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JH

March 5, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: Peter J. Wallison

SUBJECT: Rules for the 1976 Convention Presently
Under Consideration by the Republican
National Committee

I spoke to Jim Cannon this morning about a problem which is looming at the meeting of the Republican National Committee which began today. As outlined in the attached memorandum, there is likely to be a controversy over new rules for the 1976 Convention proposed to the Committee by a special drafting group charged with that responsibility at the last Convention.

Jim suggested that I send you a brief summary of the problem so that, if you thought it was appropriate, you could bring it to the attention of Bob Hartmann. As the memo indicates, I think it should be a matter of some importance to the President and his advisors.

It is my understanding that the issue will be taken up formally tomorrow, so there is, unfortunately, some need for a quick decision at the White House.

If you would like to talk about any of this, I am always available.

Attachment

cc: James Cannon



March 5, 1975

RULES FOR THE 1975 REPUBLICAN CONVENTION
UNDER CONSIDERATION BY THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

At its meeting today and tomorrow, the Republican National Committee will be considering new rules for the 1976 Convention.

Among these is Rule 32 which, with an official "Interpretation" of the drafting committee, calls upon the various state parties to take "positive action" to assure "more equitable participation of women, young people, minority and heritage groups and senior citizens" in the political process generally and the 1976 Republican Convention in particular.

The Rule and Interpretation are rather mild reforms by present-day standards, and the Rule itself specifically rules out quotas. However, it now appears that the conservatives will attempt at the Republican National Committee meeting to have approval of the rules put over to the Rules Committee of the Convention in 1976.

This will have two unhappy results:

- (1) It will appear that the Republican Party, at the present time, is unable to make a statement calling for greater involvement of young people and ethnic groups in its activities.
- (2) Perhaps more important, it will place before the 1976 Convention an extremely divisive issue which will exacerbate the conservative-moderate split which has already appeared.

Should there be a serious challenge to the President at the Convention, one of the ways his conservative challengers will seek to build support is likely to be through the creation of conflicts between moderates and conservatives in a number of areas. This one is a prime candidate.

For the foregoing reasons, it would be very much in the President's interests to secure the adoption by the Republican National Committee of the rules as presently proposed, and not to permit the laying over of that question until the Convention.

A copy of Rule 32 and its Interpretation is attached.

Attachment

RULE NO. 32

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(a) Participation in a Republican primary, caucus, or any 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.

(d) *The provisions of Rule 32 are not intended to be the basis of any kind of quota system.*



INTERPRETATION OF RULE 32

We recommend to the Republican National Committee the following procedures to carry out the mandates set forth in the Rules adopted at the 1972 Republican National Convention.

In an effort to be of assistance to the various states in meeting their obligations to take positive action and endeavor to assure greater and more equitable participation of women, young people, minority and heritage groups, and senior citizens in the political process, and to increase their representation at the 1976 Republican National Convention, we recommend the following.

1. Each state committee shall publicize in advance of the event to the widest possible extent the dates, places, rules, officials conducting and eligibility requirements for participation in all party meetings relevant to delegate selection.
 - (a) This information should be printed in all state Republican publications.
 - (b) News releases should be provided for all newspapers, radio stations and TV stations.
 - (c) Special efforts should be made to encourage the media to carry such announcements as public service items.
 - (d) Special efforts should be made to see that all party meetings held for the purpose of delegate selection are located in convenient places and called to order at reasonable hours.



2. Information meetings should be held to acquaint all citizens with the delegate selection process.
 - (a) Out-reach workshops should be held to acquaint persons with the workings of the Republican Party in the state.
 - (b) Speakers' bureaus should be set up to operate the out-reach programs so that a wide range of knowledgeable persons reflecting the diversity of the population of the state are available to disseminate the activities and the beliefs of the Republican Party to those geographical and cultural areas which may not traditionally have appropriate representation in the Republican Party of the state.
3. In conformity with Rule 31(s), the publication of a "How To Become A Delegate" pamphlet or flyer should be completed by January 1, 1976, and made available, free of charge, at public places where the general public has access to the information. The contents of the pamphlet should be specific, easily understood, accurate, and timely.
4. Each state committee should establish a state calendar of events which would include the activities of groups with whom the party is attempting to establish rapport.
5. Steps should be taken to encourage the widest possible participation in platform and rules hearings through sub-hearings in each of the appropriate geographical units of the state in centrally located sites.



