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*Rep not  
Cute*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 6, 1975

Mr. Malcolm B. Petrikin  
Attorney and Counselor at Law  
107 W. 3rd Street  
Media, Pennsylvania 19063

Dear Mr. Petrikin:

The President has asked me to reply to your very thoughtful letter of January 27, 1975. He very much appreciates your concern for the future of the Republican Party and for your helpful suggestions as to the approach which should be taken in order to be of greatest service to the well being of our country.

I am passing your letter on to Mr. Robert Hartmann, Counselor to the President, so that he may also have the benefit of your worthwhile ideas.

Sincerely,

*Philip W. Buchen*  
Philip W. Buchen  
Counselor to the President

cc: Mr. Robert Hartmann



17  
encl.

DM

FRONEFIELD DE FURIA AND PETRIKIN

ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELORS AT LAW

DELAWARE COUNTY

107 W. 3RD STREET  
MEDIA, PA. 19063

EDWARD H. P. FRONEFIELD  
GUY G. DEFURIA  
FRANK I. GINSBURG  
VINCENT J. LABRASCA  
JOSEPH T. LABRUM, JR.  
F. MARTIN DUUS  
JOHN J. MAFFEI  
JOSEPH A. DAMICO, JR.  
JOHN R. LARKIN  
CHARLES C. KEELER  
BRUCE A. IRVINE  
PETER A. DUNN  
EUGENE H. EVANS  
GERALD J. SPITZ  
STEPHEN H. PALMER

CHARLES P. LARKIN, JR.  
MALCOLM B. PETRIKIN  
ALBERT E. HOLL, JR.  
PHILIP A. McMUNIGAL, JR.  
JOHN W. WELLMAN  
J. ROBERT TWOMBLY  
CHARLES F. KNAPP  
EDWARD J. CARNEY, JR.  
WILLIAM F. KEATING  
J. JOSEPH HERRING, JR.  
LEO A. HACKETT  
ROSEMARY C. McMUNIGAL  
FRANCIS T. SBANDI  
STEVEN G. BROWN

OF COUNSEL  
WENDELL E. WARNER

E. WALLACE CHADWICK  
1910-1969  
HOWARD M. LUTZ  
1913-1970

565-3100  
AREA CODE 215

PLEASE REPLY TO:  
BOX 647  
MEDIA, PA. 19063

January 27, 1975

Honorable Gerald Ford, President  
United States of America  
White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

The last two times we talked personally were when you spoke at the Scranton Dinner and Mrs. Petrikin and I had cocktails with you at the Hugh Scott Dinner.

I have steadfastly worked for the Republican Party for many, many years. I was Tom Dewey's Delaware County Finance Chairman when he twice ran for President. I was one of the three principal Independent Republican Leaders helping to elect, over the opposition of the McClure Machine in Delaware County, my senior law partner, E. Wallace Chadwick, to the 80th Congress. I was one of the twenty-seven members of the Electoral College of Pennsylvania, casting ballots for the election of President Nixon and Vice President Agnew. Last year, I was Drew Lewis' Delaware County Finance Chairman. Currently, I am one of three Vice-Chairmen of the Pennsylvania Republican Finance Committee. We have been meeting to plan ways and means of strengthening and financing the Party in Pennsylvania.

Enough for who I am. The sole purpose for having presented it and the condensed autobiography enclosed is hopefully to convince whomever intercepts this letter, that I'm not a crackpot and that out of loyalty to you he should, at least, let you read it.

Has the spiritual and moral fabric of America deteriorated to such a point it is irretrievably committed to the same fate of all prior powerful and affluent nations? If not, has America reached the cross-roads and must we not, at this point, take time out to assess our position,



FRONEFIELD, DEFURIA AND PETRIKIN

- 2 -

chart the course that must now be pursued and immediately get about doing it?

Is it not time to label the Democratic Party for what it truly is - an exploiter of human weaknesses for votes and power with its "pie-in-the-sky" and the "government owes everyone security from the cradle to the grave" philosophy and programs? If so, then should this not be accomplished in an adroit and subtle manner?

Has it not, by its complete subservience to Big Labor Bosses encouraged and protected the racketeering practices of sections of organized labor, particularly in the building trades, when, by violence to property and even to persons it has coerced non-union contractors, whose employer did not wish to belong to a union, to compel them to join and has intimidated political subdivisions, institutions, hospitals and other owners of large facilities into excluding non-union contractors from bidding on projects?

Has not such obeisance allowed and sanctioned the gradual, but steady mediocrity in performance and controlled productivity, inspite of generous annual wage and fringe increases?

Have not these practices contributed immeasurably to our inflation problem? More importantly, have they not weakened the moral and spiritual fabric of our workers, leading them to engage in giving less than a full day's productivity for a day's wages?

Like our welfare programs, the dollar cost is inconsequential in comparison with the human cost, its affect on the moral and spiritual strength on those involved.

Isn't it about time we accepted the fact that, unless we can recondition the hearts and motivations of America to want a more courageous, self-reliant, disciplined and dedicated way-of-life, we cannot hope to ever again be the Majority Party? Except for another candidate of Eisenhower's popularity or another Democratic President of Johnson's failures, is it realistic to expect to elect a Republican President and a majority in the Senate and House?



FRONEFIELD, DEFURIA AND PETRIKIN

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Even if we out-promised the Democrats, the Labor Bosses and certain minority groups would never buy it. They know what the Democrats will do for them - they would never trust us to perform. Even if they would, who of us will be willing to pay such a price? If America is destined to go the way of all other wealthy past civilizations, then I'd damn sight rather the Historians would place the blame on the Democratic Party rather than the Republican.

There is a story told about a father, who was being annoyed by his young son asking him questions while he was trying to read the newspaper, Turning the page, he saw a map of the world, He cut it up into a jigsaw type of puzzle and asked his son to put the map of the world together. The father was amazed when his son completed the puzzle in a few minutes. When asked how he did it, he replied there was a picture of a boy on the reverse side and when he put the boy together right, the world turned out alright.

