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FOR THE PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL USE



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 28, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

VIA: ROBERT T. HARTMANN *RTH*

FROM: JACK CALKINS *JC*

GWEN ANDERSON *GA*

The attached memorandum is respectfully submitted.



April 28, 1975

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this memorandum is to demonstrate the critical necessity of starting the planning and execution of President Ford's 1976 campaign immediately, and to suggest steps which should be taken to organize the campaign. The success of this campaign will in very large measure be determined by the quality of early planning and orderly execution of this \$30 million nationwide undertaking.

THE 1976 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN MUST START NOW

Regardless of the timing of the President's formal announcement, it is imperative that the preparations for the 1976 campaign start as soon as possible. Adequate planning time is mandatory for the organizational structuring and political decision-making required for a successful nationwide campaign.

The 1976 Presidential campaign will require the most careful expenditure of monies in history. Federal law permits a maximum expenditure of \$20 million for the general campaign, as opposed to more than double that amount spent by each of the major party candidates in 1972. Thus, it is



of critical importance to maximize the use of every available dollar. This can only be done by spending the necessary time to structure the organization and its activities in the most efficient modes so that the most intelligent use of these monies can be made. In past Presidential campaigns, considerable portions of available funds have been spent willy-nilly on spur-of-the-moment projects and on people and materials which were not really required but which satisfied some imagined prestige factor. With the present legal monetary restrictions, timely planning must be instigated to achieve effective utilization of funds.

The new Federal law also restricts Presidential candidates to pre-Convention expenditures of \$10 million. Thus, organizational and political decisions must be well thought out at a very early stage. The spade work essential to a well run pre-Convention campaign must be done well in advance of the primary filing dates and the delegate selection processes. A highly organized effort to obtain the greatest number of Republican Convention delegates for President Ford should be in the planning process now and the contacting phase should be in the field as soon as possible. The more delegates supporting the President at the 1976 GOP Convention, the better will be his political position in terms of media output, the party and the voters.



Because of the President's caution in taking definite steps toward organizing the 1976 campaign, many party people, voters and media people are not convinced that he will stand for election next year. This makes the President appear weak, disorganized and/or unknowledgeable concerning national Presidential politics. Worse, it allows other potential Presidential candidates to obtain supporters (including convention delegates) and it creates an atmosphere in which the conservatives will make bolder and stronger moves against the President and/or his positions on issues.

Absent any movement on the part of the President to quickly move ahead in his 1976 campaign, party leaders and members who might become Ford delegates to the 1976 Presidential Convention will become confused. Some of those who would support the President will sit back waiting to see what is going to happen. Some hardcore conservative Republicans who are thinking of becoming 1976 delegates to vote for the right wing candidate would wait until 1980 to be delegates if they knew they were blocked from nominating a conservative candidate by the incumbent's candidacy. A timely public campaign movement, involving overall planning and organizational and financial structuring is of essential importance to the President's campaign.



THE PRIMARY STATES

It is most important that research, surveys and contacts with Republican leadership be started immediately with an eye on selecting the states in which President Ford will enter primaries. Once a judgment has been made to enter a state's primary, the strategy and organization must be set up. It is necessary to have a long lead time to do the professional job that is needed.

While it is too soon to make accurate judgments on which primaries to enter because of lack of sufficient available information, it appears that the President should probably enter those in California, the District of Columbia, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin. Careful study and research will have to be given to entering the primaries in Alabama, Florida, Kentucky, Maryland, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee and West Virginia. Decisions on the primaries to be entered will in part be determined by the \$10 million primary pre-Convention limitation.

During the primary phase of the pre-Convention campaign, the President's campaign committee will also be deeply involved



in securing the selection of Ford delegates in the non-primary states. Research and contacts on this phase should be started as soon as possible.

THE NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY

There is no politically realistic way that President Ford can avoid entering the New Hampshire Primary. That primary is perceived by the media and many voters as the most important in the country, and to avoid the contest or not perform well in it would be a strongly negative factor for the President's candidacy. Thus, a full scale effort must be mounted in the New Hampshire Primary on President Ford's behalf.

We must assume that Governor Thomson will be a favorite son candidate in this primary if a candidate acceptable to him does not announce.

The preliminary ground work of surveys, research, of identification of available competent campaign leadership, and structuring of the campaign must start as soon as possible.

Filing must take place between 60 and 74 days prior to March 2, 1976, which is Primary Day. The organizational plan, the strategy, the financing, research and surveys must be in place by mid-September, 1975 when the in-state organizational effort should start.



FUNDRAISING

The selection and appointment of a national fundraising chairman and of a fundraising committee for the campaign is of the utmost importance, and that process should begin immediately. Names such as Max Fisher, Charles Thomas, Jay Van Andel, J. Willard Marriott, David Packard, William Simon, and Ross Perot are suggestions.

Careful selections of each state fundraising chairman is time consuming and the selection process should be started at the national level as quickly as possible.

The new Federal Election Campaign Law imposes many new restrictions on contributions and reporting procedures that are not completely understood by the vast majority of people. The Federal Elections Commission will be making new interpretations of, as yet, unanswered questions as time goes on. The fundraising chairman and his committee will need to begin an education process for their state fundraising chairmen and also for the organizational campaign people.

The Finance Committee must be staffed with individuals capable of performing the functions of a Chairman, Treasurer, Comptroller, In-House Legal Counsel, Office Manager, and fundraisers. It should be organized so that the levels of authority



and responsibility are clearly defined. This would include development of an organizational chart and directory.

The committee should be organized so that financial and fundraising activities are centrally controlled. A subcommittee, such as an Audit Committee, should be established to assist the treasurer in resolving all accounting and financial reporting questions and a professional firm specializing in Federal campaign reporting should be retained. A subcommittee should be established to obtain insurance coverage necessary to adequately insure the President, the Committee and state headquarters against risks of loss or litigation.

In addition to the careful planning needed to run a Presidential Primary Campaign with \$10 million limitation between now and the nominating convention, some of the problems accentuated by the acute time factor existing are as follows:

- (1) Candidate qualification provisions must be met.

The threshold requirement, which requires that \$100,000 be raised from private contributions in 20 states (at \$5,000 per state, in contributions of \$250 or less) must be satisfied. During the pre-Convention period, contributions may be accepted of up to \$1,000 from individuals and up to \$5,000 from multi-candidate political committees, but only



the first \$250 qualifies in meeting the threshold sum. After the threshold \$100,000 is reached, that amount and all further contributions are matched by Treasury funds.

- (2) Careful budgeting must be accomplished for expenses to be incurred for primary campaigns, and the expenditure restrictions on a state-by-state basis must be analyzed.
- (3) It must be determined how much money should be spent in each state for the pre-Convention period. During the nomination process, only 16 cents may be spent for each person of voting age as certified by the Secretary of Commerce, or \$200,000, whichever is greater. For the general election phase, he can spend in any one state 24 cents per person of voting age, or \$300,000.
- (4) Careful consideration must be given to the Multi-Candidate Political Committee provision of the law. Decisions must be made as to whether the nominee wishes to participate in this type of committee activity and, if so, where and with which other candidates.



LEGAL ASSISTANCE

Adequate legal assistance is essential to insure full compliance with the new Federal laws relating to financing and conducting Federal election campaigns. A wide variety of legal questions must be addressed at the earliest opportunity. For example, the amount and type of permissible contributions for individuals, multi-candidate political committees, and other organizations must be analyzed carefully in the context of a Presidential election.

