard and Bob Strauss). Chuck Parrish is an able young man and should be given more authority by Atlanta. He works well with all divisions of the party and relates well with Governor Briscoe.
- 3) Not to satisfy anyone's ego but rather with a view to reclaiming the broad middle section of Texas voters, conservative and moderate participants in the campaign should be given the highest possible profile, in press releases, committee assignments, etc.
- 4) If possible, Governor Carter should provide us with a means by which:
- a) we can state, with absolute confidence, his positions on section 14(b) of the Taft Hartley Act and on divestiture of the oil industry;
  - b) we can assure the business community and moderates generally that, when Governor Carter is elected, they will be viewed as an important part of his constituency and that opportunity will be afforded for general and direct in-put, perhaps through Governor Briscoe, Frank Moore or some other source -- but not through the liberal wing of the Texas Democratic Party.

page 6.

- 5) Prior to the end of the campaign, perhaps during Governor Carter's next visit to Texas, we should design a means by which the massive support from the evangelical communities of Texas might be reclaimed.
- 6) To the extent possible, Governor Carter should retract his statement regarding President Johnson's character and, in the process, should praise the former President to the extent he deems appropriate, consistent with his own broader national evaluation of the total matter.

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I hope neither of you will deem these remarks as presumptuous. I make them because I want Jimmy Carter to win and to carry Texas in the process. I am committed to that end, and of course will be responsive to your leadership as to any action which might be desired after you have considered my suggestions.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jerry Hays". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned in the lower right quadrant of the page.

To: Governor Jimmy Carter  
From: <sup>RN</sup> Richard N. Gardner October 14, 1976  
Re: Four Themes for the Home Stretch

Tax  
Health  
Employment  
Security  
Housing  
Budget  
Inflation  
Rising  
Defense

As we enter the last weeks of the campaign, I have been thinking of basic themes that could make an impact on the large number of voters who are still undecided. I believe the following could be "winners" for you in the key industrial states -- particularly New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois and California:

1. Are you satisfied?

Eight years of Nixon-Ford have given us 8% unemployment and 8% inflation, a growing welfare mess, rising crime rates, an increasing number of Americans below the poverty line, the decay of our great cities, and the neglect of our urgent health and education needs. If you are satisfied with this record, vote for my opponent. If you are not, I think you should vote for me.

2. A time for justice.

It's time for a President who will provide moral leadership toward a more just society -- one in which all Americans, regardless of race, creed or color -- are treated with respect and given an equal opportunity to participate in the American dream. (A special effort is still needed to motivate black voters, many of whom are still not

sufficiently interested to go to the polls. This theme will also be helpful with Italian-Americans and other ethnic groups.)

3. National security is not just arms.

We must, of course, maintain a secure balance of military power with the Soviet Union. But balance of power by itself is not enough. Our national security is now gravely threatened by three arms races which the Nixon-Ford Administration has allowed to get out of control -- the U.S.-Soviet arms race, the spread of nuclear weapons around the world, and the explosive growth of trade in conventional weapons. SALT I and Vladivostok placed altitudinous ceilings on the numbers of delivery vehicles, but did almost nothing to control the replacement of existing weapons by new and more destructive ones. With the approach being followed by this Administration, we and the Russians <sup>together</sup> could spend half a trillion dollars by the year 2000 and both wind up less militarily secure. Moreover, we will have gravely undermined our national security by diverting scarce resources from urgent problems such as poverty, food production, new energy sources, family planning, and environmental protection. Control of these three arms races will be an absolutely top priority in a Carter Administration.

4. The renewal of America.

Four more years of a Ford Administration gives us no hope for change. We will have the same old team committed to the same old policies. We will still have Nixon holdovers in key posts. It's time for a new team, representative of what is best in America, drawn from all regions, races and walks of life, but united by two overriding qualities -- professional excellence and moral integrity.

9  
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October 20, 1976

Governor Jimmy Carter  
Plains, Georgia 31780

Dear Jimmy:

Congratulations on your fine speech last night  
at the New York Hilton.