I guess what I am trying to say is, that there is not a single problem facing America today that could not be solved, or at least helped, if we could inspire the right motivation and dedication. It is my opinion that America is ready for someone to "Challenge It To True Greatness". Isn't it worth trying and what have we to lose?

Why shouldn't the Republican Party be committed to establishing it as having a true concern for human worth, human dignity and individual liberty?

We must declare what we believe in and fight for it. Regardless of the risks (and there are many), we must discontinue making decisions and taking positions on the basis of political expediency and for the purpose of winning elections. Such decisions must be made on what is best for America. We must commence to say it as-it-is and sponsor those programs and causes best calculated to "turn America around". Should decisions, resulting in hardship and sacrifice, have to be made to assure America's well being in the long haul, then they should be made, having faith that America, as has always been the case, will measure up.

Even though we may, for a few years, be like a "voice in the



FRONEFIELD, DEFURIA AND PETRIKIN

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wilderness", by God, let's at least be that voice!

Let's stop attempting to appeal to minority groups, just because they are minorities. Let's think of everyone as Americans and what's good for America is good for all. Let's stop being paternalistic to minority groups. Let's, instead, pursue a cause of action best calculated to afford an equal opportunity for and to inspire all, regardless of race, creed or color, to develop their full potential and be rewarded, with a true sense of achievement and belonging. This is so essential to personal well being and happiness.

We have an opportunity now, such as will not be available to us for another hundred years. The Press, TV, Radio, Cinema, the Pulpit and all Communications Media can be mobilized to dramatize the independence, courage, sacrifice, industriousness, creativity, self discipline and religious faith of our forefathers two hundred years ago as part of the Bicentennial Celebration. These programs are bound to make an impression and cause favorable comparison between the spiritual fortitude and self-reliance of our ancestors and our present day dependence and permissiveness.

May I suggest that we, as a Party, take advantage of this historical celebration to launch a spiritual (meaning of the spirit) renaissance in this Country, so that the principles of the Republican Party will be attractive to the new spirit in America and assure the Party, with the new concept of responsible leadership, an opportunity to get America well on the way to true greatness.

Mr. President, you have the potential to be the One to lead America in this direction. Your homespun candor and appeal makes you the ideal person for this job. Everyone finds it easy to relate to you. You - better than anyone else now on the national scene - can gain the complete confidence of the Nation should you commence now to act, talk and make decisions as though you were ineligible for election in 1976. This will assure that even those who disagree with any particular decision will still believe in you.

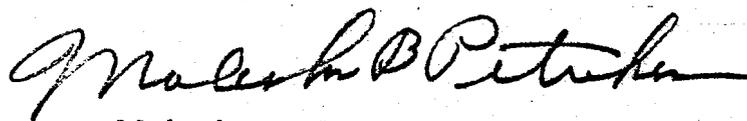
Moreover, I suggest it is a great deal more important that you

FRONFIELD, DEFURIA AND PETRIKIN

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should make full use of these God-Given two years to lead the Nation to greatness than that you should be elected in 1976. But, in my opinion, the surest way to get elected is to reestablish respect and faith in ourselves and in our Country.

Sincerely,



Malcolm B. Petrikin

MBP/epr



- Born - April 28, 1906
- Family - Wife - Madalyn H. Petakin  
Children - Patricia P. Gobhart  
Diana P. Midkiff
- Religion - Protestant - Member of First Baptist Church, Chester, Pa.
- Education - Chester High School - 1924  
Swarthmore College A.B. - 1928  
Temple University Law School LL.B. - 1932

Admitted to practice in Delaware County 1933. Have been engaged in the general practice of law ever since. At the present, the firm name is ~~Chester, Pa.~~ Chester, Pennsylvania. The firm is Counsel for Delaware County National Bank and many of the corporations doing business in Delaware County and along the Riverfront and is engaged in general practice.

Member of the Delaware County Bar Association, The Pennsylvania Bar Association, the American Bar Association and the Judicature Society.

- Civic Activities - President of the Chester Y. M. C. A.; Assistant Solicitor and member of the Board and Executive Committee of the Delaware County Chamber of Commerce; member of the Board of Directors <sup>and Executive Committee</sup> of the Keystone-Philadelphia A. A. Club; member of the ~~Executive Council~~ <sup>Advisory Council</sup> of Valley Forge Council, Boy Scouts of America and member of the Board of Directors and Executive Committee of the Atlantic Steel Castings Company, Chester, Pa.; member of Board and Solicitor for the American Red Cross - Chester Chapter; ~~member~~ <sup>Chairman</sup> of Lawyer's Committee of United Fund of Chester; member of Board of Directors and Solicitor of Concord Day Center; Board of Trustees, First Baptist Church, Chester, Pa.; Board of Directors of Crozer-Chester Medical Center.

- Clubs - The Springhaven Club, Wallingford, Pa.; Seaview Country Club, Absecon, New Jersey; Kiwanis Club of Chester and Colonial Club of Chester; The Drexelbrook Club, Drexel Hill, Pa. Union League, Philadelphia, Pa. The Colonial Club, Chester, Pa.

- Fraternities - Swarthmore College:  
Phi Sigma Kappa  
Psi Delta Epsilon - Honorary Journalistic Fraternity  
Book & Key - Senior Honorary Fraternity

- Awards - Recipient of the Chester Junior Chamber of Commerce "Young Man of the Year" Award 1941, the Chester Businessmen's and Delaware County Chamber of Commerce "Man of the Year" Award 1952; "The George Ellis Memorial Award" 1967 by Chester Junior Chamber of Commerce and "Keise Award" from P.M.C. Colleges February 14, 1969. 1971 Kiwanis Club "Man of the Year" Award.



- State Government Experience - Member of the Pennsylvania Labor Relations Board, under appointments of Governors Martin and Duff, 1944 - 1958; Acting Dep. by State Treasurer under State Treasurer, Honorable Weldon B. Rayburn, and Chairman of the Board of Finance and Revenue 1956 - 1958; Special Assistant to State Treasurer Robert Kent and Chairman of Board of Finance and Revenue 1958 - 1962; Chairman of Pennsylvania Labor Relations Board, under appointment of Governor Duff, 1963 - to ~~1965~~ and President of the National State Labor Relations Agencies 1965 - 1966.