6. Special emphasis should be placed on working toward attracting such groups as women, young people, minority groups, heritage groups, and senior citizens.
7. The state should strictly honor the rule prohibiting requirement and/or assessment of fees as a condition of serving as a delegate to the National Convention. Recognizing that finances play an important practical part in limiting the range of representativeness of the National Convention, a state should seek ways to make participation as inexpensive as possible through shared travel and housing and other means that may eliminate hardship.
8. The state party organization shall have established and functioning by July 1, 1975, a Rule 29 Committee broadly representative of Republicans in that state including women, young people, minority and heritage groups, and senior citizens.

The regular party organization shall take positive action to assist in the development of a statewide out-reach program as it regards the delegate selection process and other party affairs.

9. Each state party organization should demonstrate its efforts of positive action by submitting by February 1, 1976, to the Republican National Committee examples of the materials produced and activities undertaken which are designed to create the opportunity for participating in all party activities for all people regardless of race, creed, national origin, religion, sex or age, including a program to educate the citizenry of the delegate selection process. In



order to assist the states, the Republican National Committee shall review and comment on the state's program.

Formulation and reasonable implementation of a state effort substantially in compliance with that recommended above shall be considered by the 1976 Republican National Convention as prima facie evidence of a good faith effort to comply with requirements of Rule 32.

However, the foregoing provisions shall not be deemed to be the exclusive method of endeavoring to reach the broad objectives of Rule 32 or be binding upon any state organization. The fact that a state or political organization has not conformed with the provisions above shall not be deemed to be evidence of failure to comply or to make a good faith effort to comply with the requirements for positive action contained in Rule 32.

Nothing in these recommendations is intended to be, or should be construed as, the basis for any type of a quota system.

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Mississippi Republican Party / POST OFFICE BOX 894, GREENVILLE, MISSISSIPPI 38701 • TELEPHONE, AC 601, 335-5822

June 19, 1975

Mr. Jim Cannon
The White House
Washington, D. C.

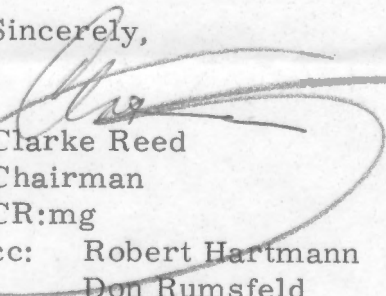
Dear Jim:

Thank you for your attention to our failed efforts to get the President to take a clear position of moral leadership re the Voting Rights Act. In the future I will help where I can but not be as persistent and waste so much of everyone's time as we did on this one.

The problem I discussed with you about Mississippi versus the Justice Department and the courts; the Mississippi Legislature is quite wrong and Justice quite right. We have a real issue in the Mississippi Democrat leadership's failure to resolve the legislative reapportionment problem. It is still vitally important that all candidates have one filing deadline.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,


Clarke Reed
Chairman
CR:mg

cc: Robert Hartmann
Don Rumsfeld
Bo Calloway
Jack Caulkins
Stan Pottinger

File

*Rich
Powers -
What is
the answer?*



Duaj

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 8, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR : JACK CALKINS

FROM : JIM CANNON

Jim

Does this mean that RNC doesn't need the money?

Attachment



1011 NO. CRESCENT DRIVE
BEVERLY HILLS, CA. 90210
TELEPHONE 213/274-6155

August 26, 1975

Mr. James M. Cannon
Assistant to the President
for Domestic Affairs
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jim:

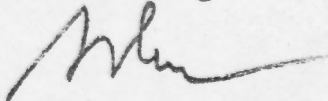
I just read a very complimentary article about you and the Domestic Affairs Department you are heading.

You stated you are looking for new ideas. I hope to have the opportunity of visiting with you since my forte is very abstract ideas, which brought me where I am now. Otherwise I would still have been a shoe salesman or bookkeeper somewhere in New York.

I enclose a letter which I wrote to the Vice-President on July 1st, where I enclosed a check for \$5,000 for the Republican National Committee. Almost two months have passed and this check never cleared the bank. Could you please look into it?

I am looking forward to visiting with you here or in Washington as soon as the proper occasion arises.

