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(3 of 3)  
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# WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## Ronald Reagan Library

**Collection:** Fielding, Fred F.: Files  
**OA/Box:** CFOA 433  
**File Folder:** [Debategate:] Miscellaneous Materials (3)

**Archivist:** kdb  
**FOIA ID:** 1188  
**Date:** 10/15/2003

DOCUMENT NO. & TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. note	Myles to Frank, 1p	n.d.	b(6)
2. memo	Sam Popkin to Patrick Caddell, 6p	n.d.	b(6)
3. memo	from Sam, 4p	n.d.	b(6)
4. memo	same as item 3, 4p	n.d.	b(6)
5. schedule	re debate preparation, 2p	n.d.	b(6)

### RESTRICTIONS

P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].  
P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].

P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].  
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].  
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].  
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].  
b(2) Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].  
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].  
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].  
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].  
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].  
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].  
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

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## Memo

From: WAYNE VALIS *Wayne*

To: Dave Gergen

Date: 10-21-80

These notes are based  
on a Carter debate staff  
brain storming session --  
middle level types --  
nothing spectacular, but  
interesting -- from a  
source intimately connected  
to a Carter debate staff  
member. Reliable.  
I gave a copy to  
Jim Baker. — WV

10/20/80

Proposed Carter Tactics for Debate and Campaign Advertising.

- 1.) Carter plans to expose Reagan flip-flops.
  - E.g. Reagan's positions on tax breaks for private education:
    - Before: in favor of tax credits for high school and college.
    - After: in favor of credits only for college.
  - E.g. Reagan's positions on bilingual education
  - E.g. Reagan's position on OSHA

Where Reagan has not flip-flopped, Carter plans to portray him as having blurred or dangerous positions.

Where Reagan has changed his position, Carter plans to portray Reagan as indecisive, as a political opportunist, or as opposed to an enlightened set of policies (especially on such questions as ERA and Minimum Wage)
- 2.) Carter is hoping to be portrayed as the underdog in the debate. But in the week preceding the debate, he hopes to come across as having momentum.
- 3.) Carter plans to brand Reagan-Kemp-Roth as an "Alice-in-Wonderland" medicine.
- 4.) Carter is pleased with the recent statistics showing an economic upturn. But he is very concerned about the high interest rates. He plans to blame the Fed for these, but he fears that the people won't be able to distinguish between the Fed and his own administration.
- 5.) He plans to continue to harp on the warmonger issue.
- 6.) He plans to raise the age issue again. He plans to point out that when Bush was a congressman, he proposed a bill that would require mandatory retirement for congressmen at age 70. Carter hopes to point out the incongruity of the situation.
- 7.) Carter may have ads which interview Reagan's old classmates in order to highlight how old they are.
- 8.) Carter is trying to get a hold of film-clips of Reagan filming campaign ads. (He may already have such film-clips.) These clips apparently show Reagan being corrected time and again for various mistakes by voices of aides who are saying: "No, Governor, the figure is 75% and not 10%".... "No, Governor, the head of the USSR is Brezhnev not Khrushchev" and similar such corrections.
- 9.) Carter may use a film-clip of Reagan asking "Who is that?" when reference in conversation is made to Giscard d'Estaing.
- 10.) Carter's people are afraid of the effectiveness of the Reagan ads which use the bar graphs showing the inflation rates and the ads which show the grocery carts.

# Reagan & Bush

## Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

### M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ronald Reagan .  
FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin  
DATE: October 24, 1980  
RE: Summary of the Debate Strategy\*

1. Be yourself. Don't hesitate, however, to attack Carter strongly on his record or to diffuse with disarming humor his personal charges when they become overblown.
2. Focus the thrust of each answer on Carter's incompetence and weak record.
3. In the presentation of your public policies show how they will impact people.
4. Cite the specific steps in your strategies for peace and economic growth.
5. Millions of voters are frustrated and disillusioned; they are looking for a competent, compassionate leader capable of giving them hope about the prospects for the future.
6. The key to the debate is to motivate Republicans and ticket-splitters to turnout on election day.
7. Our advantage lies in the fact that you are the best electronic media candidate in history.
8. Regardless of Carter's challenges, it is critical that you demonstrate constraint, firmness, moderation and compassion.

