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The Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D. C. 20505

28 June 1983

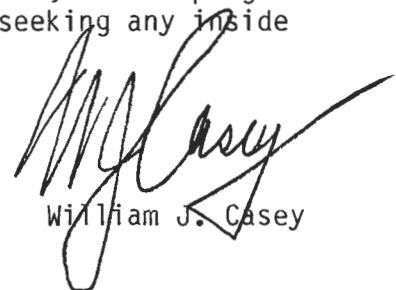
MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable Fred Fielding
Counsel to the President

SUBJECT: The Carter Briefing Book

1. I have examined the handwritten note from Myles Martel to Frank Hodsoll and the handwritten note from Wayne Vales to David Gergen and the one-page typewritten note attached. I have no recollection of ever seeing any of this before.

2. I have also examined the pile of papers provided to the White House Counsel's office by Francis Hodsoll and David Gergen. I do not recognize them as anything I have seen before. A great many papers came to my desk during September and October of 1980. Any pile of papers two inches high would almost certainly have been set aside to be passed along to others in the campaign. However, if papers headed "Presidential Debates, Foreign Policy and National Security Issues" came in, I believe they would have caught my eye or would have been brought to my attention and I would not have forgotten, nor would I have forgotten if anyone came in and handed them to me. Until recent disclosures, I did not know that the campaign had any material from the Carter camp that was not publicly available.

3. As I have already written to Congressman Albosta, the campaign management never contemplated, directed or authorized seeking any inside information from the Carter camp.



William J. Casey

JUN 28 1966

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 6/28/83

Suspense Date _____

MEMORANDUM FOR: FFF

FROM: **DIANNA G. HOLLAND**

ACTION

- ☐ Approved
- ☐ Please handle/review
- ☐ For your information
- ☐ For your recommendation
- ☐ For the files
- ☐ Please see me
- ☐ Please prepare response for
_____ signature
- ☐ As we discussed
- ☐ Return to me for filing

COMMENT

Doris from Mr. Casey's office called to say that she had not been able to read Mr. Casey's handwriting and that the word "instantly" in line 5 of paragraph 2 should have been "certainly." She will send a corrected copy.

The Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D. C. 20505

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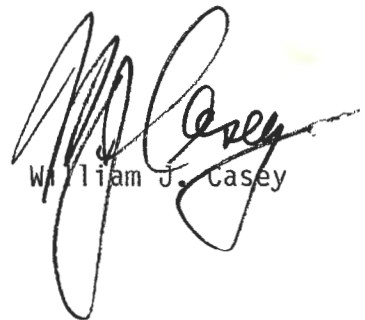
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William J. Casey

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 28, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED F. FIELDING
Counsel to the President

FROM: DAVID R. GERGEN 

SUBJECT: Materials Relating to the 1980 Campaign

In response to your request, I would like to provide you with my best recollections of the materials that the White House is publicly releasing today relating to the 1980 Reagan-Carter debate.

As I have acknowledged on previous occasions, I do not have a precise memory of everything that occurred during the weeks preceding the debate. In the case of events and documents of keen significance at the time, I can generally remember them well (e.g., the briefing book prepared for Governor Reagan). In the case of events and documents that made less of an impression, I am afraid it is difficult for me to reconstruct with certainty.

(1) Letter of transmittal from Patrick Caddell to Richard Hauser

(a) I have no memory whatever of the briefing book submitted to President Carter and provided to the White House yesterday. I can say without hesitation that I did not use that briefing book to prepare debate materials for President Reagan. I am not aware of anyone else on the debate preparation team having such a document.

I cannot attest to whether or not we had an early draft of the question and answer materials relating to domestic policy (similar to the early draft of Q&A which we had relating to foreign policy). I cannot remember it, but if it were there, I must assume that I saw it. I am of the view that if it were present, it was not a significant part of the preparations of the briefing book for Governor Reagan. I have no reason to believe that the strategic or tactical materials, the lines of rebuttal, etc., that are in the Carter briefing book were in the hands of the Reagan campaign.

Fred F. Fielding (cont'd)

(b) As to the supplementary foreign policy questions, please see item 2 below.