Exceptions to these legal limitations should provide fertile ground for legal exploration since they could well provide valuable extensions to the monetary limitations. An example is the \$500 exemption for voluntary personal services and the use of personal or real property.

Permissible political activity for a President under the election law must be carefully defined and monitored. Both his activity prior to official candidacy and his activity after commencement of the campaign must be carefully handled to protect against the possible demand that his expenses should be charged to the campaign cost.

Legal assistance will be required in anticipation of the National Convention to insure that the rules of the Convention are thoroughly understood and properly utilized.



The delegate selection process in all fifty states must be examined and used to beneficial effect.

The general election laws and rules in the various states must be reviewed to insure compliance with their varied provisions.

Careful legal attention should also be given to the role which the Executive Branch can play during the campaign period, both before and after the Convention.

The number and complexity of these matters requiring analysis and constant attention require that outside legal and other professional assistance be obtained or provided by organizations independent of the White House.

CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURE ACCOUNTING

Compliance with Federal election campaign laws requires establishing central audit control of expenditures.

Not only must campaign contributions be accounted for, but expenditures must likewise be carefully audited and reported. Salaries, professional expenses, travel expenses, advertising and media expenses, and expenditures for solicitation of funds must be budgeted, controlled and reported.



The establishment of adequate procedures for nationwide implementation of these procedures will require considerable lead time prior to launching of the campaign. Thus, the selection of auditors, legal counsel, and necessary employees must be included in the campaign planning as soon as possible.

SELECTION OF CONVENTION DELEGATES

The time for starting the selection of delegates to the 1976 Presidential Nominating Convention is fully upon us. It is imperative that the process of securing Ford delegates should immediately start in the primary and non-primary states. The day of the use of bandwagon psychology on Convention delegates started fading in the 1960s. The smart political operators now take their people and make them delegates rather than trying to convince delegates to support their candidates. Thus, a Ford supporter who becomes a delegate will almost never switch to someone else. Therefore, it is imperative to have Ford supporters become candidates for delegates in primary and non-primary states, and it is equally important to do those things necessary to get them elected. Ford supporters must be contacted and the mechanism for starting this process should be set up by the President Ford Committee quickly after its establishment.



DELEGATE SELECTION IN ALL STATES

The Presidential nominating process is very complex.
Tradition in many cases has shaped the political process. The procedures include delegate selection by the following methods: Statewide primaries, state conventions, and a combination of Congressional District, committees, and conventions.

A thorough grasp of the selection process state-by-state is essential to promote and elect delegates committed to the President.

The National Republican Committee rules provide that all delegates and alternates shall be elected not later than 35 days before the date of the National Convention. This could mean all national delegates will have to be selected by early July 1976. Due to early primaries and strategy planning, the maneuvering for delegate slots is already taking place in many states.

An important factor in this process is the fact that the largest numbers of favorable delegates' votes should be garnered in those states at the head of the list in the alphabetical roll call. In those states, the selection of favorable delegates should receive added emphasis so that a majority of the votes for the nominee is reached as early as possible in the Convention tally.



There are approximately 25 states that have primaries (See list at Tab A). Some states have a direct primary. In some states, such as New York and Alabama, their primaries are strictly for delegate selection. Some primaries are binding on the delegates and some are only advisory (i.e., New Hampshire). There are some primaries that, though they may not take place until June, the preliminary activity on delegate selection takes place in February.

There is considerable back room politics taking place in some states to "engineer" delegate selection.

In convention states, the delegate slots are generally allocated by Congressional District. The state party officers are often most influential in recommending who will be a delegate or alternate. It is necessary in maneuvering for favorable delegates to have an in-depth understanding of the political intricacies of each state's allocation process. The encouragement of the selection of a favorable chairman of state conventions is important. Generally speaking, delegates elected are people who have been active in party finance or organizational activities and come from all walks of life. Some elective officials are delegates. The percentage of Congressmen who are delegates is minimal. Thus, the selection of appropriate delegates is a process which



must be engineered on a state-by-state basis. As a result, planning and execution at the national level must begin immediately in order to provide sufficient lead time to coordinate these state activities.

CONVENTION RULES

In the Rules adopted by the 1972 Republican National Convention, Rule 7 states that the Rules of the U. S. House of Representatives shall be the Rules of the Convention, except that the Roberts Rules of Order Newly Revised shall be the Rules for committees and subcommittees of this Convention so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the Rules adopted by the Republican National Convention in 1972 (Copy of Rules at Tab B).

At the 1976 Convention, it is vital to have a committee chaired by a man who is completely familiar with the Rules of the U. S. House of Representatives. He must know parliamentary procedure completely. He must also know precisely the history of past conventions, the traditions and the precedents established at previous conventions. The Minority, and we must assume there will be one, can only function by knowing parliamentary procedure, therefore, being better informed is essential to ward off sticky situations. This chairman must have



under his authority another person who is completely familiar with Robert's Rules of Order Newly Revised to adequately cover the proceeding of the Platform Committee, Rules Committee, and Contest Committee (formerly Credentials).

This committee must be structured to accommodate an information flow from the various action points to a small central group capable of making quick decisions and which has previously anticipated the methods of implementation of these decisions. Effective communications and action at this point can avoid many problems.

Rule 30 of the Convention Rules pertains to delegates and is presently in the courts. However, as the rule states, each state and territory is entitled to cast the same amount of votes (delegates) as entitled to in 1972. The rules further provide that the Republican National Committee has the opportunity to draw up a new delegate formula before October 31, 1975. On May 30, the court will hear the Republican National Committee's appeal from District Court Judge Jones' ruling that bonus delegates are unconstitutional.



THE IMPORTANCE OF PARTY UTILIZATION
IN THE 1976 GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN

The maximum use of the Republican Party structure from the national to the precinct level will be more important than ever before in 1976 because of the \$20 million spending limitation. In prior years, direct mailings, telephone banks, identification of the vote, voter turnout, and other projects have been paid for or subsidized by the campaign organizations without restrictions on the amount of money which could be spent. It appears that a massive volunteer organizational effort will have to be mounted to offset the monetary limitations in order to produce the maximum vote for President Ford. This kind of organization will have to be thought through fully and be put into place immediately following the Convention. That planning should be started soon.

Recent surveys have demonstrated that fewer and fewer people are identifying with political parties. Some observers have concluded that extensive local elective activities are things of the past. Actually, close elections are still decided by identifying your friendly voters, changing that relatively small percentage which are "switchables", and convincing enough of the undecided votes and turning out all the favorables on Election Day. With the spending limitations



imposed by law, greater volunteer efforts will be required of the party at the state and local levels than has been the case previously. It should be recognized that in 1974, Republican volunteers showed a considerable decline in numbers, and there is no guarantee that they will return in 1976.

HOW WE MUST PROCEED

A small Planning Group should be immediately established to start the planning and execution of all phases of the 1976 campaign. This group would do the necessary planning which would lead to the formation of the President Ford Committee, which would execute the pre-Convention, Convention and general election phases of the campaign plans. The President should select persons to head up the organizational and financial arms of the campaign committee. These individuals should enjoy unquestioned national respect and the President should repose the greatest confidence in them.

The Planning Group would

- (1) Establish its priorities to deal with necessary matters with the shortest time frames first and establish the time frames for all other matters.