As the enclosed letter to Stu Eizenstat makes  
clear, I have added one or two things to the enclosed  
speech at Stu's request which were not in the copy I  
gave to Milt Gwertzman yesterday.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,



Richard N. Gardner  
Henry L. Moses Professor of Law  
and International Organization

RNG/pm  
Enclosure:  
Draft speech of October 19, 1976

ccs:  
Mr. Stuart Eizenstat - Atlanta  
Mr. Richard Holbrooke - "  
with enclosure

October 20, 1976

Mr. Stuart Eizenstat  
Carter/Mondale Headquarters  
P. O. Box 1976  
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Stu:

Enclosed is the speech that I gave to Milt Gwertzman yesterday and which I also sent to Dick Holbrooke.

In accordance with your telephone call this morning, I have inserted material on pages 12A and 12B and also on page 14 and 14A on the World Bank and international development problems.

Should you wish to use still more material on this subject, I am enclosing the relevant pages from the earlier speech draft from which you can take such additional material.

Let me emphasize that the new material included with this letter is not contained in the draft sent to Dick Holbrooke last night nor in the draft given to Milt Gwertzman.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,



Richard N. Gardner  
Henry L. Moses Professor of Law  
and International Organization

RNG/pm  
Enclosure:  
Draft speech dated October 19, 1976  
and additional material

ccs:  
✓ Governor Jimmy Carter - Plains  
Mr. Richard Holbrooke - Atlanta

*Note the reference on p 6 to the "UN system," a term that includes the World Bank. This gives the speech a broader focus.*

(Richard N. Gardner draft, October 19, 1976)

*not read  
JC*

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY  
AND THE  
POLITICS OF WORLD ORDER

In my campaign for the Presidency, I have called for a new American foreign policy in which balance of power politics is supplemented by world order politics. Today, I want to tell you just what I mean by world order politics -- and some of the ways my policies would differ from the policies pursued by the Nixon-Ford Administration during the last eight years.

Both President Ford and I agree on the absolute necessity of maintaining the national security of the United States. Both of us recognize that our national security requires the maintenance of a clear balance of military power between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Where we disagree is on Mr. Ford's narrow and short-sighted definition of national security.

President Ford clearly does not agree with my call for new policies to protect our national security against new kinds of threats that are rapidly heading toward us in this increasingly interdependent world.

I believe that his Administration's narrow concept of national security, if it continues to determine our foreign policy, will reap a bitter harvest for our generation and for future generations.

In my campaign for the Presidency, I have shown how our national security is being jeopardized by the Administration's failure to act decisively to control three dangerous arms races -- the race in strategic weapons between ourselves and the Soviet Union, the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries, and the escalating trade in conventional arms.

The time has come for our country -- and all countries -- to ask whether national security can really be assured by an ever increasing arms race. President Ford claims to have put a cap on the arms race with SALT I and the Vladivostok accords, but this is not the case. The SALT Agreement of 1972 included a useful limitation on anti-ballistic missiles (ABMs) but neither it nor the Vladivostok Agreement did nearly enough to stop the race in offensive weapons. Under Vladivostok, both sides are allowed 2,400 strategic delivery vehicles (bombers, land-based missiles and sea-based missiles) of which 1,320 can be MIRVed.

I have already pointed out on several occasions that we need to go further and achieve actual reductions in force levels, but the point I want to stress today is a different one. It is that these quantitative ceilings do not limit the qualitative arms race -- the competition to substitute new and more deadly and more expensive weapons for existing ones.

Let me give an example of how the failure to limit the qualitative arms race can undermine our national security. Multiple war heads for land and sea-based missiles were first developed by the United States, with the original purpose of penetrating a comprehensive Soviet ABM system. Even when it became clear that the Soviets were not deploying such a system, the Nixon Administration went ahead with MIRV anyway, rejecting the advice of scientists and other experts, including the President's own arms control advisory committee under the Chairmanship of John J. McCloy, who advocated a reciprocal MIRV ban by both sides.

The Russians, who have shown that they can match all of our weapons developments after an interval of a few years, then proceeded to develop their own multiple war heads and are now busy placing them on their missiles. As a result, the Pentagon is now concerned about the survivability of our existing land-based missiles and is considering a new missile system -- called Missile X -- whose eventual cost has been estimated at \$30 billion.

Unless we break this futile and dangerous action-reaction cycle of new weapons development, we and the Russians could together spend an additional half a trillion dollars on new weapons by the year 2000 and both wind up less militarily secure. Moreover, we will gravely undermine our national security by diverting scarce resources from urgent problems such as poverty, our decaying cities, food production, new energy sources, family planning and environmental protection.

