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Seventy-Six

Ideas to help you Communicate and Campaign

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No. 12 -- August 2, 1976



Seventy-Six is published for GOP Members of Congress and Candidates for Congress by the National Republican Congressional Committee's Public Relations Division, 512 House Office Building Annex, Washington, D.C. 20515. For further information on items, call (202) 225-1800.

From the Chairman *A Message of Importance*

Dear Colleagues and Candidates:

To grasp the changing nature of today's issues involves an immense amount of research as the volume of information increases daily and updated statistics rapidly outdate the old. It is vital that you have an instant grasp of the issues, and the proper information to back up your assertions.

As in past election years, the NRCC is trying to help you by providing a quick-reference speech kit. All of the information gathered is current and uses the latest available statistics. Rather than being used for speech texts, the kit is designed to provide handy information for ad libbing, debating or answering impromptu questions.

This year's kit will be distributed to you before the end of August and I sincerely hope you will find it interesting, informative and helpful.

Sincerely,



Guy Vander Jagt, M. C.
Chairman

TWO POLITICAL HANDBOOKS WELL WORTH NOTING

"I had occasion during the past several weeks to read two very well written political handbooks, and it occurred to me that you might want to mention them in Seventy-Six and/or, for that matter, in the NRCC Newsletter.

"They are:

Political Campaign Management: A Systems Approach, and The Political Campaign Handbook: Media, Scheduling, and Advance, both published by Lexington Books, D. C. Heath and Company, 125 Spring Street, Lexington, Mass. 02173.

"Both are written by Arnold Steinberg, who handled scheduling and part of media for Jim Buckley in 1970 and who worked for him for three years as his special assistant.

"I've read many, many campaign books since getting involved in this back in the early '60s -- Shadegg, the Chamber, Cliff White, etc. -- but I would have to say these two, taken in combination, are the best yet, insofar as telling one what to do in a context, especially the second one.

"In that this is the kind of thing which our Congressional candidates and staff need -- not to mention all Republicans seeking office and helping in same -- I thought you might want to blurb it in your publications. The candidates can, of course, charge the costs to their campaigns." -- Randal Teague, Administrative Assistant to Rep. Jack Kemp of New York.

Needed: Issues Information

The NRCC is receiving many inquiries from interested Republicans who are wondering where our candidates stand on the important issues of Campaign '76. To facilitate answering of these requests, we are asking to be placed on each of your daily or weekly mailing lists to receive press releases, issue position papers, and newspaper clippings, so that we can be more informed about the issues and messages that each of you is delivering "on the hustings." They should be sent to Research Department, National Republican Congressional Committee, 518 HOB Annex, Washington, D. C. 20515.

IMPORTANT THINGS TO REMEMBER ABOUT CONTACTING PAC'S

Corporate and association political action committees (PAC's), whose role was first formulated under the Federal election law of 1974, have expanded tremendously to become a significant source of political fundraising. How to obtain this financial support depends heavily on thorough preparation and a small yet vital time commitment on the part of the candidate himself. It should be understood that the PAC executive wants to deal directly with the candidate and that little if any progress will be made if campaign managers or finance directors are substituted.

With nearly 700 corporate and association PAC's now registered with the Federal Election Commission, a candidate must first take time to identify those particular committees which are likely to share legislative goals and governmental interests similar to his own. He should determine how he will handle these issues after he is elected. The candidate should examine his background for work experiences, associations or hobbies which might eventually lead toward some financial support or possible endorsements.

Initial contact with a PAC should be a personal letter from the candidate, to its president, chairman or executive director. (When necessary, a computerized-type letter may be sent if the proper names of people are used and not "Dear PAC.") The letter should either request an appointment or seek consideration on the basis of that letter if the PAC is located in a city the candidate is unable to visit. If the candidate knows other executives of the corporation or association who might influence the decision-making process, it is often helpful to send a letter asking for their assistance. A copy of the original contact letter should be included in this communication.

Shortly after the original contact, the candidate should follow up with a telephone call which serves to demonstrate sustained interest in the PAC and at the same time allows confirmation of the specified meeting time.

Once the primary contacts are made, the candidate's attention should shift to the content of his personal presentation. PAC executives seek to predict the future activities of the candidate by examining certain qualities such as issue stands, personality, appearance, organization and, most importantly, electability. A candidate must present himself in the image of a Congressman. The candidate must use any polls, research, fund-raising data or written political strategy which will indicate he will be a winner in November. The entire interview should be handled in a subdued yet self-assured manner. Using first names of the PAC executives is a technique which often breaks tension and puts everyone on a seemingly equal footing.

The procedure for obtaining PAC funding is simple, as long as details are not overlooked. Rewards can be substantial. But do not expect contributions of \$5,000. This will not be the case. The average contribution for a Congressional candidate will range between \$100 and \$500, with an exceptional candidate receiving \$1,000 gifts. If funds are not available, do not leave empty-handed -- request an endorsement. They cost nothing and can be very valuable political assets.



GUIDELINES ON THE USE OF GOP RADIO NETWORK BY CANDIDATES AND INCUMBENTS

The Republican Radio Network is now more than 3 years old and going strong. We have made nearly 100,000 calls, each one being placed to a radio station with one of your actualities. Over the past three years our reputation as a news-distribution service has grown to the point where over 93 percent of the calls we make to radio stations are accepted. While we are patting ourselves on the back, you also deserve to take a bow. You have cooperated with us to assure that your statements have been timely, short, concern your personal involvement, and are of news value to your stations. In order to maintain our high degree of professionalism, we are publishing these guidelines to assist you with your actualities.

1. Keep your statements short. They should be less than a minute. Radio stations will reject or edit statements that are too long. To feed long statements is an unnecessary use of both time and money on our WATS lines.

2. TV stations will not be fed. Very few television stations still take radio actualities. The number is so few that we cannot take the time to feed them. Actualities are meant for radio only.

3. When at all possible observe these deadlines:

If your district is in:	EASTERN TIME ZONE, call us by	3 p.m.
	CENTRAL TIME ZONE, call us by	4 p.m.
	MOUNTAIN TIME ZONE, call us by	5 p.m.
	PACIFIC TIME ZONE, call us by	6 p.m.

As we move into the late afternoon here, news directors become very busy and we are less likely to be able to obtain a high completion rate. Mid-morning and mid-afternoon are the times when news directors are least busy and thus most receptive. We also attempt to get each member's or candidate's actuality out so it can be put to use during the evening "drive time" when the most people will have their radios on. Obviously, if a news story breaks after your deadline, we still would release it. Otherwise your statement will be held for release until the next morning.

4. The radio stations we call must be within or directly influence the member's or candidate's district. We are unable to feed a statement Statewide.

5. This service is for essential spot news only. We will not feed: public service announcements, radio programs, reelection announcements, "happy anything day" (i.e., Fourth of July) announcements. The rule of thumb should be: If you know about an event or news item far enough in advance that you can tape your remarks and drop them in the mail to your radio stations, you should do so. This service is not designed to be used in place of the House Recording Studio, but to do that which the Recording Studio can't: call out actualities of immediate news interest.

6. We will feed all the stations on a member's list. However, in periods of severe load, we are forced to take the following steps to insure the best possible coverage for all members:

(a) If 10 members phone in simultaneously, we will limit feeds to 20 stations. (b) If 20 or more members phone in simultaneously, we will limit feeds to 10 stations. Candidates are limited to a total of 10 stations per feed and will not be affected by any cutback due to overload factors.

7. Only one feed a day. It is very rare that you need to send out more than one actuality in any one day. If your stations are contacted twice in a day and must set up their recording equipment, they will get upset with us and indirectly with you. Also, the chances of your second actuality being used are less than your first, since a news item from you has already been used. The exception, of course, is the extremely important news statement which your stations will use even if you have previously called in a statement.