(See time frame list infra)



- (2) Obtain lawyers who would become its experts on the applicable campaign laws (federal and state), delegate selection laws and procedures in primary and non-primary states, Convention rules, and on all other applicable laws and to see that all laws are complied with.
- (3) Structure the following campaign organizations in conformity with laws and spending limitations:
- I. Pre-Convention
 - a. Primary states
 - b. Non-primary states
 - II. Convention
 - III. General Election
- (4) Set up an ongoing strategy group which would deal with the campaign, the President's political posture, and campaign and political issues. A member of the Planning Group would head up the strategy group.
- (5) Coordinate, through the White House political liaison office, the roles of:
- a. The President
 - b. The White House Staff
 - c. Presidential Appointees
 - d. The White House Scheduling Office



- e. The Republican National Committee and its subsidiaries
- f. The senate and House Campaign Committees
- g. The Republican Governors' Association

(See later section of this memo for role suggestions for the above)

(6) Provide for political contacts with, among others, the following:

- a. Labor leaders
- b. Business leaders
- c. Professional leaders
- d. Ethnic Group leaders
- e. Religious leaders
- f. Young people
- g. Senior Citizens
- h. Special interest groups
- i. Democrat leaders supporting the President

COMPOSITION OF PLANNING GROUP

The Planning Group is necessarily a working committee with the task of accomplishing a great amount of planning in a very short time frame. It would not be a group composed of "big



names", but rather it should be composed of competent technicians who have had experience in Presidential politics and national campaigns and who can take the time necessary to do their job within the required time limits.

The Chairman should be a politically experienced executive, with public stature, not personally vulnerable to criticism, who can recruit the necessary talent to accomplish the vital planning functions required to establish a national campaign organization. Names such as Winfield Dunn, Ray Bliss, Al Quie, Dick Herman, Bryce Harlow, John Tower, Howard Baker are a few suggestions. Since such a chairman likely could not serve full-time, it is suggested that a full-time Executive Director be appointed to be responsible for the day-to-day operations. Names such as Ray Bliss, C. Montgomery Johnson, Keith Bulen, Conover Spencer, Buehl Berentsen, and Jack Mills come to mind. In addition, the group should be composed of an experience national campaign type, a political operative type, a lawyer versed in the applicable campaign laws who is politically knowledgeable, a PR-ad agency type, and representatives of the White House designated by the President.

The advantages of a Planning Group composed of a small number of knowledgeable political "technicians" is threefold:



- (1) The group as described above can become operative in a short period of time.
- (2) Its formation brings to the attention of the media and the public that President Ford is indeed a candidate for the 1976 elections.
- (3) Designation of an initial Planning Group provides lead time for the subsequent naming of a chairman of the campaign committee who will actually function as the national campaign manager.

Not naming a campaign chairman now allows the President more selection options and would provide time for the person selected to put his business affairs in shape before beginning a time-consuming and demanding job. The Planning Group in the meantime will be attacking and solving many of the basic organizational problems of a national campaign. Potential chairmen of the national Campaign Committee should be briefed on the activities of the Planning Group by being invited to participate in its meetings. Some potential chairmen are Mel Laird, George Bush, Winfield Dunn, Bill Brock.

It is essential that fundraising activities on behalf of President Ford's 1976 candidacy begin as soon as possible. The thrust of the fundraising effort should be the message that President Ford is the ONLY Republican that can win in 1976.



This message will be accurate and, with the force of President Ford's incumbancy, will bring in donations early and should, to a great degree, cut off monies for any other Republican Presidential aspirant. This will give any other candidate a loser's image and keep money from such candidate. This action will strengthen the Ford candidacy in primary elections, the non-primary delegate selection process as well as at the NOMINATING CONVENTION.

TIME FRAMES

The following are time frames for some of the necessary 1976 campaign activities:

I. Pre-Convention Activities

A. Primary States

1. Ascertaining applicable laws (Now - continuing)
2. Research on states (Now)
3. Surveys on voter attitudes (11/1/75)
4. Contacting Ford supporters to run for delegates (Now)
5. Preparing primary strategy (Now - continuing)
6. Selection of top leadership (Now)
7. Selection of fundraising leadership (Now)



8. Planning for structure of organization (Now)
 9. Set up strategy group (Now)
 10. Budgeting of monies (Now)
- B. Non-Primary States
1. Ascertaining applicable laws (Now)
 2. Political research (Now)
 3. Contact of party people (Now)
 4. Contact of Ford people to run for delegates (Now)
 5. Visitation of conventions (Continuing)

II. Convention Activities

- A. Contact with convention leadership (when set up)
- B. Selection of lawyers to advise on rules (Now)
- C. Planning for Convention organization (1/1/76)
- D. Identify contacts and leaders for the committees (Now)
- E. Selection of convention leadership (Now)

III. General Campaign

- A. Selection of top campaign leadership (Now)
- B. Determination of candidates' posture (Now)
- C. Planning for campaign organization structure (Now)
- D. Planning for ad agency (Now)
- E. Start contact with special groups (Now)
- F. Start planning party campaign organization (Now)
- G. Budgeting of monies (Now)



ROLES

- I. The President should start speaking at fundraising events for state party organizations as soon as possible. This will help raise needed funds for state organizations and will enable the President to pick up political I.O.U.'s which can be cashed during the delegate selection process.

Selection of these fundraising appearances should be made on the basis of the state party's need for funds, the political possibilities of maximizing the selection of Ford delegates in key primary states, media coverage possibilities and need for political exposure in a given geographical area.

The President also has the opportunity to build strength in conservative areas by campaigning in the two 1975 gubernatorial elections. Robert Goble will likely be the Kentucky GOP candidate and Gil Carmichael will be the nominee in Mississippi. Both have uphill, but not impossible, fights and Presidential aid would be noted nationwide, and especially in the South.

- II. The White House Staff should have a strong supportive role in the developing campaign but not an overt one. One of the reasons for establishing the campaign committee is



to focus media and other attention on it and let the President and his staff continue to go about their work of directing the Federal government. Clearly, there are many assets in the White House and the Executive Branch which can be utilized. However, these can be coordinated within the White House via regular meetings of senior staff advisers to consider policy recommendations which can be integrated into campaign planning through the political liaison office.

III. White House liaison with the Planning Group and the campaign committee should be clearly designated by the President himself. Presumably the President will have on-going, personal contact with the ultimate campaign chairman, but the day to day contact with the interim planning group must be coordinated at a designated contact point within the White House. Since the Republican National Committee, the Republican Congressional and Senatorial Committees and the state committees throughout the country should be kept in close coordination with the program of development of the Presidential campaign and White House activities, the White House political liaison office would logically perform this function. Having this office handle this campaign liaison function in conjunction with its normal party liaison functions would assure that



the White House is speaking with one voice in dealing with these political entities and in relaying policy decisions made by the President and his senior advisers.

The White House political liaison office should have greater input in scheduling and personnel decision than is currently the case, because of the very important political ramifications of these activities.

IV. Presidential Appointees should be fully mobilized and utilized in promoting the President, his programs and his candidacy. The Secretary of the Cabinet would seem to be the best focal point for this effort, working with the political liaison office and, through it, the campaign committee.

It should be noted that the Federal Election law permits active roles in political campaigns by employees paid from the appropriation for the Office of the President, the head or assistant head of an Executive department or military department and Presidential Appointees who determine policies to be pursued by the United States in its relations with foreign powers. Such Administration spokesmen taking positive stands before and during the campaign can be valuable in supporting the President's candidacy and in defending against opposition attacks.



RECOMMENDATIONS

That a Planning Group be set up immediately to start the planning and execution of President Ford's 1976 campaign and provide for the organizing of the President Ford Campaign and Finance Committees.

AGREE _____

DISAGREE _____

Comments:

That steps be taken to screen nominees for selection as chairman of the President Ford Campaign Committee as soon as possible.