I want to raise explicitly in this campaign a question which this Administration has consistently failed to address. What is national security in today's world? Can it really be protected by an unending arms race? Obviously, we must maintain a secure military balance with the Soviet Union, but the question is -- at what level? Do we not enhance our security through reciprocal arms control measures which limit new and more threatening weapons being developed by the Russians in return for similar restraints by ourselves? And if we fail to limit the arms race in this way, how will we and they and other nations find the resources to deal with other threats to our security -- from urban decay, from poverty, from over-population, from inadequate food and energy supplies, and from a deteriorating environment?

I intend to be a President who protects the national security of our country not only by maintaining an adequate national defense but also by protecting against other threats. One of the first things I would do in my Administration would be to seek meaningful arms control agreements with the Soviet Union that would not only limit the total number of strategic weapons but also restrain the introduction of new weapons systems which in the long run can only undermine the national security of both sides.

Today, however, I will not talk to you mainly of the arms race. I want to tell you how the Nixon-Ford Administration has jeopardized our national security by its neglect of our interests in building a just and peaceful world order through effective international institutions.

Let me begin by recalling what our country's policy used to be on the vital issue of world order.

From the earliest days of our nation, our greatest leaders have understood that there could not be a secure America in an insecure world. In a spirit of practical idealism, they sought ways of promoting the rule of law and justice among nations.

This was true of great Democratic leaders like Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman, and John F. Kennedy. It was true also of great Republican leaders like Wendell Willkie and Dwight D. Eisenhower.

At the end of the Second World War, with the overwhelming support of both political parties, our country joined the United Nations. We took the leadership in establishing many UN specialized agencies and programs as well as institutions for regional cooperation among the non-Communist industrial nations and the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

Today, more than ever, it is clear that the national security of our country requires stronger international agencies to perform vital functions that no nation can perform alone -- conducting international peacemaking and peacekeeping missions, promoting international trade and investment programs, protecting the global environment, implementing world-wide human rights standards and combatting international terrorism.

In none of these areas has the United Nations lived up to all our expectations, and in some of them it has performed poorly. But in many cases it has clearly helped to make our world a better place. And let us remember that the UN can only do what its members want it to do -- its frustrations mirror the frustrations of a badly divided world.

Some of the UN's accomplishments have been very important to our national interest as well as to the interest of other countries. I have in mind its peacekeeping operations in Kashmir, Cyprus, the Congo and the Middle East. Our efforts to secure a disengagement after the 1973 Middle East war could not have succeeded if UN forces had not been available to occupy and patrol buffer zones between Israel, Syria and Egypt.

Nearly nine-tenths of the resources of the UN system are now devoted to economic and social cooperation. There is no question that all nations, including our own, have been helped by the UN's programs to combat malaria and smallpox, to establish acceptable rules for air and ocean transport, to promote the international exchange of weather information, and to allocate radio frequencies for global communications.

In recent years UN conferences have stimulated world-wide efforts to increase food production, protect the world environment, control population growth, and promote women's rights.

All these UN efforts are extremely important to our nation. But the United Nations has also begun to do a number of things that we do not like. Votes have gone against us on trade and development questions, on Korea, and on many issues concerning Israel. The American people were rightly shocked by the General Assembly resolution equating Zionism with racism.

The fact is that Zionism was a response to racism against the Jewish people. The concept of the State of Israel was born out of centuries of persecution of human beings because they practised a different religion. So when the UN equated Zionism with racism it badly tarnished its moral authority.

In the last two years, I have visited virtually every one of our fifty states. I have found our people deeply troubled by recent developments at the United Nations. But they do not want to abandon the UN -- they want us to work harder to make it what it was created to be -- not a cockpit for controversy but an instrument for reconciling differences and resolving common problems.

And they want UN agencies to demonstrate the same commitment to excellence, impartiality and efficiency they are demanding of their own government.

Obviously, no nation can get its way in an international agency one hundred percent of the time. The challenge to our foreign policy is to enlarge to the fullest the benefits of our UN membership while minimizing the disadvantages.

The Nixon-Ford Administration has badly failed to meet this challenge.

In fact, the policy of this Administration in the UN is in "disarray," according to a recent report issued by former U.S. representatives to the UN and UN experts.