With warmest regards,


Arthur Spitzer

AS/fa
Enclosure



ARTHUR SPITZER

1011 NO. CRESCENT DRIVE
BEVERLY HILLS, CA. 90210
TELEPHONE 213/274-6155

July 1, 1975

Mr. Nelson Rockefeller
Vice President of the U.S.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Nelson:

I just want to let you know how much
Janice and I enjoyed seeing you and
the President. We had a marvelous time
and you certainly made a dedicated and
admired supporter out of Janice.

I appreciate also your invitation, and we
both are looking forward to seeing you soon.

With best wishes to you and Happy, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

Arthur Spitzer

AS/fa

P.S. I enclose a check for \$5,000 to
the Republican National Committee

A. 6700

7/1/75
\$5000.00



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 26, 1976

MEETING WITH REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS

Tuesday, April 27, 1976
8:00-9:30 a.m. (90 minutes)
The Cabinet Room

From: Max L. Friedersdorf *m.l.f.*

I. PURPOSE

To discuss transition quarter funding for Israel and the Federal Election Commission legislation.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS PLAN

A. Background:

1. The President strongly opposes Senate action adding nearly \$800 million in program terms (\$623 million in appropriated funds) to his budget request for foreign military sales credits and security supporting assistance for the transition quarter.
2. H.R. 12203, Foreign Assistance and Related Programs Appropriations Act Conference Report containing the objectionable Senate add-on for the transition quarter, may be considered this week on the House Floor.
3. If the President vetoes the security assistance bill because of the transition quarter, chances are excellent for sustaining the veto. There are 142 votes in the House now in support of the President's position; 46 votes leaning favorable, and 162 votes undeclared or undecided.
4. S.2662, the International Security Assistance Authorization Conference Report containing numerous administrative constraints and objectionable ceiling levels is also pending for House consideration this week.
5. The Conference Report on the Federal Election Campaign Act amendments is also due to be filed this week and ready for possible Floor consideration.
6. Despite objections to sections of the bill, the President will receive recommendations to sign the bill from Hugh Scott, Bob Griffin, John Rhodes, Bob Packwood, Mark Hatfield, Chuck Wiggins, Bill Frenzel and Ted Stevens.

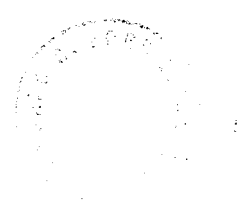
B. Participants: See TAB A

C. Press Plan:

Press Office to announce as a regular Republican leadership meeting, White House photographer only.

III. TALKING POINTS

1. We have two issues of importance this week.
2. I refer to the transition quarter funding for security assistance (See TAB B), and the Federal Election Commission legislation (See TAB C). I would like to have your views and guidance on both of these subjects.
3. Let us first discuss the transition quarter situation.



PARTICIPANTS

The President

HOUSE

Bob Michel
Same Devine
Jack Edwards
Barber Conable
Lou Frey
Jim Quillen
Chuck Wiggins
Henson Moore
Bill Frenzel
Bill Broomfield

SENATE

Hugh Scott
Bob Griffin
Carl Curtis
Bob Stafford
Ted Stevens
Bob Packwood
Cliff Case

STAFF

Bob Hartmann
Jack Marsh
Dick Cheney
Brent Scowcroft
Max Friedersdorf
Bill Baroody
Jim Cannon
Phil Buchen
Bill Kendall
Charlie Leppert
John Carlson
Paul O'Neill
Jim Connor
Tom Loeffler
Joe Jenckes
Pat Rowland
Russ Rourke
Bob Wolthuis
Barry Roth
Don Ogilvie

REGRETS

The Vice President - out of town
Rep. John Rhodes - out of town
Rep. John Anderson - previous commitment
Rep. Guy Vander Jagt - out of town
Rep. Al Cederberg - previous commitment
Rep. Garner Shriver - previous commitment
Rep. Bill Dickinson - no reason given
Sen. Milt Young - doctor's appointment
Sen. Ed Brooke - no reason given
Sen. John Tower - in Texas
Sen. Mark Hatfield - out of town
Rog Morton - in Atlanta
Ron Nessen
Jim Lynn
Bill Seidman
Alan Greenspan

ADMINISTRATION POSITION ON
TRANSITION QUARTER FUNDING--H. R. 12203
(Foreign Assistance Appropriation Bill)

-- The President strongly opposes Senate action adding nearly \$800 million in program terms (\$623 million in appropriated funds) to his budget request for foreign military sales credits and security supporting assistance for the transition quarter. If these funds are included, the President will veto the bill.