AGREE _____

DISAGREE _____

Comments:



That steps be taken to screen nominees for selection as chairman of the President Ford Finance Committee immediately.

AGREE _____

DISAGREE _____

Comments:

That _____ shall have the responsibility to implement the above approved recommendations.

AGREE _____

DISAGREE _____

Comments:



That the White House political liaison office be the White House contact and coordinating point for the activities of the Planning Committee, and the resulting Campaign and Finance Committees.

AGREE _____

DISAGREE _____

Comments:





RULES

Adopted by
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

Held at Miami Beach, Florida
August 21, 1972



ISSUED BY
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Statements in Boldface are changes
from the 1968 Rules

**Rules Adopted by the
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION
Held at Miami Beach, Florida
August 21, 1972**

RESOLVED, That the **Republican Party** is the **Party of the open door. Ours is the party of equality of opportunity for all—favoritism for none.**

It is the intent and purpose of these rules to encourage the broadest possible participation of all voters in the **Republican Party** activities at all levels; to assure that the **Republican Party** is open and accessible to all answerable ultimately to the people in the true American tradition.

It is the further purpose of these rules to make certain that the **Republican Party** stands for the principle that while we are the **Party open to all**, we are also the **Party of opportunity for all—opportunity for everyone of every race, religion, color, national origin, age or sex. They provide for full participation with equal opportunity for men and women, for minorities and heritage groups, for all Americans regardless of age or social or economic status.**

These rules mandate that the **Republican Party** shall be a nation-wide **Party, purposeful and strong** in all sections of the country—**North, South, East and West; and**

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, *That the following be adopted as the rules of business of this Convention; the rules for the election and government of the National Committee; and the rules under which Delegates and Alternate Delegates shall be allotted to the respective States, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, in the next Convention; how their election shall be conducted and contests shall be considered. Whenever used in the rules, "State" or "States" shall be taken to include the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, unless the context in which the word "State" or "States" is used clearly make such inclusion inappropriate.*

PROCEEDINGS IN THE CONVENTION

RULE NO. 1

The Convention shall proceed in the order of business prepared and printed by the **Republican National Committee.**

RULE NO. 2

No person, except members of the several Delegations, Officers of the Convention, and members of the **Republican National Committee** shall be admitted to the section of the Convention Hall apportioned to Delegates.

RULE NO. 3

When the Convention shall have assembled and the **Committee on Credentials** shall have been appointed, the **Secretary of the National Committee** shall deliver to the said **Committee on Credentials** all credentials and other papers forwarded under **Rule No. 34.**

RULE NO. 4

No person on the temporary roll of the Convention and whose right to be seated as a **Delegate or Alternate** is being contested (except those placed on the temporary roll by affirmative vote of at least two-thirds ($\frac{2}{3}$ rds) of the members of the **National Committee**), shall be entitled to vote in the Convention or in any **Committee** thereof until by vote of the Convention the contest as to such person has been finally decided and such person has been permanently seated.

RULE NO. 5

In the absence of any **Delegate at Large, or Delegate** from any **Congressional District**, the roll of **Alternates** for the **State or District** shall be called in the order in which the names are placed upon the roll of the Convention, unless the **State or District Convention** or the law of the **State or District** electing the absent **Delegate** shall otherwise direct, in which event the **Alternates** from the **State or District** shall vote in the order established by the **State or District Convention** or the law of the **State.**

RULE NO. 6

Each **Delegate** in the Convention shall be entitled to one (1) vote, which may be cast by his **Alternate** in absence of the **Delegate.**

RULE NO. 7

(a) The **Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States** shall be the **Rules of this Convention, except that "Robert's Rules of Order Newly Revised" shall be the Rules for Committees and Subcommittees of this Convention,** so far as they are applicable and not inconsistent with the **Rules herein** set forth, provided, however, the **Convention** may make its own rules concerning the reading of **Committee reports and resolutions.**

(b) **No votes in the Committees or Subcommittees of the Convention shall be taken by secret ballot.**

RULE NO. 8

When the previous question shall be demanded by a majority of the **Delegates** from any **State**, and the demand is likewise seconded by two (2) or more **States**, and the call is sustained by a majority of the **Delegates of the Convention**, the question shall then be proceeded with and disposed of according to the **Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States** in similar cases.

RULE NO. 9

A motion to suspend the Rules shall be in order only when made by authority of a majority of Delegates from any State and seconded by a majority of the Delegates from not less than two (2) other States, severally.

RULE NO. 10

It shall be in order to lay on the table a proposed amendment to a pending measure and such motion, if adopted, shall not carry with it or prejudice such original measure.

RULE NO. 11

No member shall speak more than once upon the same question or longer than five (5) minutes, unless by leave of the Convention, except in the presentation of the name of a candidate for nomination for President or Vice President.

RULE NO. 12

Upon all subjects before the Convention the States, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands shall be called in alphabetical order.

RULE NO. 13

The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Resolutions is acted upon, and the report of the Committee on Resolutions shall be disposed of before the Convention proceeds to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice President.

RULE NO. 14

(a) The Delegates from each State, elected to the National Convention, immediately after they are elected shall select from the delegation their members of the Resolutions, Credentials, Rules and Order of Business and Permanent Organization Committees of the National Convention one (1) man and one (1) woman for each Committee, and shall file notice of such selection with the Secretary of the National Committee; provided, however, that no Delegate may serve on more than one (1) Committee of the National Convention. Alternates may not serve as members of the Convention Committees.

(b) All resolutions relating to the Platform shall be referred to the Committee on Resolutions without reading and without debate.

RULE NO. 15

When a majority of the Delegates of any six (6) States severally shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by the States in the order hereinbefore established.

RULE NO. 16

(a) Candidates for the Presidency shall demonstrate majority support from each of three (3) State delegations.

(b) In making the nominations for President and Vice President and voting thereon, in no case shall the Roll be dispensed with. The total time of the nominating speech and seconding speeches for any candidate for President and Vice President shall not exceed fifteen (15) minutes.

RULE NO. 17

When it appears at the close of the Roll Call that any candidate for the nomination for President or Vice President has received the majority of the votes entitled to be cast in the Convention, the Chairman of the Convention shall announce the question to be: "Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?" If no candidate shall have received such majority the Chairman shall direct the vote to be taken again and shall repeat the taking of the vote until some candidate shall have received a majority of votes.

RULE NO. 18

(a) In the balloting, the vote of each State shall be announced by the Chairman of the respective Delegations; and in case the vote of any State shall be divided, the Chairman shall announce the number of votes for each candidate, or for or against any proposition; but if exception is taken by any Delegate to the correctness of such announcement by the Chairman of his Delegation, the Chairman of the Convention shall direct the roll of members of such Delegation to be called and the result shall be recorded in accordance with the vote of the several Delegates in such Delegation. No Delegate or Alternate shall be bound by any attempt of any State or Congressional District, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, or the Virgin Islands to impose the unit rule.

(b) In balloting, if any delegation shall pass when its name is called, then at the conclusion of the roll call all Delegations which passed shall be called in alphabetical order; and no Delegation will be allowed to change its votes until all Delegations which passed shall have been given a second opportunity to vote.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

RULE NO. 19

(a) A National Committee shall be elected by each National Convention, called to nominate candidates for President and Vice President, and shall consist of two (2) members from each State, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, and an additional member as hereinafter provided. The Committee shall have the general management of the affairs of the Republican Party in the United States and its territories subject to direction from time to time of the National Convention.

(b) The duly elected and acting Chairman of each State, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands shall be a member of the National Committee during his tenure of office.