Of course, I do not say that all our difficulties in the UN are the fault of the Administration. The vast increase of membership has created an automatic majority of new nations. The unsettled Middle East conflict has contributed to poisoning the UN atmosphere.

But the Nixon-Ford Administration has certainly made things far worse by such actions as the following:

Alienating the new majority. The Nixon-Ford Administration has shown massive insensitivity to the interests and concerns of the majority of UN members -- the majority, that is, of the countries of the world. To begin with, it approved a notorious National Security Memorandum tilting our Southern Africa policy in favor of Portuguese colonialism, the white minority regime in Rhodesia and the status quo in South Africa.

By a continuing failure of leadership with the Congress, it paved the way for the importation of chrome from Rhodesia in clear violation of a legally binding embargo for which we voted in the Security Council.

In order to assure the success of its campaign to reduce our assessed share of the UN budget, it promised increases in our voluntary contributions to UN programs -- a promise it subsequently dishonored. Our contributions to the UN Development program last year were less than that of the Scandinavian countries, whose combined GNP is one-tenth of ours. Moreover, for years the Administration ignored even reasonable demands of the developing countries for a better international economic order. These and other short-sighted policies were not only a departure from traditional American values, they alienated moderate elements in the developing world and helped fertilize an anti-U.S. mood in the UN forums that continues to plague us today. We have failed to be true to ourselves and thus seemed false to others.

Massive diplomatic failure. The Nixon-Ford Administration has failed in the UN largely because it has not backed our multilateral diplomacy with strong bilateral diplomacy -- with timely and effective representations in the capitals of key UN members by our Ambassadors and, where necessary, by the Secretary of State and the President himself.

For example, the UN resolution equating Zionism with racism was first adopted at the end of June 1975 at the International Women's Year Conference, it was introduced again in the UN General Assembly in early October, and it was adopted by the UN's Third Committee in mid-October -- but the Ford Administration made no diplomatic effort to stop

it through our Embassies until November 1. At no time did the President or Secretary Kissinger communicate with their foreign counterparts to defeat a resolution which our UN Ambassador was saying would gravely jeopardize U.S. support for the UN and seriously set back Middle East peace efforts.

Neither the President nor Secretary Kissinger called the Russians to account for their mischievous behind-the-scenes support of this resolution, nor was any serious effort made after its passage to let the 72 countries who voted for it know the depth of our displeasure. A few months later, indeed, Dr. Kissinger went to Brazil, one of the key countries whose adverse vote on the motion to postpone the matter helped assure the resolution's passage, to celebrate a new and special Brazilian-U.S. relationship, without a word of protest to the Brazilian leadership about their UN behavior. This is but one of many instances where the Administration has been saying one thing to the American people and another to foreign countries.

Costly one-man diplomacy. Henry Kissinger's lone-ranger tactics have repeatedly caused setbacks in UN forums by making it impossible to concert U.S. positions adequately with allies or neutral countries. His desire to gain a personal publicity coup was responsible for lack of advance consultation with other countries which led to the ignominious defeat of the U.S. proposal for an International Resources Bank at the UN Conference on Trade and Development in Nairobi last May.

Uneven appointments for multilateral diplomacy. Too often the Nixon-Ford Administration has used delegations to the UN General Assembly and other international meetings to reward the politically deserving rather than to appoint the highly qualified. With few exceptions, there

- 11 -

has been a general decline in the quality of staff in our permanent UN delegations in New York and Geneva and a drastic lack of support from Washington for their efforts. No wonder that in the complex business of parliamentary diplomacy, our delegations are so often outpointed in debate or outmaneuvered in negotiation.

Failure to work for UN reform. In eight years of the Ford-Nixon Administration there has not been a single meaningful initiative of the United States to strengthen the UN's capacity for peacekeeping or peacemaking. Nor has the Administration shown much interest in improving the UN's effectiveness in any other area. In the spring of 1975, a group of 25 UN experts brought forth a unanimous report on the restructuring of the UN's economic and social work. Most of the recommendations served the U.S. as well as the general interest -- greater efficiency in UN programming and budgetting, more emphasis on excellence in the Secretariat, and streamlining the administration of UN aid programs.

The most important recommendation of the group of experts was to establish new procedures to improve the UN's decision-making system -- to insure an adequate voice in UN decisions for the countries who have special responsibilities for implementing them.