There are a few additional guidelines for candidates only:

1. The NRCC will make our actuality service available to those candidates who have been designated as the party candidate to oppose a Democrat incumbent in the November election.

2. Due to the number of phones and operators we use in our actuality service, we will be able to serve a limited number of candidates. We will take candidates on a first-come, first-served basis.

3. If you decide you want to use the service, first contact the radio stations you wish your actualities to go to. You should personally talk with the news director at each station. Identify yourself and ask if during the course of the campaign you can, from time to time, call in with an actuality that you, the candidate, consider newsworthy. If the news director says yes, get the station's "beeper" number if there is one, or whatever number is used to call in an actuality. If the news director says no, he does not want actualities, thank him for his time. In either case, give each news director a number where you can be reached in case the station wishes to contact you to get a response from you on a particular story.

4. We will feed a maximum of 10 stations a week for candidates. We strongly suggest that when you call us to distribute an actuality for you, you pick one or two of the stations and call them "live" with the actuality. Each time you call us with an actuality, pick a different one or two stations to call yourself. This keeps up the personal contact with your stations that is so important.

5. Once you have researched your radio list, send us a copy which should include: your name and number, your press aide's name and number, the call letters of your 10 stations plus the correct phone numbers to call with an actuality. We will notify you when you can begin using the service. If the number of candidate slots has been already filled, we will notify you of the fact also. You will be placed on a standby list, also first-come, first-served, and if a candidate who is on the active list drops out you will be moved up. Send your lists to: Broadcast Services, Room 509, HOB Annex, Washington, D. C. 20515.

6. Each station we call for you will be considered an in-kind contribution of \$.90 per call which we must report and which you also must report.



CAMPAIGN RADIO AND TELEVISION SPOTS NOW AVAILABLE

The Republican National Committee has just completed a package of radio and television campaign announcements designed to be used by candidates and, on a limited basis, by incumbents. The spots, which run 30 and 60 seconds, consist of an announcer speaking for 20 seconds or 50 seconds on an issue, with the remaining 10 seconds left for the candidate. The issues covered are: recent Congressional pay raises, military security, busing, Congressional immorality, jobs, taxes, government spending and crime.

The media package includes: 17 separate television spots, 17 radio spots, and graphics to be used for print advertising. The package costs about \$75 and may be ordered through the RNC. Call (202) 484-6550 and ask for Barbara Chiasson or Cam Powell. The NRCC has a copy of the film and would be glad to show it to those who are interested. Call 225-1806 for an appointment.

As stated earlier, the spots are designed primarily for candidates and, except for two of the spots, cannot be used by incumbents. We do, however, have the scripts and all of the spots can be rewritten to accommodate any member. Please call us and we will assist you with the rewrite.

THE REPUBLICAN RADIO NETWORK AT THE CONVENTION

The Committee's actuality service will be standing by during the Republican Convention to get your local news stories out to your stations. We will offer this service to all incumbents who have a list of their stations on file with us and to all candidates who qualify. (See guideline story above.) Members and candidates will be able to call in their actualities toll free to 800-424-0215. When we say toll free, we mean it. If you call from a pay phone you get your dime back. Write this number down now and carry it with you. This toll free number is only in operation during business hours. If you wish to call in an actuality after 6 p.m. EST you may call at your own expense to 212-488-1905. This is our local actuality number and will be answered automatically after hours.

Campaign Questionnaires for the 1976 Election

Various interest groups are in the process of distributing issue questionnaires to candidates involved in Congressional campaigns. Specifically, the National Conservative Political Action Committee, the Conservative Victory Fund, and the National Right-To-Work Committee have sent out surveys to candidates, in many cases following their respective primary campaigns. These three groups are interested in the opinions of the candidates with regard to the issues mentioned in the questionnaires and therefore encourage candidates themselves and/or their staffs to respond by sending the requested information as soon as it is possible to do so.

If you have any questions about these questionnaires or any other surveys which your campaigns may receive during the coming months, please contact Dan Mattoon, Research Director at the NRCC, at (202) 225-1820. He will attempt to give direction to any campaign which needs any information about the material requested by a certain group, and about the organization itself.

THE TROUBLES WITH VOTER REGISTRATION BY POSTCARD

The Voter Registration Act, a proposal to establish a Federal system of voter registration using postcards, first appeared in the 93rd Congress. It cleared the Senate, but consideration of the bill was rejected in the House by a vote of 197 to 204. A clean bill, similar to that introduced in the 93rd, was reported by the House Administration Committee in January, 1976 (difference: 1976 version calls for Voter Registration Administration to be established within the Federal Election Commission rather than the General Accounting Office). It was referred to the Rules Committee on February 3, where, instead of clearing it, the committee adopted a motion to pass over the bill until legislation to settle the fate of the election commission had been considered. Thus, it went into legislative limbo.

Both Senate and House Republicans adamantly oppose the proposal. The legislation would require the Postal Service to distribute registration forms to every postal address and residence at least once every two years and prior to every special Federal election, at no charge to the recipient. The House Republican Policy Committee stated its belief that the whole scheme is based on the false premise that low voter participation in the U. S. is caused by cumbersome voter registration procedures, which, if simplified, would automatically yield higher voter turn-outs. Not true, say Republicans; the real reasons for voters staying at home are apathy, cynicism and alienation from the political process.

"International union bosses and Washington labor officials have made no secret of their interest in this measure," objected the Policy Committee. "Under its provisions, their selective drives to register voters sympathetic to their interests would be financed by the Government rather than their own coffers. Their influence over the outcome of elections would be enhanced and the achievement of their legislative goals would be aided."

Republicans point to dozens of faults with the plan. The most serious:

-- Fewer voters will be registered as State registration efforts are curtailed; States would have to provide costly and confusing dual registration systems or else conform State laws to Federal laws.

-- The proposal is prohibitively expensive. Realistic projections of the official cost estimate of \$50 million annually range from double to 10 times that amount.

-- The potential for fraud would be increased; thousands of ballots could be picked up by a political faction or special interest group, used for large-scale fraudulent registration which would then be voted by absentee ballot on Election Day.

-- Administrative difficulties would render the system ineffective.

MORE TIPS FROM REPUBLICANS WHO GAINED VOTES IN '74

Though 1974 was not a good year for GOP House candidates, 24 members actually increased their 1974 vote over 1972. In two past issues of Seventy-Six, two of these members detailed the constituent services they performed that they felt contributed to this increased margin of victory. Below are 16 more tips gathered from interviews with many of these members.

1. District Tours -- In courthouses, schools, public auditoriums, motel meeting rooms or with a rented motor-home camper.
2. Setting aside one hour per day for constituents to use District office WATS line to talk to Congressmen.
3. Newsletters.
4. Send out agriculture bulletin lists.
5. Send out consumer bulletin lists.
6. Select books from Library of Congress' duplication and rejection room for presentation to school, college and municipal libraries.
7. Send copies of pamphlets "How Our Laws Are Made," "The Constitution and Declaration of Independence," "Our American Government," "Our Flag," "The Constitution" and "The Pocket Constitution" to civics or government teachers at the high school or junior high school level.
8. Send agriculture yearbooks to 4-H, FFA and other agriculture oriented groups. Past volumes are still very helpful and should be sent if you have a supply.
9. Congressional wall calendars should be sent to barber shops and beauty parlors, fraternal lodges, cafes and other types of stores and eating places where people are likely to gather.
10. "Baby books" from HEW to send to clinics, hospitals and doctors or directly to parents on request. Note: All printed items should be marked with a rubber stamp "Compliments of Congressman Blank." Some members use a gummed label with these words and a picture printed on it.
11. Weekly newspaper columns.
12. Weekly radio and/or television tapes.
13. Periodic news releases.
14. Prints of many motion picture films on a variety of public interest subjects -- highway safety, airline operation, various agricultural subjects, etc. -- are available for under \$100 from private groups or Federal agencies. Some members have obtained such films whose subjects are closely or directly related to their committee work and have had the NRCC film and splice on to it a brief introduction by the members. The films are then placed with a distributing service to be included in their catalogs and distributed on requests. Other prints can be shown by district office personnel with various groups. The availability of the films should be announced in newsletters and through news releases.