RULE NO. 20

The roll shall be called and the Delegation from each State shall nominate, through its Chairman, **one (1) man and one (1) woman** to act as members of the National Committee.

RULE NO. 21

When the law of any State provides a method for the selection of members of the National Committee of political parties, the nomination of the members of the Republican National Committee in accordance with the provisions of such law shall be considered nominations to be carried into effect by the Delegation from such State provided, however, that this rule shall not apply to the membership on the National Committee by the State Chairman.

RULE NO. 22

Where the laws of a State do not provide a method for the selection of members of the National Committee of political parties, instructions by State and District Conventions to Delegates to the National Convention as to nominations for membership in the National Committee shall be obeyed by such Delegates; and if not obeyed, may be made operative by a vote of the National Convention or referred to the National Committee with full power to act. It is provided, however, that this rule shall not apply to a State Chairman who is entitled to membership under Rule 19.

RULE NO. 23

When a majority of the Delegates from each State shall have so nominated a member of the National Committee, the Convention shall thereupon elect the person so nominated to serve as a member of the Committee until the meeting of the National Committee elected by the next National Convention.

RULE NO. 24

(a) The National Committee shall issue the Call for the next National Convention to nominate candidates for President and Vice President of the United States at least four (4) months before the time fixed for said Convention; and Delegates and Alternates to such Convention shall be chosen in such manner, and the Call shall be issued and promulgated in such manner as the National Committee shall provide, but not, however in a manner inconsistent with these Rules.

(b) At the time of the issuance of the Call, the Chairman of the Republican National Committee shall appoint from among the members of the National Committee, a Committee on the Call, a Committee on Arrangements, a Committee on Rules, and a Contest Committee consisting of at least seven (7) members. The Chairman of the Contest Committee and the Chairman of the Committee on Rules shall be members also of the Arrangements Committee. Each member of the Republican National Committee shall be appointed to one of these Committees.

RULE NO. 25

The Officers of the National Committee shall consist of a Chairman; **eight (8) Vice Chairmen, one (1) man and one (1) woman from each region nominated by the Committee members of the four (4) regions as defined by the regional State Conferences and who shall be residents of and represent those four (4) regions;** a Secretary, a Treasurer, and such other officers as the Committee shall deem necessary, all to be elected by the National Committee. The Chairman shall appoint a General Counsel for the Committee, a Chairman of the Republican Finance Committee, and a Co-Chairman who shall be of the opposite sex of the Chairman.

RULE NO. 26

(a) The National Committee is authorized and empowered to select an Executive Committee, to consist of fifteen (15) members; in addition the following shall serve as **ex officio members of the Executive Committee:** The Chairman, the Co-Chairman, the Vice Chairmen, the Secretary, the Treasurer, the General Counsel, the Chairman of the Republican Finance Committee, the President of the National Federation of Republican Women, the Chairman of the Republican State Chairmen's Advisory Committee, the Chairman of the Young Republican National Federation, the Chairman of the College Republican National Committee, the Chairman of the National Republican Heritage Groups Council, a representative of Black Republican organizations as designated by the Chairman, the Republican Leader of the U.S. Senate, the Republican Leader of the U.S. House of Representatives, and the Chairman of the Republican Governors Association.

(b) The Executive Committee shall exercise all of the Executive and Administrative functions required of the National Committee between meetings of the full Committee. It shall meet on the call of the Chairman, and such meetings shall be held at least twice a year at times other than those when the National Committee is meeting.

(c) The Chairman, with the consent of the National Committee, may appoint such other committees and assistants as he may deem necessary; whenever such committees are appointed, they shall consist of a chairman and an equal number of men and women.

RULE NO. 27

Vacancies in the National Committee shall be filled by the Committee upon the nomination of the Republican State Committee in and for the State in which the vacancy occurs; the National Committee shall, however, have power to declare vacant the seat of any member who refuses to support the nominees of the Convention, which elected such National Committee, and to fill such vacancy.

RULE NO. 28

The first meeting of the National Committee take place within fifteen (15) days after the convening of the National Convention electing such Committee, upon the call of the member senior in time of service upon the previous National Committee; and thereafter upon call of the Chairman, or, in case of vacancy in the Chairmanship, upon call of the Vice Chairman, senior in time of service on the National Committee, but such call shall be issued at least ten (10) days in advance of the date of the proposed meeting. **Provided, however, that if one of the purposes of a meeting of the Republican National Committee is to fill a vacancy in the office of Republican candidate for President or Republican candidate for Vice President, then only five (5) days notice of the purpose, date, and place of said meeting shall be required.** Upon written petition of sixteen (16) or more members of the National Committee, representing not less than sixteen (16) States, filed jointly or separately with the Chairman, asking for a meeting of the National Committee, it shall be the duty of the Chairman within ten (10) days from receipt of said petition to issue a call for a meeting of the National Committee, to be held in a city to be designated by the Chairman, the date of such called meeting to be not later than twenty (20) days or earlier than ten (10) days from the date of the call.

RULE NO. 29

(a) "Robert's Rules of Order Revised" shall govern in all meetings of the National Committee insofar as they are applicable and not inconsistent with these Rules. The Committee shall make its own rules governing the use of proxies at any meeting. **The Republican National Committee is hereby directed to recommend the adoption of "Robert's Rules of Order Newly Revised" as the Rules of Order for the 1976 Republican National Convention Committee on Rules and Order of Business for the temporary and permanent committees and subcommittees of that Convention.**

(b) The Chairman of the Republican National Committee shall appoint a committee broadly representative of the Republican Party, including members of the Republican National Committee, to review, study and work with the States and territories relating to the Rules adopted by the 1972 Republican National Convention, and the relationship between the Republican National Committee, Republican State Committees, and other Republican organizations. A preliminary report shall be submitted to the Republican National Committee no later than June 30, 1974, and a final report no later than January 1, 1975. The Republican National Committee shall consider and act upon the final recommendations of the Committee within ninety (90) days of receiving same.

MEMBERSHIP IN THE NEXT NATIONAL CONVENTION

RULE NO. 30

The membership of the next National Convention shall consist of:

A. DELEGATES

1. Six (6) Delegates at Large from each of the fifty (50) States.

2. Three (3) District Delegates for each Representative in the United States House of Representatives from each state.

3. Fourteen (14) Delegates at Large for the District of Columbia, four (4) Delegates at Large for Guam, eight (8) Delegates at Large for Puerto Rico, and four (4) Delegates at Large for the Virgin Islands.

4. From each State casting its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Republican Nominee for President in the last preceding election: Four and one-half (4½) Delegates at Large plus the number of the Delegates at Large equal to 60% of the electoral vote from each such State. In addition, one Delegate at Large shall be awarded to a State for any and each of the following public officials elected by such State in the year of the last preceding Presidential election or at any subsequent election held prior to January 1, 1976:

(a) A Republican United States Senator: Provided, That no such additional Delegate at Large award to any State shall exceed two;

(b) A Republican Governor: Provided, That no such additional Delegate at Large award to any State shall exceed one; or

(c) A Republican membership of at least half of the State's delegation to the United States House of Representatives: Provided, That no such additional Delegate at Large award to any State shall exceed one.

In the computation of the number of Delegates at Large, any sum of the four and one-half (4½) plus the 60% representing a fraction shall be increased to the next whole number.

5. If the District of Columbia casts its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Republican Nominee for President in the last preceding Presidential election: Four and one-half (4½) Delegates at Large, plus the number of Delegates at Large equal to 30% of the fourteen (14) Delegates at Large allotted to the District of Columbia. In the computation of the number of Delegates at Large, any sum of the four and one-half (4½) plus the 30% representing a fraction shall be increased to the next whole number.