*P.N.C.*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

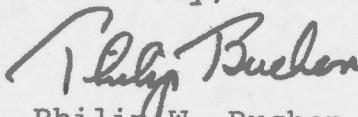
March 1, 1975

Dear Mr. Keenan:

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of your thoughtful letter written to Mary Louise Smith.

I know your comments will be given careful consideration by people at the Republican National Committee.

Sincerely,



Philip W. Buchen  
Counsel to the President

Mr. J. Douglas Keenan  
1385 York Avenue #34F  
New York, New York 10021



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 7, 1975

*Republican  
nat  
Cmte.* ✓

MEMORANDUM TO:

PHILIP W. BUCHEN ✓  
JOHN O. MARSH, JR.  
DONALD H. RUMSFELD  
JAMES LYNN  
L. WILLIAM SEIDMAN  
RONALD H. NESSEN  
JAMES CANNON  
ANN WHITMAN

FROM:

ROBERT T. HARTMANN



Effective March 10, 1975, a new system of processing invitations extended to the President and Vice President from entities of the Republican Party throughout the nation will be instituted. The new procedure will involve the Republican National Committee as a part of the input process in recommending whether invitations should be accepted or not.

Occasionally many of us receive communications from friends and acquaintances urging acceptance of an invitation to the President or Vice President. These should be handled as they always have been by referral to Warren Rustand's Scheduling Office, but in your acknowledgement of Republican Party invitations, you may wish to mention the fact that the Republican National Committee now has a role in the decision process for such invitations. In short, let the RNC take the blame if the answer is "No".





Republican  
National  
Committee.

Mary Louise Smith  
Chairman

*Republican  
National  
Committee*

March 19, 1975

Mr. Philip W. Buchen  
Counsel to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Phil:

We are pleased to be able to provide you with the enclosed Federal Election Law Manual. We commissioned this work shortly after the 1974 campaign act was passed last year but this is much broader in scope than that.

We have attempted to include all federal legislation affecting campaigns including pertinent tax legislation and rulings.

All Republican members of Congress and each State GOP headquarters are being provided copies at no charge. Additional copies may be obtained at a cost of \$25.00 for party affiliated individuals and groups and for \$50.00 each for other groups. Such requests should be forwarded to Jacquie Nystrom at the Republican National Committee's headquarters or call at (202) 484-6693.

You will receive (as will all those who purchase the books) timely updates as various rulings and court interpretations are handed down. It may prove necessary for us to levy a small additional charge to continue this service next year.

I hope you find this work useful and urge you to let us know if you see any changes or improvements that you think might make it even better.

Sincerely,

*Mary Louise*

Mary Louise Smith



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 23, 1975

*Rep - Nat  
Committee*

MEMORANDUM FOR: PHIL BUCHEN

FROM: RON NESSEN *R.N.*

Could you look at the attached letter and give me suggestions on its contents, if they should be changed?

The check addressed to me was in a Republican Finance Committee envelope with no correspondence of any kind. Apparently it had been sent, in addition to a check for them, and they passed it along.

I have no idea who Ralph L. Hill is, and of course want to return the check to him.

*Looks O.K.  
to me.  
P.W.B.*



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 23, 1975

Dear Mr. Hill:

I am returning the check which the Republican National Finance Committee forwarded to me, made out in my name for \$50.

I presume this is a campaign contribution, and if so, it should be made out to the Republican National Committee and sent directly to them. I have nothing whatever to do with campaign donations for the Republican National Committee.

Sincerely,

Ron Nessen  
Press Secretary  
to the President

Mr. Ralph L. Hill  
4625 Oakwood Place  
Riverside, California 92506



RALPH L. HILL  
4625 OAKWOOD PL.  
RIVERSIDE, CA 92506

No. 1116

4-14 19 75 90-124  
1222

PAY TO THE  
ORDER OF

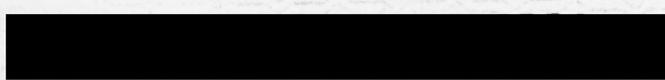
Ron Nessen, White House Press Secretary 50<sup>00</sup>

Fifty & <sup>no</sup>/<sub>100</sub>

DOLLARS

SECURITY PACIFIC NATIONAL BANK   
Riverside Main Office  
3773 Main St., Riverside, Ca. 92501

Ralph L. Hill



Rep Nat  
Committee

For file  
P.

Eva,

Mr. Buchen asked me what had happened  
on this which I knew nothing of.  
I did talk with Sara about it and  
she is sending me a note saying she  
is now 100% sure that .....

Shirley

See note attached.



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

4/23

Shirley:

Attached is a copy of the Jayson letter as it went out. It was cleared by Friedersdorf, Marsh and Cheney.

On the answer to question #5 (which we wanted Mr. Buchen's clearance on) I checked on 3/31/75 with Billy Shaddix down in our Photo Office and he confirmed definitely (and has backup) that all photos used for political purposes are indeed paid for by the RNC.

A note of interest -- Mr. Nessen's office says that they got back a very cordial note from Jayson who was please with such a complete and informative letter.

Sara S.



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 21, 1975

Mr. Lester S. Jayson  
Director  
Congressional Research Service  
The Library of Congress  
Washington, D.C. 20540

Attention: Dr. Virginia McMurtry

Dear Mr. Jayson:

In response to your letter to me of March 6, 1975, I am including below the answers to your questions about the White House Photographic Office you reported that a member of Congress requested answers to:

1. How many photographers whose salaries are paid from Federal funds are attached to the White House at the present time?

There are currently five photographers who are assigned to the White House Photo Office and are paid by the White House.

2. Are any of these photographers on loan to the White House from other Executive Branch departments and agencies? If so, how many?

None of these photographers is on loan to the White House from any other Executive branch, department or agency.

3. By which Executive Branch departments, agencies, or other sources of funds are the salaries of the White House photographers paid?

Since none of the photographers is assigned from an Executive branch, department or agency, each is paid by the White House.

4. Is there any existing regulation or policy which differentiates between using the White House photographers for private or personal as contrasted with public or official assignments? If so, could you kindly describe such regulation or policy?