The proposal is to establish small committees to negotiate solutions on contentious matters. The committees would be composed of the countries principally interested in the subject under consideration and would have a balanced representation of large, middle and small powers. The committees would work under an expert chairman to seek a general consensus which could then be approved by the General Assembly.

This system of structured decision-making would not require amendment of the United Nations Charter, only a change in the rules of procedure. It does not change the principle of one-nation one-vote, which the existing UN majority is determined to maintain. It is, therefore, a more practical way to improve the UN at this time than weighted voting, which is unacceptable to the two-thirds of the membership whose approval is required for a Charter amendment.

This was but one of many recommendations in the experts report that would serve the interests of the United States -- and of all nations -- in a more efficient and responsible United Nations. Yet to this day our American embassies around the world have received no instructions from President Ford or Secretary Kissinger to seek the cooperation of other governments in implementing these important UN reforms.

This record of inaction makes a mockery of the Administration's claim that it is working to build a new structure of peace.

Default on our commitments to multilateral development agencies. The Nixon-Ford Administration has failed to contribute the U.S. share it promised to the concessional aid programs of the Regional Development Banks in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It has failed to secure legislation to enlarge the capital of the Asian and Inter-American Development Banks in accordance with international agreements to which it subscribed. It is currently opposing a meritorious proposal to increase World Bank capital.

The excuse given by the Administration for these failures is opposition in Congress, but the real reason is Treasury Department obstruction and the failure of the President to use the full powers of his office to seek support for these multilateral development programs.

Failure to support the multilateral development institutions has poorly served our national interest. These institutions assure fair burden-sharing by other developed countries and OPEC nations, have demonstrated efficiency in the management of aid funds, are committed to meeting the basic needs of the poorest people in the poorest countries, and have a comparative advantage over bilateral programs in inducing meaningful reforms within developing countries.

Failure to target development on basic human needs. In recent years Congress has rewritten our foreign assistance legislation to focus aid on meeting basic needs in food and agriculture, health and family planning, education and the development of human resources. But the Administration has dragged its feet in implementing this

Congressional mandate to help the poorest people in the poorest countries. Due partly to weak U.S. leadership, middle-income developing countries are now receiving 50% more aid per capita than the poorest developing countries -- and the poor in all countries are still not seeing sufficient benefits from aid.

At the World Employment Conference last June, the head of the U.S. delegation went so far as to announce our country's opposition to basic human needs as a focal point for international development efforts. It is clear that an Administration ideologically hostile to helping poor people at home is equally incapable of helping poor people abroad.

Lack of Presidential leadership. This is the most serious failure of all. Secretary Kissinger has given fine speeches on issues of global order. But his fine words are seldom translated into effective action. In some cases, as in the Law of the Sea, Mr. Kissinger is simply too busy to take charge of these subjects -- and refuses to delegate the necessary authority to others. In other cases, as in commodity policy and food reserves, he is opposed by Treasury, Agriculture or other departments and Mr. Ford is unable or unwilling to resolve the differences. So our country is without leadership in the vitally important search for world order.

I have focused these criticisms on the failures of our diplomacy in the United Nations. But some of the same points could be made about our failure to strengthen regional organizations like the Organization of American States and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, which should be the focal point for economic cooperation between Europe, North America, and Japan.

It is time to end this consistent pattern of neglect of our historic interest in the rule of law among nations. It is time to make

the strengthening of efficient and responsible international organizations a central purpose of American foreign policy. If I am President, I promise you the following:

-- I will work to end the current diplomatic isolation of the United States in international bodies by cooperating closely with our allies and with the many governments in the developing world that would like to be our friends.

-- I will assure that our bilateral diplomacy is closely related to our multilateral diplomacy so that other countries will know the importance the United States attaches to their behavior in the UN and other international agencies.

-- I will replace lone-ranger diplomacy with a diplomacy that permits participation in diplomatic initiatives by many individuals and many governments.

-- I will put the best brains in our nation to work in the search for peace and appoint our UN and other delegations on a merit basis.

-- I will work closely with the Congress to see that the United States once more does its fair share in supporting multilateral development institutions.

-- I will seek to focus international development assistance on meeting the basic human needs of the poorest people in the poorest countries for adequate nutrition, education, jobs, health and family planning services.