15. Formation of advisory committees on problems facing the district. Ones formed by members include those on the aged, on race relations, community development and many others.

16. Sponsor and organize programs that help people become more familiar with Federal government programs. Members have organized meetings on Social Security for recipients; seminars on doing business with the Federal government for small businessmen; on dealing with U.S.D.A. programs for farmers; on O.S.H.A. for businessmen, farmers and factory owners and other similar programs. Many Federal agencies will help plan and give aid to these meetings.

A Speech to Make?

WHAT ABSOLUTE POWER BY DEMOCRATS HAS MEANT

(Excerpts of remarks by Rep. Guy Vander Jagt of Michigan, Chairman of the NRCC, at the Republican Candidates' Workshop, Washington, D. C., June 22, 1976. For full text, call 5-1800.)

Absolute power by the Democrats over this House for 22 consecutive years has led to an organization that is absolutely helpless before our national problems and a system that is rotten to the core. If ever there was a time that the American people thought there was a time to throw the rascals out, that time is now.

But even more than a scandal that erupts almost daily is the direction that the Democrats have taken America for almost half a century now. 1 of every 3 Americans is dependent for his existence on a check from the government. Today we have more people taking funds out of the Federal treasury than we do Americans working and paying taxes into the Federal treasury.

For 150 years, until 1930, government took about 12 percent of the GNP -- and then the Democrats took over the Congress. And this year the government will take between 35 and 40 percent of the GNP; and the President told us in the State of the Union Message that without any legislation whatever, government by 1985 will be taking over half of the GNP away from the people who produced it and earned it. And Democrats like that.

A Republican looks upon taxes as a device that you use reluctantly in order to finance services you have to have. Not a Democrat. He looks at the Federal income tax and says, "Boy, isn't that a wonderful thing! The more and the higher we can get it, the better."

A Democrat believes that America is great because of what the government does for the people. A Republican says America is great not because what government does for people but America is great because of what our government permitted a free people to do for themselves. But because those Democrat Congressmen over there believe America's greatness lies in government, they always vote for more government, more regulations, more interference, more spending and more taxes. And a Republican Congressman votes just the opposite.

Election Law Report

By Jan Baran, Legal Counsel, NRCC

Analysis: Corporate Contributions

Outside of accusations of moral indiscretions, there is little which can be more politically damaging to a candidate than a charge of accepting contributions from a corporation. Illegal corporate contributions have ruined many careers in recent years, and both the press and the public have displayed a sensitivity seldom before noticed in response to these disclosures. Most, if not all, candidates and committees have reacted to these developments by taking every precaution to avoid similar transgressions in the 1976 and future elections. This analysis is intended to provide to candidates and their treasurers an idea of how extensive those precautions should be.

Every candidate, treasurer and campaign manager should be aware of the general provisions of the Federal law relating to corporations and unions. That section states in very sweeping terms that it is unlawful for any corporation, bank or labor organization to directly or indirectly make a contribution or expenditure in connection with any election for Federal office. 1/ Similarly, it is unlawful for any candidate, political committee or other person to knowingly accept or receive a corporate or union contribution. 2/ Of critical importance to an understanding of this law is the following definition:

The term "contribution or expenditure" shall include any direct or indirect payments, distribution, loan, advance, deposit, or gift of money, or any services, or anything of value (except a loan of money by a national or State bank made in accordance with the applicable banking laws and regulations in the ordinary course of business) to any candidate, campaign committee or political party or organization . . ." 3/

In clear, cold language, this statute warns a candidate that if he or she has received something of value ("any service or anything of value") from a corporation, then it is an illegal contribution in the absence of payment. The most conspicuous example of a corporate gift is a check drawn on a corporation's treasury. A check from "Smith, Inc." should serve immediate notice on the campaign staff processing contributions that the donation is corporate, and it must be returned. However, many checks are not so obviously drawn on a corporate account. A committee might receive contributions from "Smith Co.," "Smith, Ltd.," "Smith Associates," or "Smith Farms." These items may in fact be completely permissible, but a candidate or treasurer should not deposit them until written assurances are received from the individual signing the check that the money does not come from a corporate treasury.

1/ 2 U.S.C. 441b(a). The prohibition applies to all corporations (except political committees incorporated solely for liability purposes). Therefore, even wholly owned or closely held corporations are barred from making political gifts to Federal campaigns. See FEC Proposed Reg. Part 114.12(a).

2/ Ibid.

3/ 2 U.S.C. 441b(b)(2).

Through years of lackadaisical campaign practices, the breadth of the prohibition on corporate donations has either been ignored or totally unperceived. Although it may be a fairly simple matter to detect a corporate check, it is more difficult to recognize prohibited contributions which are "in kind" in nature. Oftentimes a campaign manager gloats over the "good deal" he was able to strike with a vendor for merchandise. Today, as always, many of these so-called "good deals" are indirect, and therefore illegal, corporate political gifts. For example, a real estate company may be willing to rent a store-front headquarters to a candidate at less than the usual charge. If the real estate concern is incorporated, then the difference between the fair market value of the offices and the rent charged to the candidate constitutes a contribution by the corporation. Further examples would be the use by the candidate or committee of corporately owned airplanes and vehicles, the use of corporate facilities, equipment or personnel, and the use of corporately owned telephones.

A candidate or committee may use corporate facilities or equipment, provided it reimburses the corporation "within a commercially reasonable time in the amount of the normal and usual rental charge." ^{4 /} With respect to goods, the Federal Election Commission (FEC) has initially defined "normal and usual rental charge" to mean the cost of the goods in the market from which they ordinarily would have been purchased at the time of the transaction. ^{5 /} Therefore, the use of a typewriter would require the committee to pay the corporation the amount which would be charged by a company which is in the business of leasing typewriters. If corporate personnel are being provided to the committee, then the usual and normal charge would be the hourly or piece-work rate for such services. ^{6 /} If a corporate plane is being utilized, then the committee must pay to the corporation the equivalent first-class air fare. However, if there is no regularly scheduled commercial service between the points for which the plane is being used, the payment must be equal to the usual charter rate. ^{7 /}

Another area of potential problems involves the extension of credit by a corporation to a political committee. Corporations regulated by the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Federal Communications Commission, or the Interstate Commerce Commission, must adhere to agency regulations supervising the extension of unsecured credit. ^{8 /} However, other industries and businesses must follow procedures established by the FEC. In order to discourage corporations from disguising illegal contributions by extending credit without expectations of payment, the FEC has placed the following burdens on both the company and the candidate. ^{9 /} If a corporation has extended credit to a candidate or committee, and wishes to settle the debt for less than full satisfaction, it must be able to prove that the debt has been treated in a commercially reasonable manner. In order to prove that, it must be demonstrated that (1) the candidate or committee "has undertaken all commercially reasonable efforts to satisfy the outstanding debt" and (2) that the corporation "has pursued its remedies in a manner similar in intensity to that employed by the corporation in pursuit of a non-political debtor, including lawsuits if filed in similar circumstances." ^{10 /} If these steps were not taken by the respective parties, then the debt may not be forgiven without resulting in a corporate contribution.

^{4 /} FEC Proposed Reg. Part 114.9(d).

^{5 /} FEC Proposed Reg. Part 100.4(a)(1)(iii)(B).