The White House Photo Office policy is that all White House photographers will perform only official photography while on duty. A check with each of the photographers indicates that none perform any freelance photography as they are always on call to serve the President and cannot make advance commitments of an unofficial nature to perform on their own time.

5. If a picture taken by a White House photographer for official purposes is subsequently used for political purposes, such as campaign publicity, is any reimbursement or other form of payment made? Please describe how this matter is handled.

Any official White House photographs which are subsequently used for political purposes are paid for by the Republican National Committee.

6. We would appreciate any additional information or comments which you believe to be relevant to this inquiry.

Most of the photographs issued by the White House Photo Office go to fulfill requests from the American public. Since most of these requests are for pictures of the President or the First Lady, we have used substantial numbers of lithograph photos to reduce the costs substantially per print. The second largest category of requests, after those from the general public, includes requests from members of Congress for their personal use and for their constituents. Additionally, in the past six months we have placed tighter control on the number of official photographs which are sent to citizens who meet with the President.

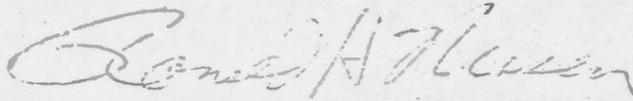
We do not send out unsolicited photographs to anyone. We have also instituted a policy whereby any photographs which go to a publication on an exclusive basis are also made available upon request to any legitimate news medium on the date of publication of these exclusive photos. Occasionally, the White House Photographer may cover an event which was not covered by the press photographers. If his photographs are of particular news value and requested by the press, they are released for publication.

It should also be noted that the primary purpose of the White House Photo Office is for historical documentation of the Presidency. All photographs and negatives of the President at the close of each Administration are sent to the National Archives and Records Service for preservation.



I hope these answers are helpful to you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Ronald H. Nessen".

Ronald H. Nessen  
Press Secretary to the President



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

3/28/75

Eva:

Mr. Buchen called on the Lester Jayson letter we sent through him for clearance.

He wanted to make absolutely certain sure that the answer to question #5 was indeed true (i. e. any official White House photographs used for political purposes are paid for by the RNC)

I checked with the Photo Office and they assured me that they were 90% certain this is the policy, but that to make sure 100% I should check with the man who sends the bills in for payment (Billy Shaddix) who will be in on Monday.

We'll just hold the letter until the group returns from Palm Springs -- we'll have then checked it out completely.

Thanks.

*Sara*  
Sara Currence  
Dave Hoopes's Office



Friday 3/28/75

4:05 This has been approved by Mr. Cheney and  
is O.K. to send out if you and Friedersdorf  
say it's O.K.



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 3/28/75

TO: PHILIP W. BUCHEN

FROM: DAVID C. HOOPES

FYI: [ ]

**Comment:**

Could you please look over the attached letter to be sent from Ron Nessen to Lester Jayson and let me know as soon as possible if you have any problems -- we need your clearance especially for the answer to #5.

Thank you.





Wednesday 4/16/75

2:30 Dorothy Downton called.

After your information that it was all right for the President to contribute to a general purpose committee up to an aggregate of \$25,000 or \$1,000 per candidate, she called Mrs. Smith.

Mrs. Smith had Dorothy check with her secretary, who confirmed the checks were made out to the Republican Senate House Dinner, in the amount of \$1,000 each.

Dorothy has asked them to hold the checks until she can check with you. Is that O.K.?

Should they return the checks and have them re-made to either the Republican National Committee or the Republican Congressional Committee? Or is "Republican Senate House Dinner" O.K.?





*Rep. Nat  
Comtee*

CC. PHIL BUCHEN

ADMINISTRATIVELY  
CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

April 28, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: Peter J. Wallison  
SUBJECT: The Capitol Hill Club

As far as I have been able to determine at the present time, this is the situation:

1. Travelers Insurance Company, the holder of the only existing mortgage on the premises occupied by the Republican National Committee and the Capitol Hill Club is about to foreclose its mortgage.

2. Foreclosure is imminent because the Club has not been meeting its rental payments to Capitol Hill Associates, the owner of the property, and Capitol Hill Associates ("Associates") in turn has not been able to make timely mortgage payments.

3. The Club needs approximately \$700,000 to clear up its debts (mostly to the Marriott Corporation) and to pay its rent through 1976; Associates needs approximately \$400,000 to clear up its own outstanding obligations.

4. Advances to Associates could be secured by a second mortgage (after Travelers) on the premises occupied by both the Club and RNC, but advances to the Club would be unsecured, and there can be no assurance that it would ever be recovered unless the Club became a going concern. The following questions arise at this point:

(a) Is your interest here in preserving the Club or just the Republican National Committee lease?



Because the leases of both the Club and the Committee have been assigned to Travelers as security for the mortgage, if Travelers forecloses it would be in a position to evict the Republican National Committee as well as the Club. Thus, it could be argued that the only way to protect the tenure of the RNC is to finance the operation of the Club.

This argument, however, does not work. Travelers would not want to evict the RNC, because the zoning for the property permits occupancy only by the Republican National Committee, and Travelers would have great difficulty getting a variance. Instead, Travelers will probably sell the property to Congress, which has a right of first refusal on both properties and wants to use at least the Club building for office space. John Rhodes has said that if the property is sold to Congress, he can arrange to have the RNC property leased back to RNC again.

In this transaction, the Club would fold and the losers would be Marriott Corporation (\$270,000) and certain other creditors of the Club. Associates would come out with a profit of approximately \$300,000, since the pre-agreed price for the property to Congress exceeds by that amount the total principal sum of the mortgage and other obligations of Associates.

(b) If your purpose, on the other hand, is to save the Club as well as the RNC, things are a good deal more complicated.

As noted above, any advance to the Club would be unsecured, and might be lost entirely if it does not become a viable organization.\* This risk could be reduced by inducing the RNC to pick up a larger portion of the rent paid by the two entities to Associates, releasing a larger proportion of the Club's income for repayment of the loan made by the group you would assemble. Naturally, however, this is no guarantee that your investors would get their money back in two years, or ever.