\*Attached is a longer memo for your perusal.

# Memo

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## RONALD W. REAGAN LIBRARY

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6. The key to the debate is to motivate Republicans and ticket-splitters to turnout on election day.
7. Our advantage lies in the fact that you are the best electronic media candidate in history.
8. Regardless of Carter's challenges, it is critical that you demonstrate constraint, firmness, moderation and compassion.
9. Use selected examples of Carter's mismanagement of government, his misstatements and flip-flops.

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# Reagan & Bush

## Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

### M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Reagan/Bush Campaign

FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin, Richard S. Beal & Myles Martel

DATE: October 21, 1980

RE: Reagan-Carter Debate Strategy

#### Campaign and Debate Axiom

If the Governor succeeds Tuesday in making Jimmy Carter's record the major issue of the debate and the campaign, we will succeed in the debate and win the general election.

If, however, Carter makes Ronald Reagan the issue of the debate and the campaign, we will lose both.

The above axiom holds because the major debate task turns on enhancing Ronald Reagan's perceived trustworthiness.

- Simply, if voters believe Ronald Reagan is more worthy of their trust after the debate than they did before, his vote support will expand and strengthen.
- This can be accomplished if the debate focuses on Carter's incompetence and weak record in office, and Reagan's compassion. Neither position can be reinforced when the Governor defends past positions.

#### Target Audience and the Voter Turnout Objective

The target audience consists of a key segment of the American vote--Republicans and ticket-splitters. It is these voters, not the panel and certainly not Carter the Governor is addressing.

- The Governor has already built a coalition large enough to win the presidential election, and hence, we want to use this debate to re-inforce our base and motivate them to turn out on election day.

- Our empirical studies show that if we increase the turnout of our voters by 2% over Carter's, it increases our electoral margin by 30 electoral votes.

The campaign strategy has been to deal initially to our Republican and conservative base, then to broaden our appeal, and finally to return to the base during these last two weeks of the campaign.

- The surveys show that we need, at this juncture, to increase our appeal among Republicans and ideologically moderate ticket-splitters who need to be reinforced through the Governor's debate performance.
- In answering the questions during the debate, the Governor must remember that ticket-splitters are solution oriented, somewhat skeptical and more interested in the issues and public policy than the image traits of the candidates.

These voters will respond to references to the "Nine Steps" in the Governor's peace strategy with the three critical elements of the "Strategy for Economic Growth." It is extremely important to avoid references to "Republicans and Democrats" or "I am a conservative" because ticket-splitters are non-partisans who are put-off by these words.

The Anderson debate helped, generally, to broaden our political base. Today the Reagan vote is larger, more committed and includes more segments of the voting population than does Carter's. Carter's base remains very fluid and uncertain.

The debate should help to solidify further the Reagan base and motivate them to turn out on election day. Only 22% of the electorate are self-identified Republicans, hence without the support of these ticket-splitters the Governor could not be elected.

#### Major Advantages

The principal advantages the Governor maintains going into this debate are:

- He has already debated six times before in this campaign and is more accustomed to such events.
- He is the best electronic media candidate in history.
- He will appear robust and vigorous by comparison to Carter who will likely appear bleached out and tense.

## Principal Strategic Objectives

Televised political debates focus on image attributes more than issue positions. The image attributes we need to reinforce are:

- Competence
- Compassion
- Reasonableness, moderation, and thoughtfulness
- Strength

Essentially, the debate objective is:

Present Ronald Reagan as a reasonable and compassionate man with a vision of America and the competence to take us from simply providing the hope that vision conveys to its actualization.

How is this objective achieved?

Carter's attack strategy will undoubtedly try to represent Reagan's policies as "naive, unrealistic, anachronistic, and Alice-in-Wonderlandish." In response to this attack, the Governor has an excellent opportunity to show constraint, thoughtfulness and strength. And, when the attack becomes overblown, he should use disarming humor which will build both rapport and trust with the electorate.

It is essential for the Governor to use his answers to show that he is aware of different sides of the issues, that they are complex and that only after thoughtful consideration has he settled on a particular policy-orientation. In response to the Carter attacks that "he has flip-flopped," the Governor can use such attacks to demonstrate reasonableness and the lack of policy rigidity.