(2) "Presidential Debates: Foreign Policy and National Security Issues"

This material was found by Frank Hodsoll in his files on Saturday, June 25, 1983; I found the same materials (absent the first two pages) in my files on Monday, June 27, 1983. Frank Hodsoll and I worked together on the debate preparations and the two of us shared an office in the campaign headquarters (I was working there on a part-time basis until October 15, 1980 and on a full-time basis thereafter). I do not remember how I obtained the material, and in fact, did not even remember I had it until undertaking a thorough search of my files. It is probable that one of us obtained it first, and gave the other a xerox. Upon seeing the material again, I do have a recollection of looking through it. I do not remember studying it closely. I can only assume I did not review it carefully because it didn't seem especially helpful. While it does bear a title of "briefing book", the accompanying cover document that was in Mr. Hodsoll's files makes it clear that it was also for general campaign use and that it was drawn from public statements of the Carter administration. It hardly seemed the kind of tightly-drawn, highly sensitive material that would be submitted to the President in the crunch before a major debate. Upon inspection, it is apparent to me that this material (dated variously from September 10 through September 29, 1980) did serve as an early draft of the more condensed and refined materials, dated October 20, 1980, that were prepared for President Carter (item 1(b) above).

(3) Miscellaneous Foreign Affairs and Defense Issue Materials

Frank Hodsoll found this material in his files on June 25; I did not find it in my files. I do not remember it, and thus I cannot say whether I reviewed it during the campaign.

(4) Handwritten note from Martel to Hodsoll

Martel's note says that he sent copies to "Dave G.", an obvious reference to me. I did not find a copy of the materials in my files, but upon seeing them again, I do remember the "balloon popping" memo -- mostly because of its catchy phrase. I have to assume I also read the second Popkin memo. I do not remember when I first saw these items. To the best of my recollection, these items had no standing in our campaign effort.

Fred F. Fielding (cont'd)

(5) Valis Memo to Gergen, 10-21-80

This was an unsolicited memo that I found in my files on June 27, 1983. While I had forgotten it until then, I do remember reading it during the campaign. I do not know who produced it or how Mr. Valis obtained it. To the best of my knowledge, I took no action on the basis of it.

By its own account, it contains information from a mid-level Carter debate staff member (whether White House or campaign is unclear) and it appears to be a second or third-hand account. The part referring to the debate makes points that were obvious during the campaign (e.g., it was conventional wisdom that President Carter would attack Governor Reagan for so-called flip-flops); the rest of the document refers to campaign advertising.

(6) Reagan Briefing Book

As you can imagine, a great many hours went into the preparation of this book. It derives from many different papers, ideas, drafts, news clippings, etc., and many different people contributed to it. An objective evaluation of this book will show, I believe, that it does not bear a significant relationship to the materials from the Carter camp. To be sure, some of the same issues and the same points appear in both -- but that's because those were the major issues of the campaign and it was obvious they might arise in the debate. Clearly, we were interested in anticipating Carter attack points, but we were far more interested in honing Reagan attack points (not something found in Carter camp materials) and even more important, setting forth Ronald Reagan's positive vision and program for the country --- and that was something the candidate himself had developed over many years.

* * *

I am attaching to this memorandum a copy of a letter I am sending today to Congressman Albosta.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 28, 1983

Dear Congressman Albosta:

Since responding to your letter last week, I have found that I made a mistake, and I want to correct the record with you and to convey to you my personal apology.

In my letter to you of June 22, I said in part:

"It is possible that I did see some pages of 'Carter material' for a brief period, but I do not recall it.

"I do recall hearing that some material from the Carter campaign was present in the Reagan campaign...

"As you can well understand, the passage of nearly three years' time leaves me a little hazy about all the many details of the debate preparations."

Mr. Chairman, that letter was written to you in good faith, based upon my best recollections plus those of a few other close colleagues with whom I consulted. Unfortunately, I wrote that letter to you before completing a thorough search of all of my files. I just didn't think I had anything there of relevance. That was a mistake I very much regret. In completing that search with the help of a member of my staff, I found yesterday two items that should properly and promptly be brought to your attention:

-- A set of materials clearly prepared by the Carter camp relating to foreign policy and national security issues. These materials have various dates ranging from September 10 through September 29, 1980, several weeks before the debate was formally scheduled. It appears they were an early draft of materials that were later summarized, refined and included in many parts of the final briefing materials on this subject, dated October 20, 1980. (A copy of materials being released by the White House today shows that the pages in my files are a subset of those that another member of the campaign team found in his files over the weekend.)

-- Second, I found an unsolicited note sent to me on October 21, 1980 by a Mr. Wayne Valis with a one-page attachment. Valis describes the attachment as "notes ... based on a Carter debate staff brainstorming session -- middle level types -- nothing spectacular, but interesting -- from a source intimately connected to a Carter debate staff member..." After seeing this material again, I can remember that I read it at the time

received. I cannot remember my reaction, but it strikes me now as a second or third-hand account of what was already well known (e.g., Carter planned to attack Reagan on so-called flip-flops) and some random notes on Carter advertising plans.

(Both of these materials, as well as others, are being forwarded to you today by the Counsel to the President.)