^{6 /} Ibid.

^{7 /} FEC Proposed Reg. Part 114.9(e).

^{8 /} 2 U.S.C. 451; 11 C.F.R.

^{9 /} The Internal Revenue Code has also discouraged this practice by disallowing any deduction for a worthless debt owed by a political organization, regardless of how the debt arose. 26 U.S.C. 271.

^{10 /} FEC Proposed Reg. Part 114.10(c).

There are several notable exceptions to the rule that a corporation or union may not contribute to a Federal election. The major exception permits these entities to establish and maintain "separate segregated funds" which are more popularly referred to as "PAC's" (an acronym for "political action committees"). 11/ These funds are treated as political committees under the law and are permitted to make direct money contributions to candidates up to \$1,000 per election (or up to \$5,000 per election if certain requirements are met). 12/ All PAC contributions must be reported.

The statute also permits a corporate vendor to sell food or beverages for use in a political campaign at cost, so long as the cumulative value of the discount does not exceed \$500 per election per candidate. 13/ This \$500 figure is neither a contribution nor is it reportable.

Finally, any legal or accounting services rendered to or on behalf of a candidate or political committee by a corporation for the purposes of ensuring compliance with the election laws is not a contribution. To qualify for this exemption, the corporation must be the regular employer of the person performing the legal or accounting services. The exclusion does not apply if additional employees are hired for the purpose of assigning them to candidates or campaigns, or if additional employees are hired in order to make regular employees available.

The value of any such services must be reported. 14/

All employees retain their individual right to volunteer their services to a campaign. Bona fide volunteer services are not considered contributions, and the value of the service is not reportable. 15/ But, in order to preserve the voluntary character of the service, the individual may not receive compensation. If remuneration is received, then a contribution has been made, and if the reimbursement comes from a corporation, the result is an illegal corporate gift. Continued payments by the corporation of benefits, such as health and life insurance and retirement, for an employee who is working on a campaign and who was granted an unpaid leave of absence will also constitute impermissible compensation. 16/ However, salaried or hourly employees may engage in political activity during regular working hours so long as the released time is made up by the employees within a reasonable period. 17/

If the employee does not wish to make up the released time, the corporation may not lawfully continue salary payments, but the individual may be compensated for vacation or other earned paid leave. 18/

A candidate who may be a corporate employee perhaps most severely suffers from these prohibitions. In most cases, the candidate is dependent on a corporate employer for salary and benefits in order to meet mortgage and car payments and to feed and clothe a family. On the other hand, a candidate must devote full-time to the already difficult task of mounting a strong campaign. In order to do that, he must leave his job at some point.

11/ 2 U.S.C. 441b(b)(2)(C).

12/ 2 U.S.C. 441a(a).

13/ 2 U.S.C. 431(e)(5)(C); FEC Proposed Reg. Part 100.4(b)(5) and Part 114.1(a)(2)(v).

14/ 2 U.S.C. 431(e)(4) and (f)(4)(J); FEC Proposed Reg. Part 114.1(a)(2)(vii).

15/ 2 U.S.C. 431(e)(5)(A); FEC Proposed Reg. Part 100.4(b)(2).

16/ FEC Proposed Reg. Part 114.12(c)(1).

17/ FEC Proposed Reg. Part 100.4(a)(5)(i).

18/ FEC Proposed Reg. Part 100.4(a)(5)(iii).

Once the candidate leaves the job then it is conceivable that the only compensation that may be received from the employer would be earned time-off such as vacation pay and sick leave. If the candidate is running against an incumbent, there is a severe inequity since the incumbent need not give up his tax-supported salary while he is on the campaign trail. It is presently unresolved whether it is permissible for a candidate to accept corporate compensation provided that the proceeds are used exclusively to pay personal living expenses. This is a question that must be answered by the FEC, either as a regulation or by way of an advisory opinion. So far, no request for such a ruling has been submitted by a candidate.

In conclusion, the following checklist is recommended as a guideline for detecting and dealing with possible corporate contributions:

1. Determine whether a contribution has been made. ("Did I receive something of value?").
2. Determine the source of the contribution.
3. If the source is a corporation, determine whether the item may be accepted under one of the exceptions. If it is acceptable, report those goods or services which must be reported.
4. Return all corporate checks.
5. Verify with the contributor in writing of any donation which appears to be corporate.
6. Reimburse a corporation fully for any goods or services which otherwise would constitute in-kind contributions.

This procedure should be observed by a political committee in handling all receipts. As in all areas of the Federal election laws, the candidate or treasurer must know when a contribution is made, who made the contribution, and its amount. When these facts are known, then the prospect of unwittingly accepting an illegal corporate gift becomes very slight. Just as the law does not tolerate intentional violations, it likewise leaves little room for the reckless or indifferent candidate or treasurer.

NOTE:

The preceding analysis was prompted by numerous inquiries from candidates and committees regarding corporate contributions. For this reason, the article was considered to be very timely. Although many references are made to proposed, rather than final, FEC regulations, these proposals are expected to be accepted by Congress in their final form in the very near future. In the event any changes do occur during that process, they will be brought to the reader's attention in future issues of "Election Law Report." "Election Law Report" is an informational service to Republican candidates and members of Congress. Qualified legal counsel should always be consulted prior to undertaking any specific course of action.

Seventy-Six

Ideas to help you Communicate and Campaign

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Editor's Note

Seventy-Six is an internal communication intended only for GOP House members, candidates and staffs. You are urged to retain copies for reference.

In calling Congressional phone numbers listed herein, use 5- and the last four digits if on the Capitol board. From elsewhere in the Washington area, use 225- and the last four digits. From out of town, use 202 225- and the last four digits.

No. 14 -- September 13, 1976



Seventy-Six is published for GOP Members of Congress and Candidates for Congress by the National Republican Congressional Committee's Public Relations Division, 512 House Office Building Annex, Washington, D.C. 20515. For further information on items, call (202) 225-1800.

From the Chairman *A Message of Importance*

Dear Colleagues and Candidates:

In order to insure that you are able to obtain the most current and accurate information regarding two critical areas of campaign activity, research and legal, we are installing for your immediate use and convenience, a free research/legal HOTLINE for any queries which you may have regarding these two crucial areas.

I want to emphasize to you that this HOTLINE, an incoming WATS line, will be available to answer only questions pertaining to opposition/issue research questions and legal ramifications of certain campaign practices.

The number for the HOTLINE is 800-424-7991 and the service will begin immediately. The schedule for use of the HOTLINE is Monday - Friday between the hours of 9 A.M. and 5 P.M. for the period up to and including Election Night, November 2.

Once again, I hope that this will help you and your campaigns to answer top priority questions as quickly and accurately as possible. We stand ready to help you in any way to make each of your campaigns Republican victories in 1976.

Sincerely yours,



Guy Vander Jagt, M. C.
Chairman

Editor's Note: The Hotline facilities are equipped to handle only your immediate legal and research questions. Any other calls on this line must be refused. For your convenience the numbers for other NRCC activities and routine research and legal calls are reprinted below:

Correct Phone Numbers for NRCC Divisions . . .

Many calls to divisions of the NRCC are placed to wrong numbers -- delaying the caller and creating unnecessary phone traffic. Following are the numbers for all divisions when calling through the Capitol board:

Executive Director	5-1832	Legal	5-1811
Art Department	5-1813	Photo Lab (B-304 Rayburn)	5-7121
Broadcast Services	5-1806	Public Relations	5-1800
Campaign Division	5-1816	Research	5-1820
Distribution Service	5-1809	Speakers' Bureau	5-1816
Finance Division	5-1826		

(Off Capitol board, use 225- instead of 5. The area code is 202.)