6. Any State which would receive fewer Delegates under all provisions of this Rule than it received to the 1972 Republican National Convention shall have its number of Delegates increased to the same number of Delegates it received to the 1972 Republican National Convention.

7. In the event this Rule No. 30 is the subject of

litigation and is finally adjudicated in the courts to be invalid, then this Rule No. 30 shall be of no force and effect and the Republican National Committee hereby authorized to adopt the formula which will determine the membership of the next National Convention. No new formula may be so drawn by the Republican National Committee after October 31, 1975.

8. Should it become the duty of the Republican National Committee to implement Section 7 of Rule 30 in voting in said Committee, the Committee members representing any State, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands shall be entitled to cast the same number of votes as said State, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands were entitled to cast in the 1972 Republican National Convention.

B. ALTERNATE DELEGATES

One (1) Alternate Delegate to each Delegate to the National Convention.

ELECTION OF DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION

RULE NO. 31

Delegates at Large to the National Convention and their Alternates and Delegates from Congressional Districts to the National Convention and their Alternates shall be elected in the following manner:

(a) By primary election in accordance with the applicable laws of such States as required by law, the election of Delegates to the National Conventions of political parties by direct primary and in the District of Columbia in accordance with its law; provided that in any of these in which Republican representation upon the Board of Judges or Inspectors of Elections for such primary election is denied by law, Delegates and Alternates shall be elected as herein-after provided.

(b) By Congressional District or State Conventions, as the case may be, to be called by the Congressional District or State Committees, respectively. Notice of the Call for any such Convention shall be published in a newspaper or newspapers of general circulation in the Congressional District or State, as the case may be, not less than fifteen (15) days prior to the date of said Convention.

(c) In selecting Delegates and Alternates to the National Convention, no State law shall be observed which hinders, abridges or denies to any citizen of the United States, eligible under the Constitution of the United States, to the office of President or Vice President, the right or privilege of being a candidate under such State law for the nomination for the President or Vice President; or which authorizes the election of a number of Delegates or Alternates from any State to the National Convention different from that fixed in these Rules.

(d) By the Republican State Committee or Government Committee in any State in which the law of such State specifically authorizes the election of Delegates or Alternates in such manner.

(e) In a Congressional District where there is no Republican Congressional Committee, the Republican State Committee shall issue the Call and make said publication.

(f) All Delegates from any State may be chosen from the State at Large, in the event that the laws of the State in which the election occurs, so provide.

(g) Alternate Delegates shall be elected to said National Convention for each unit of representation equal in number to the number of Delegates elected therein and shall be chosen in the same manner, at the same time, and under the same rules the Delegates are chosen; provided, however, that if the law of any State shall prescribe the method of choosing Alternates they shall be chosen in accordance with the provisions of the law of the State in which the election occurs.

(h) The election of Delegates and Alternates from the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands shall be held under the direction of the respective recognized Republican Governing Committee therein in conformity with the Rules of the Republican National Committee or the laws of the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

(i) Election of Delegates and Alternates shall be certified in every case where they are elected by Conventions, by the Chairman and Secretary of such Conventions, respectively, and forwarded to the Secretary of the Republican National Committee, and in the case of election by Primary, they shall be certified by the proper official and all certificates shall be forwarded by said duly elected Delegates and Alternates in the manner herein provided.

(j) All Delegates and Alternates shall be elected not later than thirty-five (35) days before the date of the meeting of said National Convention, unless otherwise provided by the laws of the State in which the election occurs.

(k) Delegates and Alternates at Large to the National Convention when serving as Delegates and Alternates shall be duly qualified voters of their respective States. All Delegates and Alternates allocated as Delegates and Alternates at Large shall be elected at Large in the several States unless otherwise provided by State law.

(l) Delegates and Alternates to the National Convention, representing Congressional Districts, shall be residents and qualified voters in said districts respectively when serving as Delegates and Alternates. All Delegates and Alternates allocated to represent Congressional Districts shall be elected by the Congressional District of the several States unless the laws of the State shall otherwise provide.

(m) **No Delegate or Alternate Delegate shall be required to pay an assessment or fee in excess of that provided by the law of the State in which the election occurs as a condition of serving as a Delegate or Alternate Delegate to the Republican National Convention.**

ELECTION OF DELEGATES TO DISTRICT AND STATE CONVENTIONS

Delegates to Congressional District and State Conventions shall be elected under the following rules:

(n) Only legal and qualified voters shall participate in a Republican primary, caucus, mass meeting, or mass convention held for the purpose of selecting Delegates to a County, District, or State Convention, and only such legal and qualified voters shall be elected as Delegates to County, District and State Conventions; provided, however, that in addition to the qualifications provided herein the governing Republican Committee of each State, shall have the authority to prescribe additional qualifications not inconsistent with law. Such additional qualifications shall be adopted and published in at least one daily newspaper having a general circulation throughout the State, such publication to be at least ninety (90) days before such qualifications shall become effective.

(o) No Delegates shall be deemed eligible to participate in any convention to elect Delegates to the said National Convention, who were elected prior to the date of issuance of the Call of such National Convention.

(p) District Conventions shall be composed of Delegates who are legal and qualified voters therein, and Delegates to State Conventions shall be qualified voters of the respective districts which they represent in said State Conventions. Such Delegates shall be apportioned among the counties, parishes, and cities of the State or District having regard to the Republican vote therein.

(q) **There shall be no proxies at a convention held for the purpose of selecting Delegates to the Republican National Convention. If Alternate Delegates to such selection Convention are selected, the Alternate Delegate, and no other shall vote in the absence of the Delegate.**

(r) **There shall be no automatic Delegates at any level of the Delegate selection procedures who serve by virtue of Party position or elective office.**

(s) **The Republican National Committee shall assist the States in their efforts to inform all citizens how they may participate in Delegate selection procedures. The Republican National Committee in cooperation with the States shall prepare instructive material on Delegate selection methods and make it available for distribution.**

RULE NO. 32

() Participation in a Republican primary, caucus, meeting or convention held for the purpose of selecting Delegates and Alternates to a County, District, State or National Convention shall in no way be abridged for reasons of sex, race, religion, color, age or national origin. **The Republican National Committee and the Republican State Committee or governing committee of each State shall take positive action to achieve the broadest possible participation by everyone in party affairs, including such participation by women, young people, minority and heritage groups and senior citizens in the delegate selection process.**

(b) **Unless otherwise provided by the Laws of the State in which the election occurs, in those states where Delegates and Alternates are elected through the convention system or a combination of convention and primary systems, the precinct, ward, township or county meetings shall be open meetings, and all citizens who are qualified shall be urged to participate.**

(c) **Each State shall endeavor to have equal representation of men and women in its delegation to the Republican National Convention.**

RULE NO. 33

No State shall elect a greater number of persons to act as Delegates and Alternates than the actual number of Delegates and Alternates respectively to which they are entitled under the Call for the National Convention, and no unit of representation may elect any Delegate or Delegates, or their Alternates, with permission to cast a fractional vote.

RULE NO. 34

() Thirty (30) days before the time set for the meeting of the National Convention, the credentials of each Delegate and Alternate shall be filed with the Secretary of the National Committee for use in making up the temporary roll of the Convention, except in the case of Delegates or Alternates elected at a time or times in accordance with the laws of the State in which the election occurs rendering impossible, filing of credentials within the time above specified.