There were no other items in my files that appear to have come from the Carter camp. I definitely read the second item noted above, though I did nothing with the information provided. Having my memory refreshed, I can now advise you that I still do not recall studying or spending any time with the materials in the first item above, but clearly I must have looked through these materials sometime prior to the debate in October.

If I might, I would once again like to emphasize that my memory of these events has been dimmed by the passage of nearly three years' time. In searching my files, I also found several hundreds of pages of material generated within the Reagan campaign that I did not recall until I saw them again. I can only say that, like others in this Administration, I am trying to make a good faith effort to reconstruct events of that period. After reviewing the briefing book submitted on our side, it remains my view that while materials received from the Carter camp were of interest, to my knowledge, they did not play any significant role in the preparation of materials for Governor Reagan.

As noted in my letter of June 22, I am eager to be fully cooperative with you in this matter, and regret any inconvenience caused you by my failure to review all of my files before tendering my previous response.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "David R. Gergen". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

David R. Gergen
Assistant to the President
for Communications

The Honorable Donald Albosta
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 28, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: FRED FIELDING

FROM: JAMES A. BAKER, III



Today the White House is releasing documents from the Carter and Reagan campaigns relating to preparations for the debate between the two of them. My comments on these documents are as follows:

(1)(a) I never saw this book before June 27, 1983. As to the information therein, I specifically do not recall having seen the strategic and tactical information. Some of the policy issue briefing material could have been drawn from the issue material that was in the book I briefly saw, as mentioned in my letter to Congressman Albosta.

(1)(b) I never saw this document before June 27, 1983. As to the information in it, it appears that some of it was derived from items (2) and (3).

(2) These approximately 275 pages of material could have been in the book which I saw briefly and which I referred to in my letter to Congressman Albosta. I think this material is consistent with my description of what I remember seeing, as set forth in my letter to Congressman Albosta, and, indeed, I think the cover sheets support that, (e.g. "Useful for general campaign purposes"; "Responses drawn from speeches, press conferences and other policy statements by the President and senior administration officials").

(3) These approximately 250 pages of material likewise could have been what I remember seeing briefly. I think they too are consistent with my description of what I saw, as set forth in my letter to Congressman Albosta.

(4) I never saw this note or any of the attachments before June 25, 1983.

(5) The cover note is not addressed to me, and I don't recall having seen it before June 27, 1983. By the same token, I have no specific recollection of having received a copy of the one page attachment. I did not solicit a copy, but it is of course possible that one was given to me.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

June 28, 1983

TO: FRED FIELDING
FROM: DAVID A. STOCKMAN *DAS*
SUBJECT: CARTER CAMPAIGN MATERIALS

I have reviewed the documents designated #1 - #6. The following are my recollections and observations.

Document #1-A. "Debate Briefing Materials"

To the best of my recollection, I have not previously seen this document. The only section of this document that appears to be similar to the material I received and described in my letter to Chairman Albosta is Part I (3) entitled "Carter Questions and Answers" on "Economy", "Energy and Environment", "Overview", "Government" and "Human Needs". While this section appears to be in a different format, more tightly written and organized, and more addressed to specific debating points than I recall, I would conclude that the substantive content of Section 3 of Document 1-A is similar to material made available to me prior to the debate rehearsals.

The remainder of the document consists of numerous succinct lists of "Key Lines", "Accomplishments", "Promises", "Challenges", "Rebuttals", "Platform Comparisons", "Quotes", and related matters. To the best of my recollection, this type of material was not included in the large volume of xeroxed pages made available to me by the Reagan campaign.

Thus, while my recollection of specific sections and headings is necessarily limited after two and one-half years, it is my strong impression that the material in Part I (1) - (2), and (4) - (9), as well as all of the material in Part II, was not among that which I received on October 23, 1980.

Document #1-B: "Presidential Debate Briefing Papers: Foreign Policy and National Security Material"

This document consists of policy issue materials relating to a variety of foreign policy and defense topics. To the best of my recollection, I have not previously seen this document. However, the individual policy sections are quite similar to the materials I recall having received from the Reagan campaign, described in my letter to Chairman Albosta. This document appears to contain fewer topics, less redundancy and better editing and organization than I recall, but its content is otherwise consistent with my recollections.

Document #2: "Presidential Debates: Foreign Policy and National Security Issues"

This document is consistent - both as to content and format - with my best recollection of the material delivered to me on October 23, 1980. I specifically recall two features of this document:

- 1) the absence of page numbers in the table of contents, which made it difficult to find specific topics;
- 2) the extreme redundancy and overlap among the issue briefs, as contained, for example, in the half-dozen specific papers on different aspects of U.S. - NATO relations.

While it is difficult to be absolutely certain about document identity after two and one-half years, it is my strong impression that this document was among the material delivered to me by the Reagan campaign.