---

\* It should be noted that the officers of Associates who I have spoken to seem to believe that the Club would be viable under new management and that a report on the Club by Restaurant Associates of New York demonstrates this.



The reasons for your entering this transaction anyway are unclear to me. Apparently, there is a feeling that it would be a great political issue for the Democrats if a Republican organization went into bankruptcy. However, it would also be a nice issue, and would cause you personally many difficulties, when it became known that you had assisted the RNC and the Capitol Hill Club by advancing a substantial amount of money with no real hope of return.

However, I have tentatively set up a meeting for Wednesday afternoon with the officers and attorneys for Associates, and I will, of course, go forward with this transaction unless you indicate otherwise.



November 21, 1974

To: Dorothy

From: Eva

I assume this is one  
you will want to take  
in to the President  
yourself.

Thanks.



November 25, 1974

Attention: Fred Dixon  
President

Gentlemen:

It has come to my attention that I may have overlooked sending you a written resignation from the positions I had while a Member of Congress when I served on your Board of Directors and Executive Committee.

Please accept this letter as my written resignation from both such positions.

Sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford

Capitol Hill Associates, Inc.  
310 First Street, Southeast  
Washington, D. C. 20003



*Rep. Nat. Center*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

5/9/75

Mr. Buchen:

Gene Beckman called you (803) 386-3792  
Johnsonville, S. C.

He knew you 16 years ago when he was  
associated with Jones Y. Pharr of  
Charlotte, N. C. and Rospatch Corp.

Mr. Beckman is now associated with the  
Florence County Republican Party which  
is having an appreciation dinner for volunteer  
workers who manned the polls for the primary.  
South Carolina had the first Republican  
primary in history manned totally by  
volunteers.

He wants to invite the President to attend  
the dinner on May 23 - 8 PM.

*5/10/75 JANE*

*Called & advised  
against making  
request for Presidential  
appearance.  
T.*



*Ind regretted*

Friday 5/9/75

Speaking engage-  
9/9/75 me

11:20

Bob Eleveld said Marba Perrott suggested he call here. Mr. Eleveld is the Fifth District Republican Chairman and has been asked by the Chairman of the Kent County Medical Society to see whether or not you could be the speaker at their annual meeting in September -- September 9th. It is a meeting of all the members of the society and their wives -- will run about 700 people (based on past years), and they would like you to speak on anything you want.

(616) 459-4186

\$500 honorarium plus expenses.

The current president of the society is Dr. Harold Bowman, Chief Pathologist at St. Mary's Hospital, who says he has met you.

Eleveld's address is 666 Old Kent Building, Grand Rapids 45902

If you aren't available, they thought they would like to have someone from the Washington contingent -- Seidman or ????

*Declined by  
phone on 5/12/75*



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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 12, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DUDLEY CHAPMAN

FROM: PHILIP BUCHEN *T.W.B.*

Please prepare a reply for my signature to the attached memo from Dick Cheney raising questions concerning the Los Angeles Times story of May 9, 1975, as to the legality of certain expenditures by the Republican National Committee.

Attachment

*RNC*



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 10, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: PHIL BUCHEN

FROM: DICK CHENEY

D

Attached is a piece out of the Los Angeles Times from Friday, May 9th, raising questions about the legality of the RNC providing support for polls for the White House, etc.

I would appreciate it if you would review this and let me have your thoughts on it.

cc: Don Rumsfeld  
Jerry Jones

Attachment



# GOP Committee Spending \$40,000 on Ford Polls

BY ROBERT SHOGAN

Times Political Writer

WASHINGTON—The Republican National Committee, which is limited by a new campaign reform law to \$5,000 contribution to a candidate for the presidential nomination, has already commissioned about \$40,000 in polls on President Ford's policies and popularity. The Times has learned.

The polls, now under study at the White House, were initiated at White House request. National Committee officials acknowledged, and the ques-

tions posed at the suggestion of White House aides.

GOP officials, White House aides and Dean Burch, chairman of Mr. Ford's newly organized "informal" campaign committee, defended the polls as designed to serve the President as a policy maker and national leader rather than as a candidate.

Mr. Ford repeatedly has stated that he intends to seek the GOP nomination in 1976, although he has avoided a formal declaration of candidacy. But the expenditure by the commit-

tee on behalf of Mr. Ford was questioned by aides to potential rivals in both parties.

"If this money was spent solely on the President, who, if he isn't a candidate already technically, will presumably become one, it raises a lot of questions," said Peter Hannaford, an aide to Ronald Reagan.

"The Republican National Committee is supposed to work for the whole party," added Hannaford, who said he had not discussed the matter with Reagan.

Walter T. Skallerup, treasurer of the campaign committee for Democratic Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington, said the polling sponsored by the Republican committee raised "a very serious question" and suggested that the Federal Elections Commission, established under the 1974 campaign reforms, might inquire into its legality.

"The President is not above the law," Skallerup said. "I think that's one of the things we recently reestablished. And I assume the Fed-

eral Elections Commission is going to enforce the law."

The polls in question were conducted by Decision Making Information, a Los Angeles-based firm, in February, March and April. The survey included voter reaction in five states Mr. Ford has visited—Texas, Kansas, Florida, Indiana and California—to his proposals on energy and the economy, plus a nationwide sample which rated Mr. Ford's overall performance and attitudes about specific issues.

They indicated that Mr. Ford was more popular than his policies and that his trips tended to boost his standing in the areas he visited.

The committee has already paid about \$15,000 to DMI, according to GOP executive director Eddie Mahe. The remaining cost will be about

\$25,000, informed sources said. The money came from \$500,000 budgeted by the National Committee for White House political expenses, which includes part of the cost of presidential trips, the distribution of such presidential mementos as cuff links, tie tacks and ladies' pins, and political receptions in Washington.

The purpose of the poll, Mahe said, was "to study how the President's policies are being received and what his strengths and weaknesses are in terms of carrying these policies to the country." Mahe pointed out that polls, along with other presidential political expenses not directly related to a campaign, have traditionally been paid for by the committee.