RULE NO. 35

(a) At the time of appointing the Arrangements Committee there shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Republican National Committee a Contest Committee, consisting of at least seven (7) members of the Republican National Committee.

(b) Where more than the authorized number of Delegates from any State are reported to the Secretary of the National Committee, a contest shall be deemed to exist and the Secretary shall notify the several claimants so reported and shall submit all such credentials and claims to the whole Republican National Committee for decision as to which claim-

ants reported shall be placed upon the temporary roll of the Convention; provided, however, that the names of the Delegates and Alternates, presenting certificates of election from the canvassing board or officer created or designated by the law of the State in which the election occurs, to canvass the returns and issue Certificates of Election to Delegates or Alternates to National Conventions of political parties in a primary election, shall be placed upon the temporary roll of the Convention by the National Committee.

(c) All contests arising in any State electing District Delegates by District Conventions, shall be decided by its State Convention, or if the State Convention shall not meet prior to the National Convention, then by its State Committee; and only contests affecting Delegates elected at Large shall be presented to the National Committee; provided, however, if the contest regarding a District Delegate arises out of the irregular or unlawful action of the State Committee or State Convention, the National Committee may take jurisdiction thereof and hear and determine the same under the procedure provided in Rule 35.

(d) Notices of contests shall be filed thirty (30) days before the time set for the meeting of the National Convention, with the Secretary of the National Committee, except in the case of Delegates or Alternates elected at a time or times in accordance with the laws of the State in which the election occurs rendering impossible the filing of the notice of contest within the time above specified, stating the grounds of the contest.

(e) Not less than twenty-two (22) days before the convening of the Republican National Convention each of the contesting persons or groups shall file with the Secretary of the Republican National Committee at least three (3) printed or typewritten copies of the brief in support of their claim to sit as Delegates or Alternates in the National Convention. The Secretary of the Republican National Committee upon receiving the brief of a contesting person or group shall furnish the opposing contesting person or group a copy of said brief.

Each brief shall begin with a summary of not more than one thousand (1,000) words setting forth succinctly a synopsis of the brief and a definite statement of the points relied upon.

(f) The Contest Committee shall make up a report of each contest filed, showing the grounds of contest, the statute and rule, if any, under which the contest is waged, and the contentions of each party thereto. The report shall conclude with a statement of the points of issue in the contest, both of fact and law, and shall be signed by the Chairman. When the Contest Committee has prepared such report stating the issues of law and fact, a copy of the statement of such issues shall be forthwith submitted to a person in the convention city, whom the contestants must appoint

at the time of filing the contest, to receive such statement; and a copy shall forthwith be served by the Chairman of the Contest Committee upon the contestants by registered mail.

(g) The contestants shall have eight (8) days to file written objections to the Contest Committee's statement of the issues of fact or law or both unless the Republican National Committee acting as a committee of the whole is called to act upon the contest sooner, in which case such objections shall be made before the meeting of the whole committee. In case the contestants reside in the States of Alaska or Hawaii, or in Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands or Guam, they shall be entitled to ten (10) days to file written objections.

The objections shall contain any additional statement of issue of either law or fact or both, claimed by the contestant submitting the same, to be involved in and necessary to be decided in the contest.

(h) The Contest Committee shall hear and decide the statement of law and fact at once and make its decision as to what issues are involved and submit these issues, either in law or fact, or both, to the National Committee sitting as a committee of the whole, and such issues shall be the sole and only issues passed upon and determined by the committee of the whole, unless the National Committee shall by a majority vote extend or change the same.

If the Contest Committee for any reason shall fail to state the issues either of law or fact, the National Committee shall decide upon what issues the contest shall be tried, and the hearing shall be limited to such issues, unless the National Committee by a majority vote shall decide otherwise.

(i) When the National Committee is called to pass upon any contest that may arise, the members of the Credentials Committee of each State shall also be notified of the time and place of such meeting and shall have the right to attend all hearings of all contests but without the right to participate in the discussion or to vote.

(j) If an appeal is taken from any ruling of the National Committee on any contest, notice of such appeal must be filed with the Secretary of the National Committee within twenty-four (24) hours after the decision and shall specify the grounds upon which the appeal is taken, and only the grounds so specified shall be heard by the Credentials Committee upon such appeal. No evidence other than that taken before the National Committee shall be taken up by the Credentials Committee, unless it shall, by a majority vote of all of its members, so direct.

COMPLETE ALPHABETICAL LISTING OF 1972 GOP DELEGATE VOTES

p.	Alabama	18	p.	Michigan	48
np.	Alaska	12	np.	Minnesota	26
np.	Arizona	18	np.	Mississippi	14
np.	Arkansas	18	np.	Missouri	30
p.	California	96	np.	Montana	14
np.	Colorado	20	p.	Nebraska	16
np.	Connecticut	22	np.	Nevada	12
np.	Delaware	12	p.	New Hampshire	14
p.	Florida	40	p.	New Jersey	40
			p.	New Mexico	14
np.	Georgia	24	p.	New York	88
np.	Hawaii	14	np.	North Carolina	32
np.	Idaho	14	np.	North Dakota	12
p.	Illinois	58	p.	Ohio	56
p.	Indiana	32	p.	Oklahoma	22
np.	Iowa	22	p.	Oregon	18
np.	Kansas	20	p.	Pennsylvania	60
np.	Kentucky	24	p.	Rhode Island	8
np.	Louisiana	20	np.	South Carolina	22
np.	Maine	8	p.	South Dakota	14
p.	Maryland	26	p.	Tennessee	26
p.	Massachusetts	34	np.	Texas	52



np.	Utah	14
np.	Vermont	12
np.	Virginia	30
np.	Washington	24
p.	West Virginia	18
p.	Wisconsin	28
np.	Wyoming	12
p.	Dist. of Col.	9
	Guam	3
	Puerto Rico	5
	Virgin Islands	3



CHRONOLOGICAL

1976 PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARIES

<u>** State</u>	<u>* Primary Date</u>	<u>Filing Date</u>	<u>Type of Primary</u>
New Hampshire	March 2	Indefinite	Direct
Florida	March 9	Week by week	Direct
Illinois	March 16	----	Direct
Wisconsin	April 6	March 2	Direct
Massachusetts	April 6	February 3	Direct
Pennsylvania	April 27	Feb. 3 - Feb. 17	Direct, closed
Alabama	May 4	Feb. 1 - March 1	Direct, closed
Indiana	May 4	Feb. 19 - March 15	Direct, closed
North Carolina	May 4	See below	Direct, closed
Dist. of Col.	May 4	Jan. 11 - March 5	Indirect, closed
Kentucky	May 4	Feb. 29	Direct, open
Nebraska	May 11	March 2 - incumbents March 12-candidates	Direct, closed
West Virginia	May 11	Jan. 12 - Feb. 7	Direct
Maryland	May 18	March 8	Indirect
Michigan	May 18	March 19	Direct, open
Oregon	May 25	March 16	Direct, closed
Rhode Island	May 25	Indefinite	Indirect, open
Nevada	May 25	April 25	Direct, closed
South Dakota	June 1	March 18 - April 16	Direct, closed
New Mexico	June 1	April 1	Direct, closed
New Jersey	June 3	April 25	Indirect, open
Tennessee	June 3	----	Indirect
California	June 3	Indefinite	Indirect
Ohio	June 8	March 25	Indirect
New York	June 15	Indefinite	Delegate Selection