-- I will launch a major effort for the reform and restructuring of the United Nations system, seeking the same excellence, impartiality and efficiency in international agencies that I have pledged in our own government. In view of the political obstacles to constructive Charter amendment at this time, I will put initial emphasis on reforming the UN through other means, such as those recommended by the Group of Experts to which I have referred. Where best efforts fail to achieve needed reforms in the UN, I will work with other countries to build supplementary structures.

I will, in short, maximize the international system's capacity to serve as a catalyst for constructive change.

I challenge President Ford to defend his record on the specific points I have raised with you today. And I challenge him to stop misleading the American people by suggesting that there is no difference between us on these world order issues.

For there is a profound difference between us in our approach to the urgent global problems that now demand attention in our nation's foreign policy. His is a policy of business as usual, politics as usual, diplomacy as usual. That is not my recipe for leadership.

I believe that an alliance for survival is needed -- transcending regions and ideologies -- if we are to assure mankind a safe passage to the twenty-first century.

The political leaders of all nations, whether they work within four year election cycles or five year plans, are under enormous temptations to promise short-term benefits to their people while passing on the costs to future generations. Children do not vote -- and unborn generations have no political franchise. But short-sighted policies today will lead to insuperable problems tomorrow.

The time has come for our political leaders to take a larger view of their obligations. They must show a decent respect for posterity as well as today's electorate. A good President must see himself as trustee for the future -- for the hopes and dreams of our children and grandchildren.

I believe the American people want this larger kind of leadership and I intend to provide it.

I want to build an American foreign policy of which our people can once again be proud. It will be a foreign policy in the spirit of Woodrow Wilson, of Franklin Roosevelt, of Harry Truman, and of John F. Kennedy.

It will be a foreign policy that seeks genuine answers to world problems through long-term plans rather than short-term expedients.

It will be a foreign policy of a country that is just and compassionate as well as strong, true to its commitment to human rights and to democracy, and committed to working with others instead of trying to go it alone.

Through such a foreign policy, we can offer a practical vision of a better world that can inspire our people and other peoples to work together to insure a decent future for the human race.

When President Kennedy died, he was mourned from the villages of Asia to the barrios of Latin America because he reminded all people that we were still a young and compassionate nation, full of energy and high ideals both abroad and at home. I want us to be that kind of country again. With your help, I believe we will.

\* \* \* \* \*

Columbia University in the City of New York | *New York, N. Y. 10027*

SCHOOL OF LAW

435 West 116th Street

October 25, 1976

Governor Jimmy Carter  
P. O. Box Z  
Plains, Georgia 32780

Dear Jimmy:

Enclosed please find the statement I suggested to you  
on the telephone yesterday.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Richard N. Gardner

RNG:lh

Richard N. Gardner

October 25, 1976

Suggested Statement for Governor Jimmy Carter

An American President holds the future of the country in trust. Children do not vote and unborn generations have no political franchise. But as trustee for the future, a President has an obligation to them as well as to today's voters. This obligation can only be discharged by intelligent planning that looks beyond the four year election cycle.

Most of our current problems were caused by political leaders who sought to stay in office by pushing these problems under the rug until after the next election. But there is no room left under the rug. We are paying the price today for the errors and omissions of yesterday. And our children will pay the price tomorrow for the lack of vision we show today.

This is true whether the problem is energy, the environment, racial discrimination, the decay of our cities, the neglect of our health and education needs, the nuclear arms race, or the spread of nuclear weapons.

The year 2000 is only 24 years away. If present trends continue, that year could be a frightening time for the majority of the American people now alive who will still be living then. If we are to correct these trends, we will have to do so in the next four to eight years. For the lead times between action and result are long -- and getting longer.

(over)

I intend to be a President who shows a decent respect for the future as well as for the present. And I will ask this same larger vision of the Congress and the American people.

Mr. Kirbo's copy of the "headhunting" letter

To:  
Jack Watson  
Landon Butler

ROBERT E. KINTNER  
2727 Que Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20007

October 27, 1976

PRIVATE

Dejongh Franklin, Esq.  
2400 First National Bank Tower  
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

cc: P.O. Box 1976  
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Dejongh:

When I took the job of suggesting ideas for Governor Carter, I thought at the end on Election Day, when I hoped and now believe, that he would be elected President.