Please Turn to Page 23, Col. 4

RNC

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 19, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK CHENEY  
FROM: PHIL BUCHEN *T.W.B.*  
SUBJECT: LA Times Story on Polling Expenses

I believe that our legal position is sound in that you may use Republican Party funds for political purposes that relate to the Presidency itself as distinguished from the President's own personal candidacy. Since there are continuing political expenses relating to the Presidency, we cannot avoid all such criticism by simply stopping the expenditures. We should be cautious, however, to be sure that the facts in all cases are persuasive that the expenditure is legitimately in the interest of the Party and not just of the candidate, since the propriety of our position depends on this factual distinction. Polling is a particularly sensitive activity which calls for considerable discretion in deciding what information we are to seek.

As soon as the President has his own source of political funds, it would be helpful to run some polls clearly related to his own candidacy so that their subject matter would provide a contrast to polls conducted with Party funds.

cc: Don Rumsfeld  
Jerry Jones



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 12, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DUDLEY CHAPMAN

FROM:

PHILIP BUCHEN *T.W.B.*

Please prepare a reply for my signature to the attached memo from Dick Cheney raising questions concerning the Los Angeles Times story of May 9, 1975, as to the legality of certain expenditures by the Republican National Committee.

Attachment



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 10, 1975

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Please Turn to Page 23, Col. 4

May 19, 1975

RNC

Dear Jere:

Thank you very much for your note about Susan Harrington.

She did call my office at a time when I was not available but promised to call later. As soon as she calls again, I shall be glad to discuss with her how she might be most helpful in the work of the Republican Party.

Very best regards to you and Jane from Bunny and me.

Sincerely,

Philip W. Buchen  
Counsel to the President

Mr. Jerome W. Eberts  
3180 Polo Drive  
Delray Beach, Florida 33444



ASSOCIATED STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF IDAHO  
STUDENT UNION BUILDING MOSCOW, IDAHO 83843

Warnick,  
David

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 14, 1975

Philip W. Buchen  
Counsel to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Buchen:

Thanks very much for your kind letter of May 2. I appreciate your taking the time to reply.

I would like to write and congratulate the President on his presentation and action regarding the energy situation.

In addition, I wanted to note the date of the Idaho Republican State Convention has been changed from the third weekend in June, 1976, to the fourth weekend--the 25th and 26th. As Publicity Chairman of the Latah County Central Committee, who are handling arrangements for the state convention to be held here, I thought I would notify you of this. Please reiterate our invitation to the President to visit the convention.

Thanks again,



David Warnick, Chairman  
Idaho College Republican League



June 27, 1975

*Rep.  
mail  
center*

MEMORANDUM FOR: DOUG BENNETT

FROM: PHIL BUCHEN

Attached is a resume concerning Ms. Lucy Hummer. She is highly recommended by Richard D. Obenshain, Co-Chairman, Republican National Committee.

As I have advised Mr. Obenshain, we have no current opening in the White House Legal Office, but it may be that you could find another opening here in the White House.

Attachment



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

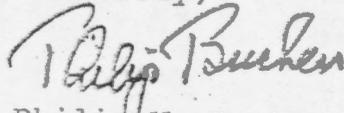
June 18, 1975

Dear Mr. Obenshain:

Regarding your letter of June 4, I regret to say that we do not have an opening in our office for Ms. Lucy Hummer. However, in the event that Ms. Hummer is interested in being considered for some other position within the White House or elsewhere in the Administration, I suggest she submit her credentials to Mr. Douglas Bennett who is the new Director of the Office of Presidential Personnel.

I appreciate your interest in proposing Ms. Hummer for consideration.

Sincerely,



Philip W. Buchen  
Counsel to the President

Mr. Richard D. Obenshain  
Co-Chairman  
Republican National Committee  
310 First Street, Southeast  
Washington, D. C. 20003



*Obenshain,  
Rich. D.*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 9, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

TED MARRS

FROM:

PHILIP BUCHEN *P.W.B.*

SUBJECT:

Tree Planting Schedule Proposal

Because of the commercial advantage to the American Association of Nurserymen from the Green Survival Bicentennial Tree Planting Program and the identification with the President which will occur as a result of this schedule proposal, I hesitate to join in recommending it. I believe it might be better to involve the National Parks Foundation and the National Parks Department, which has jurisdiction over the White House grounds, as the entities to be identified with the tree planting rather than having the President be personally involved. I fear that the President's involvement may lead to his being involved in acceptance of other gifts in kind for the benefit of the White House and White House grounds which will be in part motivated by desire on the part of the commercial donors to gain the advantage of the publicity resulting from involvement with the President.



RNC

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 13, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: PHIL BUCHEN

FROM: BARRY ROTH

SUBJECT: Press inquiry concerning the Capitol Hill Club

On Friday, the Press Office referred Ms. Judith Roales of the Delaware State News (671-8172) to me for the purpose of explaining, on a not-for-attribution basis, our regulations on employee conduct that deal with trading on one's White House position for personal profit. She then posed a hypothetical question that clearly referred to the Vice President arranging for the President to appear at the fundraiser for the Capitol Hill Club. After speaking with Peter Wallison, I explained to her that our office wasn't familiar with the facts surrounding this event or the Vice President's stock ownership in Capitol Hill Associates (Associates), the club's landlord, and that she should call the Vice President's press office. Apparently her inquiry is directed to show that the club is on the brink of bankruptcy and that the President's appearance benefits the Associates, a corporation in which the Vice President owns 300 shares.

Peter explained, in confidence, that the Vice President will be giving his shares to charity as soon as the paperwork is completed by his private counsel. He also raised the point that the President's children, and perhaps the President, own a small number of shares in Associates. I checked with Benton Becker on this, and his recollection is that the children do own one share each, which was purchased by Congressman Ford not as an investment but in order to raise the funds necessary to build the Eisenhower Center. The stock pays no dividend. Peter, Benton and I agree that, for the reporter to write that the President or Vice President is personally profiting from the fundraising for the club, she has made a very strained and inaccurate conclusion.

If an inquiry is made to us in this regard, the following could be offered in response:



(1) The Capitol Hill Club is not on the brink of bankruptcy, and, since January, has been in the black, despite an overall deficit.