* - Dates subject to change
 ** - States subject to change Primary Status

* - States subject to change Primary Status

** - Dates subject to change

<u>*State</u>	<u>** Primary Date</u>	<u>Filing Date</u>	<u>Type of Primary</u>	<u>Elect. Vote</u>	<u>1972 No. of Delegates</u>
Alabama	May 4	Feb. 1-Mar. 1	Direct, closed	9	18
California	June 8	Indefinite	Indirect	45	96
Dist. of Col.	May 4	Jan. 11-Mar. 5	Indirect, closed	3	9
Florida	March 9	Week by week	Direct	17	40
Illinois	March 16	----	Direct	26	58
Indiana	May 4	Feb. 19-Mar. 15	Direct, closed	13	32
Kentucky	May 4	Feb. 29	Direct, open	9	24
Maryland	May 18	March 8	Indirect	10	26
Massachusetts	April 27	Feb. 3	Direct, closed	14	34
Michigan	May 18	March 19	Direct, open	21	48
Nebraska	May 11	Mar. 2 -inc. Mar. 12-cand.	Direct, closed	5	16
Nevada	May 25	April 25	Direct, closed	3	12
New Hampshire	March 2	Indefinite	Direct	4	14
New Jersey	June 3	April 25	Indirect, open	17	40
New Mexico	June 1	April 1	Direct, closed	4	14
New York	June 15	Indefinite	Del. Selection	41	88
North Carolina	May 4	See below	Direct, closed	13	32
Ohio	June 8	March 25	Indirect	25	56
Oregon	May 25	Mar. 16	Direct, closed	6	18
Pennsylvania	April 27	Feb. 3-Feb. 17	Direct, closed	27	60
Rhode Island	May 25	Indefinite	Indirect, open	4	8
South Dakota	June 1	Mar. 18-Apr. 16	Direct, closed	4	14
Tennessee	June 3	----	Indirect	10	26
West Va.	May 11	Jan. 12-Feb. 7	Direct	6	18
Wisconsin	April 6	March 2	Direct	11	28



B

Random Thoughts on 1976

Before getting into the cast of characters, I'd like to develop some initial thoughts.

Timing: The first requirement is an analysis of the delegate selection process in the states and territories. Although the recent trend has been toward primary elections, many - if not a majority - of the delegates will be selected through party processes. From this analysis will come the necessary data to determine upon a policy as to what - if any - primaries should be undertaken. ^{*/}

The second requirement is an analysis of the current campaign financing laws which will be found to be confusing, vague, and in many instances, unprecedented. Nota Bene: The close calls must always go against The President's apparent self interest. This analysis will serve as a basis for handling all of The President's expenditures, now and in the future, including, but not limited to: cost of A.F.#1 on political trips; buttons, bows and souvenirs distributed through The White House; costs of travel expenses for Hartmann, Calkins, Anderson, et al. when on political business.

*/ In certain states, announced candidates are automatically entered into presidential primaries.



The financial analysis should also help in arriving at a decision that must be made soon: Should The President utilize government-provided funds to operate his campaign? The answer would seem to be "yes," but I have not considered any of the pros and cons.

One final thought on timing: Recently there has been considerable attention in the press to the Reagan non-candidacy, the Buckley summit meeting and other evidences of unhappiness on the right. There has also been some comment to the effect that although The President has declared himself a candidate, he's done nothing overt - or perhaps even covert - to transform the announcement into a political reality. Probably little, if anything can be done to solve the starboard problem, but I don't think it's too early to end the vacuum in which Reagan is operating. In other words, it's not untimely to surface with some palpable political moves, e.g., formation of an advisory committee, discussions of financing, appointment of a campaign coordinator, etc. These actions must come from The White House; Mary Louise's hand-wringing won't get the job done.



As a first step, an advisory committee could be formed to meet with you, Hartmann and The President to toss out ideas on a campaign manager (coordinator) and a finance chairman; consider a primary policy; and amelioration of the conservative rupture. Such a meeting need not be publicized - it will leak out.

Your transition committee is a good starting point, and I think Harlow is a member. If not, he should be. Dave Packard should be brought into the early planning stages, not only because of his obvious talents, but because he is a member of the California establishment and will be viewed as evidence that The President has real strength in Reagan's backyard.

I have carefully reviewed the names of my past associates in national politics and only a few are left unscarred. The following names haven't been checked out as to interest, but I put them on the table for your consideration:

Financing: Jerry Milbank and Bill Middendorf (The Brinks Brothers) of New York City are as good as they come in the financial area. Jerry was Treasurer of The Republican Party after 1964 and has since more or less dropped out of



the political scene. Bill is now Secretary of the Navy. They are both hardworking, capable and honest. Leonard Firestone (Ambassador to Belgium) has a 1972 hangover but is an excellent and credible man. Don Kendall of Pepsi Co. is energetic and capable. John Lewis of Combined Communications is very good - ditto Karl Eller of same firm. (Lewis was led to believe that he would be an ambassador after 1972 and is probably - and justifiably - a little disenchanted. The President knows him, however, and might be able to bring him around.) Eller is young, terribly energetic, and has never been deeply involved in a national campaign. He's a super organizer, and if he agrees to do something, he'll do it well.

Political: One survivor of the 1964 political organization who is superior is John Grenier of Birmingham, Alabama. John ran for the Senate from Alabama - was whipped and has spent the last years getting some money in the bank. John ran our entire Southern operation in 1964 - which was by far the best organized and most successful. John is conservative (not racist) and tireless. He is worth some of your time if you'd like a perspective of the South.



Frankly, the rest of 1964 is used up and I'm afraid that the same can be said of 1968 and 1972.

Final Thought: The President's chief burden in the coming months is that he must run the government. It is also his greatest strength. There are bright, capable people throughout the Administration who can do a great job in 1976 if given the opportunity. Motivation is a damn good substitute for experience.

If I can help, let me know.



R

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Rumsfeld

April 3, 1975

TO: DON RUMSFELD
FROM: PETER ROUSSEL

Here is the requested material from Dean Burch.



Random Thoughts on 1976

Before getting into the cast of characters, I'd like to develop some initial thoughts.

Timing: The first requirement is an analysis of the delegate selection process in the states and territories. Although the recent trend has been toward primary elections, many - if not a majority - of the delegates will be selected through party processes. From this analysis will come the necessary data to determine upon a policy as to what - if any - primaries should be undertaken.

The second requirement is an analysis of the current campaign financing laws which will be found to be confusing, vague, and in many instances, unprecedented. Nota Bene: The close calls must always go against The President's apparent self interest. This analysis will serve as a basis for handling all of The President's expenditures, now and in the future, including, but not limited to: cost of A.F.#1 on political trips; buttons, bows and souvenirs distributed through The White House; costs of travel expenses for Hartmann, Calkins, Anderson, et al. when on political business.

* IN CERTAIN STATES, ANNOUNCED CANDIDATES ARE AUTOMATICALLY ENTERED INTO PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES.



The financial analysis should also help in arriving at a decision that must be made soon: Should The President utilize government-provided funds to operate his campaign? The answer would seem to be "yes," but I have not considered any of the pros and cons.

One final thought on timing: Recently there has been considerable attention in the press to the Reagan non-candidacy the Buckley summit meeting and other evidences of unhappiness on the right. There has also been some comment to the effect that although The President has declared himself a candidate, he's done nothing overt - or perhaps even covert - to transform the announcement into a political reality. Probably little, if anything can be done to solve the starboard problem, but I don't think it's too early to end the vacuum in which Reagan is operating. In other words, it's not untimely to surface with some palpable political moves, e.g., formation of an advisory committee, discussions of financing, appointment of a campaign coordinator, etc. These actions must come from The White House; Mary Louise's hand-wringing won't get the job done.



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