### Carter's Attack Strategy

Exploit Reagan's flip-flops.

Make extensive use of Reagan quotes, e.g. during Democratic Convention.

Attack the Reagan California record and how Reagan has "distorted it."

### Reagan's Response Strategy

Use changes to show reasonableness; defend public policy changes because circumstances have changed.

Counter with Carter and Kennedy quotes; avoid unnecessarily strident reactions; bring the discussion back to the Carter record.

Defend with confidence and indignation moving as quickly as possible back to the Carter record as the real issue; avoid unnecessary stridency; counter with "when Governor Carter approached this problem in his state, the record shows..." but the real issue of this is the Carter record which show he still hasn't been able to solve the



### Carter's Attack Strategy

Attack Reagan's ideas as "quick fixes" that are unrealistic and even unworkable.

Suggest Reagan would be a dangerous man in the White House.

Several general points should be followed in the Governor's response strategy during the debate.

- It is not necessary to answer or respond to each of Carter's charges.
- It is especially important that the Governor be prepared for Carter's distortions of the California record. A good response to much of what Carter will say in this regard is something the Governor has already said: "You know, it's one thing when the Carter Administration jimmies its own economic figures to make its record look good, but when Mr. Carter starts jimmying my figures, that's going too far."
- The bottom line on the California record is that Californians were better off after the Governor's two terms of office, than this country is after four years of Jimmy Carter.

### Reagan's Response Strategy

problems and maintain presidential tone and demeanor; act humored by Carter California record attacks--he doesn't understand the problems of California anymore than of the nation.

Given the Carter record, the Carter Administration is incapable of evaluating what would work or not work; argue most Carter policies are in place for such a short time before Mr. Carter changes his mind that their only impact is a quick fix.

Respond with righteous indignation; no one wants peace more than I, after all, what reasonable person would not; the difference between Mr. Carter and I is my commitment to deter conflict by being economically and militarily strong, and pursuing a consistent foreign policy; uncertainty in our foreign policy is more apt to cause an international crisis that would result in war, than to have a strong economy and military.

- The Governor's responses must appear confident and strong, not strident.

### Reagan Attack Strategy

The Governor should use his answers to remind the public of:

- Carter, instead of leading the people to greater peace and prosperity, was content to declare there was a malaise in the country and that it would not matter who was President the economy would be just as bad.
- Carter has failed to provide a steady hand at the helm, especially in foreign policy. We have very little support from our allies and largely undeveloped and fragmented policies toward our adversaries.
- Carter has been indecisive, and unwilling to pursue vigorously domestic and international policies.
- More than any previous administration, the Carter Administration has politicized the cabinet and compromised the non-partisan functions of the Departments of State and Defense.

### Tactics and Special Considerations

- Emphasize strength and decisiveness while avoiding stridency. Anderson's stridency hurt him in the previous debate.
- Use of a combination of "Mr. Carter" and "President Carter" with more frequent use of "Mr. Carter."
- Remember the debate is between Ronald Reagan the candidate for President, and Jimmy Carter the candidate for the same office. When making references to the 1976 campaign, use "Jimmy Carter."
- Compassion is most easily communicated by referring to situations during the course of campaign experiences.
- Make use of the voter appeal of George Bush by referencing consultations and policy discussions with him.
- Avoid unnecessary references to "the past" and buzz words that alienate blocs of voters, e.g. "detente."

Reagan: Competence and Compassion

The man who will be the President of the United States for the next four years is:

The man who correctly identifies the nation's most pressing problems, and has the drive and ability to resolve them compassionately.

- What the American people want most is leadership in the White House that will give them hope that the country is heading in a direction that will mean greater security and prosperity.
- They are tired of pessimism and the acquiescence to mediocrity. But they are equally wary of political promises by office seekers who are not truly committed to the welfare of the people.
- Americans are looking for specific policy options such as those enumerated in the two speeches--"Strategy for Peace" and "Strategy for Economic Growth," which will already be given by the time of the debate. The Governor should not hesitate to repeat the steps outlined in each.

The Governor must communicate to the American people through his answers that it is the people's interests he intends to serve. The people say the thing that is killing them is inflation, and a weak economy. What will restore this country to its proper bearings is a President committed to reducing inflation and improving the economy.