THE MODULAR SPEECH

By Jay Bryant
Public Relations Director

In the hectic, final weeks of a campaign, few candidates' organizations have the ability to turn out an original speech each time the candidate is scheduled to address an audience.

The result may be a resort to one of two extremes -- neither satisfactory. The candidate may use no prepared material at all, choosing instead to "wing it." Or a single "canned" speech may be prepared and used on all occasions.

A much more effective solution is the preparation of a modular speech, so called because it consists of a series of perhaps eight, ten or twelve (the number is really up to you and the dictates of your campaign) modules, each about five minutes long.

Thus, if the speech were given in its entirety, it would run for an hour or so. Except that it is not given in its entirety.

Instead, for each appearance, two or three of the modules are selected, on the basis of their timeliness and appeal to the particular audience involved.

Each module deals with a different issue in the campaign. Thus, a given candidate might have modules on crime, Federal spending, unemployment, foreign affairs, defense, inflation, gun control, morality in government, agriculture and government regulations.

By selecting three of the five minute modules, adding a simple introduction, a closing and a little bit of connective tissue between the modules, the candidate has a twenty minute speech -- just right for a typical luncheon or after-dinner appearance.

The introduction is fairly easy to construct on the spot -- that way it can fit well into the mood of the meeting, something no speechwriter can know about in advance. Always remember that the basic purpose of the introductory part of a speech is to convince the audience that the speaker is really glad to be there.

The connective tissue can be as simple as the words, "another important issue is . . ." or can be more elaborate if appropriate.

Several types of closings are possible; at least the following three types should be in the candidate's basic repertoire:

1. A fire-em-up, get out and work and beat the Democrats closing for partisan audiences.
2. A thoughtful, "citizenship counts" approach for good government groups.
3. A highly-charged patriotic approach (particularly effective in this Bicentennial year).

Writing the modules themselves takes care and some writing ability, but it is not an onerous task. By following the formula outlined below, you should be able to put them together without undue strain.

Each module should consist of four separate parts.

First, an outline of the problem, perhaps citing a few statistics (but not too many) and discussing the reason why this problem is an issue this year.

Second, a few "gee whiz" facts, case examples, historical precedents, or particularly shocking statistics. Here's where you really grab the audience, and drive home the point you want to make. Specifics are always more powerful than generalities.

Third, at least for challenger candidates and probably at least obliquely for most incumbents, tie your opponent to the problem. Here cite his voting record, if he has one, or statements he has made that show his weakness on this issue.

Fourth, really sell the audience by wrapping the module up with a brief discussion of why your election will help solve the problem. Talk about what you are going to do if elected and/or cite your experience in this field which qualifies you as an expert who can get the job done.

To use your modular speech to make news, simply take your release for the day (which will always relate to one or the other of your modules, if you have chosen them correctly) and drop it in at the end of the appropriate module.

With a modular speech, you are not repeating the same material at every stop, day in and day out. Nor are you taking the very risky and generally unsatisfactory road of "winging it."

Instead, you have a flexible and workable format that will keep your speeches sharp and on target from now until election day.

Our News Wires Can Be Helpful to You . . .

Public Relations of the NRCC is a subscriber to the daytime wire service of both the Associated Press and United Press International. The run of the two wires is kept on clipboards, by day, for one week back.

Public Relations uses both services extensively -- for publications, for speech ideas, to stay abreast of the news, etc.

But these wires are also for you -- members and challengers and staffs. You are welcome in Room 512, HOB Annex, to read for general information or to look for specific stories. If you can't come but would like to check on an item by phone, call 5-1800 and we'll be glad to do it for you.

A Speech to Make? These May Help

"What Has Congress Done to You Lately?" -- House GOP Leader John J. Rhodes, in an address to the American Association of Retired Persons in Scottsdale, turned his attention to legislation and issues important to our Nation's senior citizens. Inflation is the Public Enemy Number One, Rhodes said, which is why the President has used his veto power to save the taxpayers 11 inflationary billion dollars in excess Federal spending since 1974. He added that the 94th Congress' failure to meet its responsibilities illustrates why the GOP must insist on an end to the one-party rule that has allowed Congress to deteriorate to the extent that it cannot, or will not, act to meet the people's needs. In "Just Sixty Days to Upset Time," in Toledo, Ohio, Rhodes extended his swipes to Carter-Mondale. The Democrats, he blasted, are blind to the example of other nations. They pretend not to know that socialism -- and that is what they propose -- has blighted every nation it has touched. Carter has said he is going to adopt a slew of Federal programs, balance the budget, stimulate free enterprise, expand welfare, pay everyone's doctor bills, and put everyone to work -- all with lower taxes and less government. "You and I," Rhodes summed politely, "know this is hogwash." To the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, "A Smile Makes a Poor Umbrella," Rhodes continued his political flogging. The Arizonian reminded businessmen that Carter is making a great effort to lull the business community into inaction. "He implies that he won't make any drastic changes -- at least not for awhile -- if he is elected. Never have I heard any indication that he is going to do anything for business -- he just pledges postponement of the hanging day." The party that made the mess will not clean it up, he noted; both leadership and membership in Congress must be changed as the only way out "for business and for our people."

"What's Going On?" -- Congressman Jim Martin of North Carolina hit the ground running in this issues-oriented speech to the Westchester Optimist Club in Charlotte. Martin spread out for in-depth analysis the major differences in Democratic and Republican approaches to jobs creation and energy policy, and brushed by dozens of other hot topics with voters in 1976: gun control, tax reform, common situs picketing, defense, health insurance, foreign aid. "During the next couple of months," Martin promised, "you'll see that there is indeed more than just a dime's worth of difference between Democrats and Republicans, liberal and conservative. The voters and the taxpayers will have some clear cut choices when they go to the polls this fall."

"New Initiatives to Combat Corruption in Government." -- Richard Thornburgh, Asst. Attorney General, Justice Dept., reviewed for a Chicago audience recent practical and functional aspects of dealing with the problem of governmental corruption. Following Watergate and legislative calls for establishment of a permanent office of Special Prosecutor, the Justice Department's Criminal Division created a new Public Integrity Section to consolidate and coordinate the oversight of all cases involving public corruption. The office, Thornburgh explained, provides a clearing-house for all such investigations and prosecutions undertaken by the 94 separate U. S. Attorneys General; decrees that these prosecutors are "on call" to assist in actual investigation and prosecution of corruption cases; and trains prosecutors in the mechanics of investigations in this area. Thornburgh closed with a warning: this renewed effort, he said, may well be "substantially weakened" if pending Congressional proposals to restrict investigative and prosecutive tools are passed.

"U. S. Energy Policy: the Need for Congress to Act." "The stakes are deadly serious" in the energy game, declared Commerce Secretary Elliot Richardson to the International Platform Association in Washington. This is an up-to-the-minute look at the U. S. energy situation -- and at the need for Congressional action.



THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

(This is the second in a series of speeches by former Congressman O. K. Armstrong.)

I can wrap up the difference between the Democrat Party platform and the Republican Party platform in a few words. Here they are: In every page, in every paragraph, of the Democrat platform you will find promises of more big government, more controls, more curtailment of your liberties, more big spending, and consequently more and more inflation. Our Republican platform says exactly the opposite: We promise less government, less spending, and consequently less inflation. We promise a better use of the taxpayers' income. In other words, we Republicans want you to retain more of your own money, money that represents the worth of your labors, to use as you see fit for the necessities and conveniences of life.

As you have heard, the Democrat candidate for President, running on his party's platform, is Jimmy Carter. No matter how many statements he makes to try to explain how he got stuck with a big-government and big-spending platform, he must run on it. I ask you: Is bigger government and more expensive government in Washington really what you and your neighbors want?