Document #3: Miscellaneous Fact Sheets and Quotations

I do not have a distinct recollection of the vast bulk of material contained in this document -- particularly the extensive quotations from vice presidential candidate Bush or the reproduced documents such as the House Armed Services Committee hearing transcript and the Reagan-Bush Committee news release.

However, I note that the document resembles the kind of loosely organized issue compendium material that was contained in the large package of xeroxed pages delivered to me by the Reagan campaign. I would conclude that part or all of this document could have been included in the material delivered to me by the Reagan campaign.

Document #4: Handwritten Note from Myles Martel and Attachment

I have no recollection of seeing this document at any time prior to June 25, 1983.

Document #5: Note from Wayne Valis to David Gergen

I have no recollection of seeing this document at any time prior to June 27, 1983.

Document #6: Debate Briefing Book

My best recollection is that substantial parts of this document were among the materials delivered to me from the Reagan campaign on October 23, 1980.

June 28, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRED FIELDING

FROM: FRANK HODSOLL *FH*

SUBJECT: CARTER-REAGAN DEBATE BRIEFING MATERIALS

I understand it is the White House's intention to release materials involving Carter-Reagan Debate preparations. I have reviewed the following documents on which my comments are set out below:

1. Letter of Transmittal from Patrick Caddell to Richard Hauser, dated June 27, 1983, enclosing (1) (a) "a copy of the briefing book used by President Carter in his preparations for the October 28, 1980 debate; and (1) (b) "supplementary foreign policy questions and answers":

I had never seen this briefing book or "supplementary foreign policy questions and answers" prior to their being provided to me on June 27, 1983, although some of the international and defense position materials are similar in content to those in Item 2 below. I cannot be certain whether I have seen in different form any of the domestic issue material, but I know I had never seen any of the strategic and tactical materials contained therein.

2. "Presidential Debates: Foreign Policy and National Security Issues" (September 29, 1980):

These materials were provided to me unsolicited after we had begun in earnest our preparations for the debate between then candidate Reagan and President Carter. I do not remember the exact date on which they were handed to me or who handed me the materials. I believe it was someone in the Reagan-Bush Campaign who provided me with these materials. I would remember now if it had been someone from outside our Campaign.

I read these materials and remember thinking at the time that they were of only marginal interest. I also remember thinking at the time that they were the kind of materials that appeared to have come from the bureaucracy -- e.g., agency (not final) briefing materials for a Presidential press conference -- not the kind of materials that would have been overly useful for a debate, not at all like those we were preparing for candidate Reagan.

At the time I received these materials, we had already completed much of our work on candidate Reagan's briefing book. Further, the vast majority of the material in this Item appeared to have been drawn from the public record as noted in its cover document.

Review of the materials reflects that they may have influenced the briefing book preparation in two or three instances, but did not impact significantly on debate preparation.

In the period after the Cleveland debate, I closed down the Debate Group office and evidently took these materials (among others, including Items 3 and 4) to my home where I stored them with other materials from previous jobs.

On June 25, 1983, the White House Counsel's office called to ask me how debate materials had been archived at the Hoover Institution. I volunteered to search my file. (I had meant to do this after my interview with the Washington Post on June 17, but had not had the chance due to the press of other business and my being out of town.) When I found Items 2, 3 and 4, I promptly turned them over to the White House Counsel's office for transmittal to the Justice Department.

NOTE: There remains a question as to whether at one time I had similar materials involving domestic issues. My presumption is that I must have had such materials, although I no longer do and cannot be certain that I ever did.

3. Miscellaneous Foreign Affairs and Defense Issue Materials:

These materials were also provided to me unsolicited in the same time frame as Item 2, although in this case I have no specific recollection of having reviewed them. The issues involved are not a complete set of international and defense issues, and some of the papers appear to be oriented toward Vice Presidential activity. I am quite sure they did not influence the way in which we prepared our briefing books.

4. Handwritten Note from Miles Martel to Frank Hodsoll (undated) with attachments by Sam Popkin:

These materials were presumably transmitted to me by Mr. Martell. I do not recall actually reading this material; but, if I did, it could not have materially influenced my preparation of our briefing book.

5. Handwritten Note from Wayne Vallis to Dave Gergen (dated October 21, 1980) attaching a one-page typewritten note (dated October 20, 1980):

I have never seen these materials before they were provided to me June 27, 1983.

6. Reagan Campaign briefing book commencing with Table of Contents, prepared by the Debate Briefing Group under the supervision of Messrs. Gergen and Hodsoll dated and delivered to candidate Reagan on October 24, 1980:

This is a copy of the briefing book we prepared for Candidate Reagan. It will be noted that it has significantly different thrust and form from the materials in Items 2 and 3. It represented the distillation of thousands of pages of materials.

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