-- Security assistance levels requested for FY 1976 are adequate to cover the transition quarter. This determination was made after rigorous study and analysis designed to arrive at a balanced, adequate program sufficient for the essential needs of our friends in the Middle East.

-- The programs we proposed for FY 1976 (\$2,290 million) and FY 1977 (\$1,840 million) are adequate to meet Israel's needs for U. S. assistance to manage its security and economic problems through all eight quarters of calendar years 1976 and 1977. Therefore, the U. S. does not need to provide additional "transitional" quarter assistance to Israel.

-- Although the President would like to be able to do more for our allies and friends, he is convinced that the total level of funds already requested in FY 1976 are adequate to meet the requirements of the recipients without placing unacceptable strains on our budget in a period of austerity at home. In view of pressing and unmet needs in other areas of the budget, such an increase in funding for FMS and supporting assistance in the transition quarter is not warranted.

-- Both the House Appropriations Committee and the House Budget Committee concur in the adequacy of our current funding proposals without adding money for the transition quarter.

-- If the bill is vetoed and we operate under the continuing resolution, which the President signed April 1, and which extends through September 30, aid to Israel and Egypt will be cut to less than one-third that provided in the bill passed by the House, i. e., instead of the \$2.2 billion for Israel in the House bill, Israel could receive only approximately \$600 million under the continuing resolution.

-- The Administration would welcome restoration in the TQ of the shortfall between our FY 1976 program requests and the actual FY 1976 appropriation level during the transition quarter provided the restoration is made for all countries. The shortfall totals \$161 million.

II. ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF SIGNING BILL

1. Advantages of signing bill

- a) Finally permits reconstitution of Commission as soon as you nominate and Senate confirms six members, and as a result:
 - (i) Permits civil enforcement of the campaign laws under expanded enforcement provisions (For example, PFC complaints against Reagan's alleged violations will be entertained, whereas they are now in abeyance)
 - (ii) Issuance of Advisory Opinions and regulations can proceed for the guidance of candidates (Extensive regulations can be expected to be ready for submission to Congress by June 4, if the Bill is signed)
 - (iii) Certification for payment of Federal matching funds to Presidential candidates can be renewed (No payments have been certified after March 22, and PFC has an accumulated claim of close to one million dollars)
 - (iv) Significant new provisions of bill and clarifications can become operative, such as those requiring for the first time Union disclosure of costs for communications to support or oppose candidates
- b) Immediately upon signing will permit borrowing by Presidential candidates on security of anticipated Federal matching funds even before Commission members are nominated and confirmed
- c) The Bill as proposed by the Conference Committee offers some advantages which would not otherwise be obtained under your proposed bill for simply reconstituting the Commission, such advantages being principally:
 - (i) A much more comprehensive and flexible civil enforcement mechanism is provided to the Commission, the effect of which is to facilitate voluntary compliance through conciliation agreements and the authority to levy fines, particularly in instances of violations not serious enough to warrant criminal prosecution through the Justice Department.
 - (ii) For the first time, each Union will be required to report costs of communications used to support or oppose clearly identified candidates which are in excess of \$2,000 (Although the provision applies to Corporations as well, the latter do not ordinarily or extensively engage in such communications.)