It is time to ask what would be the cost of these expanded government programs. The Democrat platform is deliberately vague on this, like their candidate. When they tell you, as they do time after time, that they will "expand Federal support," you are left to guess the cost. But I can tell you that the price tag of five major Democrat platform promises could add as much as \$100 billion to the annual cost of government.

The Democrat platform proposes more than 60 new or expanded spending programs, and the expansion or creation of some 22 Washington agencies, offices or bureaus. In fact, the Democrat platform could increase Federal spending by as much as 50 percent. If a Democrat Congress should pass the Democrat platform and a Democrat President would sign it, what happens then? The Democrats could raise your taxes by 50 percent to pay for these programs. Or, they might not raise taxes, and the result would be more runaway inflation.

In stark contrast to that, we Republicans offer you and your fellow citizens of this country a responsible and moderate platform based upon these principles:

We believe that liberty can be measured by how much freedom you have to make your own decisions. We believe in the Republicanism of Thomas Jefferson, that the best government is the one nearest to the people.

We believe that every dollar spent by government is a dollar earned by you. Therefore, government must always ask: Are your dollars being spent wisely? Can you afford it? Is it not better for you and the country to leave your dollars in your own pockets?

We believe that your initiative and energy create jobs, our high standard of living and the economic strength of our country. Government must work for the goal of justice and the elimination of unfair practices, but no government has ever devised a more productive economic system nor one that benefits so many people as in America.

Let me be specific on a few items in our Republican platform: Polls show that a majority of the American people, your neighbors and mine, are concerned about the twin problems of unemployment and inflation. So am I. During this Bicentennial year, unemployment has been steadily reduced. Under a Republican administration, the recession has been licked. More men and women have been brought into the work force than ever before. Unemployment, for those who want to work, stands at about six percent. We all want to reduce that figure further.

But it is well to understand the relation between unemployment and inflation. Inflation is the direct result of a spendthrift Democrat-controlled Congress, not willing to discipline itself and let our country live within its means. I say that if we are to eliminate high unemployment, we must put an end to deficit spending. Our Republican platform is pledged to do just that.

By contrast, how do the Democrats plan to lower unemployment and get more men and women back to work? They have a "full employment" scheme, straight out of the old New Deal and Great Society pattern. It is called the "Humphrey-Hawkins" bill, sponsored by Senator Humphrey of Minnesota and Congressman Hawkins of California. It would set a goal to get everybody employed, down to three percent of the work force, by 1980. What does that remind you of? Every Communist nation on earth has its "five-year plan," in which they promise to reach a goal in five years.

They never reach their goals. Neither would this legislation. This bill is aimed at creating 10 to 12 million jobs. Where would you find them? Why, if not in private industry, than the Federal government would supply the rest. At what cost? They don't say.

We Republicans have had the help of many good Democrats in beating down this socialist scheme. It would siphon away many workers from private industry who would rather "work for the government." It would revive runaway inflation. It would create a "Big Brother" bureaucracy such as you have never seen.

In order to be able to provide more jobs, businesses, large and small, must be able to expand. Yet in order to build and expand, they must be profitable and able to borrow money, which means the savings, of the people. This administration has vetoed a number of big-spending bills passed by the Democrat-controlled Congress, and thus has made a start on controlling inflation and giving employers a chance to create jobs. Only the election of a Republican Congress can continue this important contribution to the welfare of America.

In the matter of taxes and government spending: Our party recognizes that tax policies and spending are inseparable. If government spending is not controlled, taxes will inevitably go up, either directly or through inflation.

I agree with our Republican platform, that we should have a balanced Federal budget and reduced tax rates. While the best tax reform is tax reduction, we recognize the need for tax adjustments to help the working men and women of our nation. To that end, I recommend tax credits for college tuition, high school technical training, and child care expenses incurred by working parents.

Small businesses, so vital to our economic system, is free enterprise in its purest sense. They hold forth to the individual, regardless of race or sex, the opportunity to fulfill the American dream.



Our platform pledges our party to recommend to the Small Business Administration the following:

That we assure adequate financing to those credit-worthy firms that cannot now obtain funds through conventional channels.

That it create a proper mix of loan programs to meet the needs of the many different types of firms that make up the American small business community.

For their survival, small businesses must have relief from the overwhelming burden placed upon them by the many regulatory bodies.

That brings us to the matter of bureaucratic over-regulation. I believe with our platform that Federal regulation and bureaucratic interference in the lives of the American people must be reduced.

The average businessman and employer is being buried in paper work required by our government. Particularly is this true of the Internal Revenue Service and the Census Bureau. I support a sweeping study of laws and regulations governing production processes and standards for consumer products, and the elimination of the needless and restrictive.

We face, in every community, the problem of law and order. Every American has the right to be protected from the criminal. We believe that fighting crime is, and should be, primarily a local matter. However, we support the help given through the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration to law officers in our states, counties, and municipalities. I believe that each state should have the power to decide whether it wishes to impose the death penalty for certain crimes.

I believe that the criminal code should include automatic and mandatory minimum sentences for persons committing offenses under Federal jurisdiction that involve the use of a dangerous weapon. The work recently done to tighten the laws against obscenity has my full support and I shall continue all efforts to maintain public morality.

Juveniles now account for almost half the arrests for serious crimes: Murder, rape, robbery and aggravated assault. I believe that primary responsibility for raising our children, teaching proper values and respect for the persons and property of others, lies with the parents in the home, and not with the government. Yet when families fail, local law enforcement must respond. I support all efforts to encourage more jobs for young people. I advocate a "youth differential" in the minimum wage law.

On the matter of education, our Republican platform declares: "We believe that segregated schools are morally wrong and unconstitutional. However, we oppose forced busing to achieve racial balance in our schools. We believe there are educational advantages for children in their own neighborhoods." I support that position, and shall work for quality education, which is the real solution of this problem, for all children, regardless of race.

On the question of working Americans, the Republican Party has always stood for free collective bargaining, since it remains the best way to insure that American workers receive a fair price for their labors. Our platform states that "union membership as a condition of employment has been regulated by state law under Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. This basic right should continue to be determined by the states."

Our platform calls for complete, top-to-bottom overhaul of government agencies. It calls for more block grants for social welfare programs, as a means to reform and decentralize such services. Finally, it calls for repeal of legislation for automatic pay increases for members of Congress. I challenge my Democrat opponent for Congress to state how he stands on that one!

Yes, the Republican platform calls for returning much of government back to the hands of the people, where it belongs.

In-House

The big news from NRCC Public Relations is: We have a new Director -- Jay Bryant, 33, former Special Assistant to House GOP Whip Bob Michel.

Bryant made the switch September 1 in time to supervise the Committee's final "sixty days to election" drive. In addition to assuming the duties of supervising all NRCC print, broadcast, and photo services, Bryant has already announced plans to make himself available upon request to GOP Congressional campaigns nationwide. Those who solicit his advice should know they are getting a professional media consultant of considerable experience.

A master's degree honor graduate of Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, Bryant worked as a programming assistant for WGN Television in Chicago and as producer-director for Maine's educational television network before launching into politics. In 1968, he became Director of Scheduling for the Illinois Republican Central Committee, coordinating the schedules of all GOP statewide candidates -- a role that fed into a job as Assistant to Illinois Governor Richard Ogilvie, where he handled scheduling, special assignments in speechwriting, and liaison with various organizations and agencies.

In January of 1973, Bryant moved up to the national level to become a special assistant for communications to Senator Bill Brock of Tennessee. As Brock's principal speechwriter, he wrote virtually all of the Senator's public speeches, floor remarks, and record inserts. When Brock was elected Chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, Bryant was asked to step in to supervise public relations. During the 1974 campaigns, Bryant criss-crossed the country for the Committee as a consultant to Senatorial candidates, advising on debates, press conferences, and important public appearances (a function he will repeat for Congressional candidates in the coming weeks).