(2) Capitol Hill Associates is not an investment venture but was simply the vehicle chosen to finance the Eisenhower Center. It pays no dividend.

(3) There is no pecuniary benefit to the President, Vice President or First Family as a result of these efforts on behalf of the Club. The Club is separable from Associates, and, even if the Club were to go bankrupt, the Associates continue to own the property, subject to the outstanding mortgage, and any other liens. Obviously, the stockholders of Associates are not personally liable for any debts of either the Club or Associates.

(4) The Club is a Republican social club, and, for this reason, the President and Vice President obviously would like to be of assistance to it.

I understand that the eventual goal is for the Club to buy the building from Associates at its original cost. The stockholders would then be in a position to recover their original investment, or something approximating that amount.

It is appropriate to consider whether the President or First Family should follow the Vice President's example and donate the stock to charity. However, before recommending this, we should check with Bob McBain to see who owns any such stock and in what amounts. In the absence of yourself and Rod, I have mentioned this to Jim Connor in order that someone will be aware of these inquiries.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 10, 1975

RNC  
(su  
FEC)

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK CHENEY  
FROM: PHIL BUCHEN P.W.B.  
SUBJECT: Democratic Senatorial  
Campaign Committee  
Letter to the FEC

Attached for your information is the letter from the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee which accuses the RNC of violating the Federal Election Campaign Act by its expenditures on support of the President as head of the party. It also proposes that the PFC be required to reimburse the RNC for such expenditures retroactive to either July 8 when the President announced his candidacy, August 21 when the FEC issued the "Bentsen" ruling that appearances by announced candidates before large groups were presumed to be campaign related, or September 4 when the FEC responded to Wyman.

While it is not possible to predict the FEC decision on this question, the FEC has previously taken the position that their rulings should be prospective rather than retroactive when the law is unclear and the question relates to a traditional campaign practice.

We are working with Bob Visser at the PFC and Benton Becker for the RNC on comments on Mary Louise Smith's letter, and which will also reflect some of the arguments made by the Democrat's complaint.

The DNC is expected to file additional comments next week in opposition to the RNC practice.



Buchen FYI

October 17, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: PAUL THEIS  
FROM: KEN LAZARUS/s  
SUBJECT: Use of RNC Files

This is in response to your inquiry made earlier this week on the propriety of integrating certain files of the RNC into the research records currently maintained by your office for inclusion in a microfilm bank which would be established here.

Background

My understanding of the facts relevant to your inquiry may be summarized in the following manner.

The RNC currently maintains issue-oriented files including speeches, public statements and other public records of major political figures representing a broad cross-section of political and ideological views. Independent of the RNC, the research section of the Editorial Office maintains files of public record information, i. e. newsclippings, Congressional Record excerpts, etc. in order to facilitate the drafting of Presidential statements. Your proposal is to integrate into your records certain portions of the RNC files which relate to public comment by political figures on major issues of national concern. Your intent is not to develop political profiles on potential election opponents of the President, but to increase your range of information and knowledge on domestic and international issues.

After receipt of the RNC information, you intend to have all of your files transferred to microfilm in order to simplify storage and access. The costs of the microfilming and scanners would be covered by public funds.



This proposal raises three concerns:

a. Privacy Act. The Privacy Act of 1974 establishes conditions for the retention, access and disclosure of personal data contained in the various information systems which are maintained by Federal agencies.

The Act prescribes the maintenance of any record which describes how an individual exercises rights guaranteed by the First Amendment unless expressly authorized by statute or the individual about whom the record is maintained.

Offices in the Executive Office of the President whose sole function is to advise and assist the President are not subject to the Act. However, it should be noted that President Ford served as the first chairman of the Domestic Council Committee on the Right of Privacy during his term as Vice President and strongly supported the Privacy Act. Moreover, although there is good cause for the White House to refuse voluntary compliance with the access and disclosure provisions of the Act, there would not appear to be any substantial arguments against voluntary compliance with the retention provisions to the maximum extent feasible.

b. Use of official funds. Assuming that the microfilm bank were utilized solely in support of the official statements of the President, the expenditure of public funds to finance the project would be proper. Utilization of the system for political (personal or party) purposes would, of course, be violative of Federal law. To some extent, the inclusion of RNC files in your own records would tend to politically taint your system.

c. Public perception. Given the President's statement indicating that White House personnel would not be involved in the election, public concern over the accumulation of information relating to individuals and the potential for misuse of the RNC files, the proposal could raise some political problems.



Conclusion

Assuming the proposal would not result in the utilization of your system for political purposes, it would not be a violation of law. However, in view of the other considerations noted above, I would recommend you reconsider the matter.



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

RNC

November 20, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: JACK CALKINS  
FROM: PHIL BUCHEN *P.W.B.*  
SUBJECT: The Official 1975 Republican  
Party Medal

In response to your inquiry on the above referenced matter, attached is a draft response to Rod Smith for either Bob Hartmann or yourself to send. Benton Becker has advised that the plastic cover is being changed to read "support to the RNC in 1975."

Please call me or Barry Roth if you have any questions.

Attachment



DRAFT -- November 19, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:      ROD SMITH

FROM:

SUBJECT:                      The Official 1975 Republican  
Party Medal

In response to your request concerning the above referenced matter, the RNFC may use the President's likeness and facsimile signature on the Official 1975 Republican Party Medal. We understand that this is to be offered as a premium to contributors to the Republican Party. We have also been advised that the inscription on the plastic case will be changed to read ". . . support to the Republican Party in 1975." However, this approval is not in any way to be considered as authorizing the RNC, the RNFC, or any other political committee or person to undertake any activities or expenditures on behalf of the President's candidacy.

If you have any additional questions in this regard, please do not hesitate to contact me.

cc: Benton L. Becker, Esq.  
    Robert Visser

bcc: Phil Buchen



Barry

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 14, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: PHILIP BUCHEN

FROM: JACK CALKINS *JC*

Attached is a self-explanatory file concerning "The Official 1975 Republican Party Medal" which is planned for use as a fundraising premium by the Republican National Finance Committee. You will note that the Presentation Stand which is planned for this medal bears the President's facsimile signature. I am informed by Rod Smith that this package was put together out of town by the same firm which did the 1972 similar item and that there was a misunderstanding with regard to the obtaining of permission to use the President's facsimile signature. Therefore, these have already been manufactured with the signature thereon, but obviously the RNFC does not wish to start sending them to recipients until they have been properly cleared by the White House.