- (iii) Although multiple PAC's of a single corporation related to its respective divisions or subsidiaries will be limited in their aggregate contributions per candidate as if these PAC's were a single giver (limited to \$5,000 per candidate in each election) this so-called non-proliferation provision applies as well to the PAC's of a single international union and all of its locals or to a national COPE and all of its state affiliates; and this aggregation principle would have an immediately greater impact on Union PAC's which at present probably outnumber active and sizeable PAC's of businesses.
 - (iv) Contributions to the Republican National Committee building fund would no longer be restricted, so that by raising enough money from large contributors to purchase or construct an office building, the Committee will save rental costs and will free the money saved to use for campaign activities (Although this applies as well to the DNC, it is likely to be of greater advantage to the RNC).
 - (v) The Senatorial Campaign Committee and the National Committee of either party could together give a maximum of \$17,500 to each of its Senatorial candidates for each election, rather than the present \$10,000 combined limit.
- d) Most of the public, the media, and other candidates will probably regard the signing as a positive step in support of election reform and as a readiness on your part to refrain from increasing the financial squeeze on your Republican opponent's campaign and on the Democratic candidates' campaigns when the latter are fearful of the advantage this present plight gives to Humphrey. (Already, White House silence on whether you would sign the bill has been challenged as being self-serving.)
- e) In terms of your own campaign, with crucial primary contests coming up in Texas, Alabama, Georgia, and California where Reagan has innate strength that can probably only be equalized or overcome by full campaign efforts on your behalf, the need of the PFC for matching funds to meet its budgets for these states can best be satisfied in time by your signing the bill.
- f) Will avoid the uncertainty and delays which will be created pending a veto-override or, if that does not occur, before enactment of a new bill that you do sign; and avoids the risks of a veto override with the political disadvantages to you which could result from an override or, if that does not happen, the submission of a new bill to you that poses other disadvantages.

2. Disadvantages of signing bill

- a) Because the bill continues and adds to the Congressional one-house veto provisions over Commission rules and regulations, you will be perceived as accepting the action of the Congress in further weakening the independence of the Commission. (However, because you have already stated that you believe such provisions are unconstitutional, you can mitigate this consequence in a signing statement that proposes quick challenge in the Courts of these provisions. Also, because such provisions in a law that is meant to govern elections to Congress present the most favorable case for declaring them unconstitutional, you may get a decision that will be precedent for regarding as invalid similar veto provisions in the many other statutes which allow Congressional and even Committee vetoes of Executive regulations.)
- b) Because other new provisions of the bill may be unconstitutional, such as restrictions on communications and solicitations by corporations, unions and their PAC's, signing may imply your acceptance of these restrictions, although again language in your signing statement can mitigate this implication.
- c) Acceptance of the bill will mean that the new provisions therein, some of which are difficult to interpret, will add to uncertainty and the potential for litigation.
- d) Because on February 27, 1976, a statement by you on amendments to the Campaign laws contained the words "...I will veto any bill that will create confusion and will invite further delay and litigation," you may be perceived as going back on this commitment if you sign the bill.
- e) You will incur dissatisfaction on the part of business interests for the reasons set forth at length in part III of my memorandum to you of April 22, 1976; and to the extent that the business concerns may prove warranted and will cut down the ability or willingness of business interests to support the campaigns of Republicans, our party would be adversely affected.
- f) Adoption of this bill may discourage any further and more comprehensive legislation to deal with critical problems in the electoral process, such as for delegate selection and for difficulties experienced during the 1976 election under the present law as amended by this bill.

The White House
Washington

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PMS JIM CANNON

WHITE HOUSE DC

I UNDERSTAND SOME CONSIDERATION IS BEING GIVEN TO REMOVING MARY LOUISE SMITH AS NATIONAL CHAIRMAN. I STRONGLY URGE THAT SHE BE RETAINED. SHE HAS DONE AN EXCELLENT JOB FOR THE PARTY AND IS ACCEPTED BY WOMEN THROUGHOUT THE NATION AS THE INDICATION OF OUR PARTY THAT WE GIVE MORE THAN LIP SERVICE TO THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE FAIRER SEX

ROBERT F BENNETT GOVERNOR STATE OF KANSAS STATE CAPITOL BLDG
TOPEKA KS 66612

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8 PMS JIM CANNON

9 WHITE HOUSE DC

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11 I UNDERSTAND SOME CONSIDERATION IS BEING GIVEN TO REMOVING MARY
12 LOUISE SMITH AS NATIONAL CHAIRMAN. I STRONGLY URGE THAT SHE BE
13 RETAINED. SHE HAS DONE AN EXCELLENT JOB FOR THE PARTY AND IS
14 ACCEPTED BY WOMEN THROUGHOUT THE NATION AS THE INDICATION OF OUR
15 PARTY THAT WE GIVE MORE THAN LIP SERVICE TO THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE
16 FAIRER SEX
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20 ROBERT F BENNETT GOVERNOR STATE OF KANSAS STATE CAPITOL BLDG
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The White House

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