In 1975, he accepted his most recent position with Congressman Bob Michel, coordinating public relations and speechwriting, as well as several policy areas, for the office of Minority Whip.

The Bryants form a dynamic political family; wife Susan is the 1976 campaign manager for incumbent Rep. George O'Brien of Illinois. They are the parents of an eight-year-old daughter, Amy.

Bryant is also a member of the Board of Trustees of the Lincoln Academy of Illinois; a recent faculty member of the RNC-NRCC Campaign Management College, and the author of numerous articles on political and other issues.

Election Law Report

UPDATE

In its August 2 edition, "Election Law Report" provided an analysis of the various types of corporate contributions and how to avoid them. One problem area mentioned in that study was the dilemma of candidates who may be employed by a corporation and who would like to take a paid leave of absence until the election. As a result of numerous inquiries from candidates, the NRCC brought this issue before the Federal Election Commission and requested a formal opinion. The consequence of this action is Advisory Opinion 1976-70 which is being reprinted in its entirety in this issue of Seventy-Six.

In AO 1976-70 the Commission ruled that a candidate may not receive any payments from his corporate employer unless they constitute compensation for actual services rendered or compensable earned or accrued leave time such as vacation. Furthermore, the FEC held that a corporation may not continue to contribute to the candidate/employee by paying for insurance benefits after the individual has terminated his services for the company. Any such premium payments must be shouldered by the candidate/employee.

NOTICE: Please read the Chairman's letter on page 1 concerning the addition of a research/legal HOTLINE to our list of committee services to members and candidates.



FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1325 K STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20463

September 2, 1976

AO 1976-70

Jan Baran, Esquire
Legal Counsel
National Republican
Congressional Committee
512 House Office Building Annex
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Baran:

This responds to your recent letter of August 6, 1976, requesting an advisory opinion on two questions involving the permissibility of corporate compensation to an employee/candidate.



First, you ask whether a professional corporation may lawfully continue to provide its employee with personal benefits such as insurance if the individual is a candidate under 2 U.S.C. §431 and on leave from the firm.

Secondly, you ask whether the corporation may pay its employee/candidate a salary in the form of a paid leave of absence provided that such payments are used by the employee for purely personal expenses and to financially support himself and his family.

Since both these questions deal with the situation of a corporation giving something of value to a candidate, the applicable provisions of law are 2 U.S.C. §§431, 441b. Under the law, a corporation is prohibited from making a contribution to a candidate. A "contribution" means generally a "gift . . . advance . . . or anything of value made for the purpose of influencing" the nomination or election of any person to Federal office.^{1/} 2 U.S.C. §431(d). Moreover, contribution also includes "any direct or indirect payment, distribution . . . [or] advance . . . of money . . . to any candidate . . . in connection with . . ." and election to Federal office. See 2 U.S.C. §441b(b)(2).

The purpose of influencing, or the "connection" with, an election is apparent where, as in this case, the payments in the form of a paid leave of absence begin after the person has been a candidate and after he has been without a salary, except for some part-time work. As your request states, the corporation in question "has no policy with respect to paid leaves of absence" and now wishes to start with respect to this candidate. It appears that the payor proposes to grant a paid leave of absence so the candidate may have more time to campaign. Furthermore, the effect of receiving compensation from the firm will likely be that other funds of the candidate become available for campaign purposes.

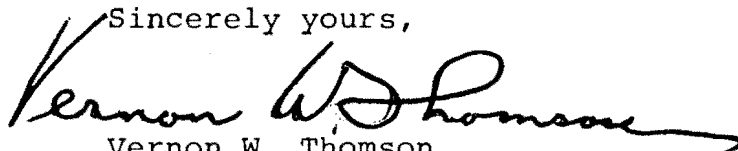
If the candidate were receiving compensation in the form of earned or accrued leave, the Commission would not regard that as a contribution since, by analogy, no compensation is considered paid to an employee "where the time . . . is bona fide, although compensable, vacation time or other earned leave time." See §100.4(a)(5)(iii) of the proposed regulations.

^{1/} Compare 2 U.S.C. §431(e)(4) which deals with the payment of compensation by one person for personal services of another that are rendered to a Federal candidate and characterizes such payments as contributions. This situation, although analogous, is different since the firm has a prior association with the candidate not to some third person who would campaign for the candidate.

The Commission is of the opinion that in this case, the proposed paid leave of absence is a contribution and thus prohibited since it is from a corporation. See 2 U.S.C. §441b. As for the other incidental benefits such as life and hospitalization insurance, absent a bona fide policy for employees on leave without pay, the Commission is of the opinion that the amount of the premiums paid for the insurance after the employee becomes a candidate and after he terminates his services for the corporation, will be considered a contribution. Compare §114.12(c) of the proposed regulations.

This response constitutes an advisory opinion concerning the application of a general rule of law stated in the Act to the specific factual situation set forth in your request. 2 U.S.C. §437f.

Sincerely yours,



Vernon W. Thomson
Chairman for the
Federal Election Commission

Enclosures

LEGISLATION ON THE HOUSE FLOOR

In order to keep informed of impending legislation scheduled for action on the House floor, we recommend that all candidates contact the House Republican Conference Committee to get their names placed on the Conference mailing list. They publish a Legislative Digest which includes descriptions of each bill on the House calendar for a particular week. Descriptions include pros and cons on the legislation, cost estimates, and various amendments which may be offered to a specific bill. This weekly digest is a valuable piece of research information and will be very helpful to each of your campaigns at one time or another. In order to obtain your free subscription of the Legislative Digest, please contact Mike MacLeod, Executive Director of the House Republican Conference Committee, 1618 Longworth House Office Building, Washington, D. C. 20515, or call him at (202) 225-5107.

Needed: Issues Information

The NRCC is receiving many inquiries from interested Republicans who are wondering where our candidates stand on the important issues of Campaign '76. To facilitate answering of these requests, we are asking to be placed on each of your daily or weekly mailing lists to receive press releases, issue position papers, and newspaper clippings, so that we can be more informed about the issues and messages that each of you is delivering "on the hustings." They should be sent to Research Department, National Republican Congressional Committee, 518 HOB Annex, Washington, D. C. 20515.

By Ed Blakely
Director, Broadcast Services

Now that all you attentive readers of "Seventy-Six" have an effective actuality system in operation and are using your newscasts to a great degree of success, it is time to turn our attention to producing those television and radio spots you've had on the back burner for so long. By now you should have some idea of what stations you will use, and many of you have already finished your media spots but for those of you who are looking at a limited budget and have had trouble with production we offer the following advice:

Should I use radio, television or both? The rule of thumb for a Congressional race is: if your TV and radio market reaches the majority of the voters in three or more Congressional districts and television time is expensive (over \$200 per minute), seriously consider buying radio instead of television. Radio seems to have been given a back seat to TV with regards to political advertising and many hours have been spent arguing the advantages of both. It's safe to say that failure to use TV will not automatically doom you to defeat. Radio offers great flexibility. Certain groups of people listen to certain stations and in any given market you will find a great variety of programming including rock, classical, soul, all news, middle of the road, easy listening, personality, talk, ethnic, etc.

After you have determined which groups of voters you need to reach with your paid radio advertising, call the sales department of one of your radio stations on which you will buy time and ask for a demographic breakdown of the radio stations in your area. The radio station, if they subscribe to one of the surveys, will be able to tell you just what groups listen to what stations. It is important to ask a station with which you plan to do business or with which you have a personal relationship because stations pay a good deal of money for these surveys and don't like to let the information out unless it will benefit them.

Once you have drafted your scripts you need to find some place to record them. Most radio stations will rent you studio space for production purposes or, if you like, we at Broadcast Services will let you make use of our studios at no cost other than as an in-kind contribution. We also have on file radio and television scripts that have been used in past campaigns that you are free to use.