You will remember I took the job on the condition that my advice be kept confidential and I stipulated that I wanted no job on the Carter Administration and would, in fact, take none and I was completely uninterested in power, either political or social resulting from any type of connection with the President.

I feel this very strongly, because to be completely frank, as a reporter covering the White House, as a Washington columnist, as an army intelligence officer, as President of ABC, as President of NBC, as Secretary to the Cabinet, and Administrative Assistant to the President, I have had all these "things" and know how relatively unimportant they are and I prefer to lead my own life in my own way, primarily because I have enough money to do so. As you know, I have a house here and one in Haiti and I like to go to Haiti where I have a very beautiful house in rural Haiti on the Atlantic Ocean without telephone, television, newspapers or any communication except very complicated ones, and daily BBC and Voice of America Broadcasts. Although Haiti is a dictatorship, it is without real regulations and I do what I please, have as guests whom I want, and probably have one of the better houses on the island.

I do enjoy giving through you, my ideas to Governor Carter and I hope, in a small way, I helped in the complicated, difficult and intricate Presidential campaign. I received and wanted no compensation and I want none now.

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Whatever money I spent was my own and spent because I like doing what work I did.

There is one field left, however, in which I have an interest, but my feelings will not be hurt if Governor Carter has already made ample provision for what I think is the first difficult job of all Presidents, mainly, "head-hunting". As I remember it, there are about 1000 jobs that the President can appoint of which about 200 are key jobs, in the various departments, various regulatory agencies, embassys and the like. When I was President of NBC, because Sargent Schriever headed up the recruitment staff for President Kennedy, I was familiar with how difficult it is to get good people in the right job who really understand enough about the government to operate well. I did quite a bit of work for Johnson in this area as he made a large number of replacements due partly to his desires and partly to attrition. I realize that Governor Carter has a key man for his handling of "headhunting", at least as I gather from the New York Times, I certainly do not want to upset any organization that he may have created with which he has confidence, which is working well. But I did want to say that if you want explored in a primitive fashion, candidates for important jobs, I can do this and would like to do this and still keep up my Washington/Haiti routine.

I think I have two advantages.

1) As head of two corporations I have selected hundreds for executives, most of whom turned out very well. From being in the newspaper business, from being in the Army, and from working within the White House, I do know how the Federal Government operates and I believe I know how the bureaucracy stymies the facts to redo personnel and procedure. In other words, I have a background on both sides and in addition I have kept up my acquaintances with businessmen such as Henry Ford; with a great many professeurs; with a host of editors; with writers and creative people; with liberal leaders and union members; and with, of course, a great many people in the entertainment business, both on the East and West Coast. I also know the three networks backwards and forewards as well as many newspaper and magazine publishers. In other words, I have more than the usual acquaintanceship with the leaders in the private enterprise field. In addition I am extremely familiar with persons who have served in the government since 1960. Therefore, if Governor Carter should

need some special work, not in selecting individuals, but in getting his or her background, an appraisal of how they would fit in a government job, and their real interest in doing government work, I believe I have the proper qualifications in a useable form for Governor Carter and his closest associates. I obviously would only be interested in important and significant jobs in government, not in run of the mind appointments, particularly in the financial, broadcasting and college fields. I have no special interest.

My financial affairs are handled by Lazard Freres, an international banking house, and particularly by Andre Meyer. As far as they know I own no broadcasting stock, but I do own stock in financial institutions such as banks, utility companies, and a general list of corporate, municipal and federal bonds. When I was at the White House, only Bob MacNamara and I had "Blind Trusts". Mine was operated by Mr. Meyer. I did not know at the time what securities were bought or sold or what securities I held. I received an income each month from Lazard Freres and Company which did not designate from what companies it came. When I retired from the White House, my portfolio was returned to me and was managed jointly by Lazard Freres and myself.

In any event, this is an idea for trying to help; it is not that important to me to be of great significance. It is offered only on the basis that if I can help, and Governor Carter wants this help, I would be willing. Let me repeat, I do not want nor do I expect a job in the Federal Government. Nor do I want to be known as having power with the Administration. Nor am I interested in the Social aspects of the White House. It seems strange, I know, but I have had all of these things and I know what they mean or don't mean.

Every good wish,

Sincerely,

*Bob Kintner*

Robert E. Kintner