Given the 1972 Nixon precedent for this type of item and the other more recent permission granted by President Ford for the use of his signature in fundraising activities by entities of the Republican Party, I do not see that there should be any problem in giving permission for this item, but in accordance with standard practice, I am forwarding it to your office for further action.

Please advise me of any further action taken on this request.

JTC:rg  
cc: RTH





Republican  
National  
Finance  
Committee.

Chairman  
Jeremiah Milbank

November 11, 1975

MEMORANDUM

TO: JACK CALKINS  
FROM: ROD SMITH *Rod.*  
SUBJECT: APPROVAL TO UTILIZE FACSIMILE OF PRESIDENT FORD'S SIGNATURE

Attached is the brochure used in our Ford Medal mailing and a copy of the brochure used in 1972 for the Nixon Medal mailing. As you will note, the concept and design are almost exactly the same. As I explained to you over the phone, there was confusion on our part that approval to utilize the President's signature had already been obtained. I apologize for this error and sincerely hope there is no problem in now obtaining formal approval to utilize a facsimile of the President's signature on this project.

I would very much appreciate your assistance in this matter and hope we can resolve it as soon as possible. If there are any questions or problems, please give me a call.

Thank you.



# The Official 1975 Medal of the Republican National Party



## A priceless memento of your support of the Republican Party

This historic Medal was created by one of the world's foremost medallic sculptors—Mico Kaufman, who created the obverse of the official U.S. Ford Inaugural Medal. It is being minted by the Medallic Art Company, which also minted the Official U.S. Ford Inaugural Medal.

A special solid Bronze edition, in a desk stand bearing the President's message of appreciation and a facsimile of his signature, will be produced in limited

quantity solely for contributors of \$15.00 to \$24.95. Contributors of \$25.00 or more will receive a solid Sterling Silver medal. Both medals will be in brilliant, proof-like finish, with a mirror-bright background. These limited editions are not for sale at any price.

This distinctive Commemorative Medal, in either Silver or Bronze, makes an appropriate memento of your important participation in support of the Republican Party in 1975, and is sure to become a valuable collector's item in the years ahead.

A treasured  
heirloom you'll  
proudly display

The Republican Party depends upon the loyal support of individual members for its continued existence. Without this support, the Party would quickly cease to function. Democratic candidates receive huge contributions from funds controlled by the leadership of the big Labor Unions. The Republican Party receives the bulk of its contributions in donations from individual Party members. This traditional Republican method of fund-raising is in accordance with the ideal set forth by President Eisenhower who defined the Republican Party as the Party which "promotes individual participation."

In keeping with this tradition, the Republican Party is giving as a memento and a token of appreciation this Official 1975 Medal, struck in solid Bronze and suitably presented for display, to every Republican Party member who makes a contribution at this time in the amount of \$15.00 up to \$24.95. (Contributors of \$25.00 or more receive the beautiful Solid Sterling Silver Medal.)

Your participation in this vital support of the Party is deeply appreciated.



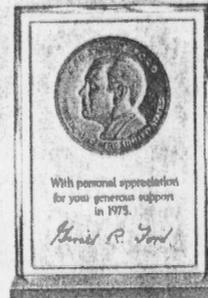


STRUCK FOR  
THE REPUBLICAN  
NATIONAL PARTY



... by one of the largest and foremost private mints in the world, an independent, publicly owned corporation, not affiliated with the U.S. Mint or any other governmental agency.

YOUR 1975  
SUPPORT MEDAL  
WILL COME  
APPROPRIATELY MOUNTED  
IN A DISTINCTIVE  
DESK STAND.



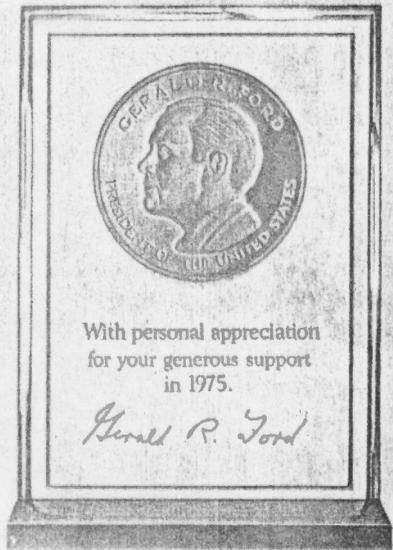
# The Official 1975 Republican Party Medal



AN EXCLUSIVE KEEPSAKE  
FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY'S  
SUPPORTERS

A treasured heirloom you will proudly display as a symbol of your active participation in the Republican Party

You are invited  
to accept this  
unique memento  
in appreciation  
of your continuing  
support



Your Presentation Stand will be inscribed:

"With personal appreciation for  
your generous support.  
—Gerald Ford"

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

RNC  
(see  
Vander Jagt)

December 30, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE HONORABLE ANTONIN SCALIA  
ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL  
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

SUBJECT: Fund Raising by the National Republican  
Congressional Committee

Regarding a subject which we discussed the other day, I am enclosing a duplicate of a letter sent to me by Chairman Guy Vander Jagt.

P.W.B.

Philip W. Buchen  
Counsel to the President

Enclosure

cc: Barry Roth



Wednesday 3/10/76

9:35 Yesterday Mary Louise Smith called to talk with you while your "big" meeting was going on. 484-6700

She said that an Iowan who once ran for Congressman was indicted for misuse of union funds; District Court Judge has discharged his probation and indicated no objection to restoration of his rights; Governor of Iowa has recommended a pardon. Mrs. Smith wanted to ask about pardon procedures, etc.

Since both you and Ken were in the meeting, I told her I would have the Pardon Attorney or someone in his office call to explain the process.

I checked this morning with Mrs. Smith's secretary and she advises they called her back promptly and her questions were answered -- she is most appreciative.