If you have decided to make use of television advertising but are gasping at some of the production costs, relax. Broadcast Services has a film crew and editing facilities which can assist you in making simple to produce television spots. By simple to produce we mean no helicopter shots, exotic locations (Hawaii and Las Vegas will not be considered) and other production tricks that cost time and money. We film only in the Washington, D. C. area. The question now arises: Can a simply produced television be effective? This is a valid question and can best be answered by a memo sent out by the Republican National Committee which states in part "The RNC and NRCC first commissioned a detailed study of production techniques to learn, perhaps for the first time ever, just how an effective television commercial should be produced."

Some of the things we learned were surprising.

We learned that most political spots are over-produced, and that too much visual content distracts from the message. We learned that one-on-one appeals, directly into the camera, have the greatest impact. And we learned that this approach can move voters in their perceptions of candidates by as much as 2 percent or more even with a small amount of exposure. (Incidentally, we remeasured some of our test voters six weeks after the commercials were seen by them and found that the effect had increased in intensity.)

What this means is that the best person to "pitch" your candidacy is . . . yourself. It is this type of spot that is the easiest to produce; the real work is in the preparation of the script and the way it is delivered to the camera. We are also best prepared to produce this type of spot utilizing our equipment and facilities. Time is growing short and, if you are looking for an inexpensive way to produce a television package, all it will cost you is film and processing costs at \$5.40 per film minute. Call us at Broadcast Services for details. (202) 225-1806.

Political Punchlines

Humor to Spice Up Your Speeches

A family on vacation was visiting Washington and making a tour of the building where Congress held their sessions.

"That, my son," said the father, "is the Chaplain of the House."

"Does he pray for the members?" asked the small boy.

The father thought for a minute and then said, "No, my son, when he goes into the House he looks around and sees all those Democrat Congressmen and then he prays for the country."

A Democrat Congressman running for office was about to begin his speech and said, "I'm very pleased to see such a dense crowd here today."

From the back of the hall a voice quipped, "Don't be too pleased. We ain't all dense."

Quip: You can't fool all the people all of the time, but the average Democrat is contented with a sizable majority.

Riddle: What roof covers the most noisy Democrat politicians?

Answer: The roof of the mouth.

A Republican had just made a very good speech and received a very loud round of applause from the voters in the hall.

That is, all except one confirmed Democrat who hollered, "Well, I don't care what you say, I wouldn't vote for you if you were St. Peter himself."

"That's all right, friend," answered the Republican, "If I was St. Peter, you wouldn't be in my constituency!"

After examining the letters from the voters in his district, the Democrat Congressman complained, "I wish they would be more specific when they write me a letter. What kind of kite? What lake?"

When a Democrat politician finished his speech, an old Indian in the crowd said, "High wind. Big thunder. No rain."

When I was a boy on the farm, my father gave me a little donkey (Democrat). "This is a nice little donkey," he said, "and I expect you to take good care of him. Always be sure to lock the barn door."

"Well, one evening I forgot to lock the barn door; the donkey got loose and was run over by a truck. My father looked at the dead donkey and said: "Son, that animal will haunt you for the rest of your life." And my father was right. The Republican pointed to the Democrat heckler and said: "There sits that Jackass now."

Jimmy Carter became a successful politician the same way he became a successful peanut farmer: he uses a lot of fertilizer.

Chicago's a town where people don't lose their right to vote because of a legal technicality -- like being dead.

Several people on the Democrats' payroll have admitted they can't type, mail letters, or answer the phone. Anybody who's that dumb shouldn't be working for a Democrat Congressman. They oughta be a Democratic Congressman.

A Democratic Congressman: that's a fellow who comes to work every morning from a different motel.

It's hard to understand why Congressional Democrats are so sympathetic toward welfare chiselers. What could a \$44,000 a-year-Congressman, who gets an expense account, office help, free medical care, free mailing and free travel, have in common with people who rip off the taxpayers?

When a man tells one falsehood, we call him a liar. When he makes a career of telling falsehoods, we call him a Democrat.

If the voters want a new face, Carter is in luck: he has two of them.

Epigram: A successful Democrat politician is a man who can rock the boat himself and then persuade all the voters that there is a terrible storm at sea.

A little girl asked her mother whether all fairy tales began with "Once upon a time." "No," replied the mother, "today most of them begin with Democrats when they say, if I'm elected."

Seventy-Six

SEP 30 1976

Ideas to help you Communicate and Campaign

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EXTRA, EXTRA! Enclosed please find your Seventy-Six supplement, a copy of the Wall Street Journal analysis of the major provisions of the 1976 tax reform package. There is no finer analysis of this complicated legislation -- in the King's English -- available anywhere.

No. 15 -- September 27, 1976



Seventy-Six is published for GOP Members of Congress and Candidates for Congress by the National Republican Congressional Committee's Public Relations Division, 512 House Office Building Annex, Washington, D.C. 20515. For further information on items, call (202) 225-1800.

From the Chairman *A Message of Importance*

Dear Colleagues and Candidates:

It has come to my attention that various PACs and other interest groups are in the process of distributing issue questionnaires to candidates involved in congressional campaigns. Specifically, the National Conservative Political Action Committee, the Conservative Victory Fund, and the National Right-to-Work Committee are three committees which have sent out surveys to many of you, in most cases following your respective primary campaigns. All of these groups are interested in your opinions with regard to the issues mentioned in the questionnaires, and we therefore encourage you and/or your staffs to respond by sending the requested information as soon as possible. In many cases, responding to these questionnaires could translate into possible contributions to candidates from various PACs and other interest groups.

If you have any questions about these surveys, please contact Dan Mattoon, Research Director at the NRCC, on 202 225-1820.

Sincerely,



Guy Vander Jagt, M. C.
Chairman

P. S. I would just like to remind each of you again that we have recently installed, free of charge, a HOTLINE (an incoming WATS line) to answer questions pertaining to any research and/or legal problems in your campaigns. The number for the HOTLINE is 800 424-7991. The telephone is in operation from 9 a.m. - 5 p.m. between Monday and Friday through November 2.

What's not round, has a hole in it and cannot be eaten? Certainly not a doughnut, right? Wrong! It's a type of political commercial that leaves a time hole at the end of the commercial for you to insert your message. As we mentioned a few issues back, the Republican National Committee has prepared a series of 17 "doughnut" spots for radio and television. The RNC commissioned two professional announcers to deliver the pitch and leave a 10-second "hole" at the end of the spot for you to add the tag. These spots have been test marketed in Detroit and Kansas City and the research shows that (a) the message moves the viewer toward the candidate, and (b) a couple of weeks after the viewer has seen the spot he still remembers the message.

You can purchase the entire package from the RNC for \$69. The package includes: a reel of 16 mm film containing all 17 spots, a reel of $\frac{1}{2}$ inch radio tape containing all the spots, a script for each spot which includes three separate tags for you to choose, a series of slides with backgrounds that match those of the actors, and finally a report on the research and testing of the spots.

Many of you have been through the Congressional Committee to view those spots (candidates that are using the spots are reporting a great deal of success). Unfortunately many of you have not seen the spots and don't want to shell out 69 dollars sight unseen. Well, maybe we can help you reach a decision. We have prepared a sound track of the spots, including the tag that you could attach on the end of each. You can hear all the spots by calling toll free 800 424-0215 and requesting the "doughnut" spots. We will preface each spot with the message of the spot and the visual background. If you like the message in some of the spots but would like to rework it and deliver the whole thing yourself, let us know and we'll send you the appropriate script.

Technically, the best way to combine your part of the spot with the film is to do a film, live camera to VTR transfer. "A WHAT?" you ask. Simply put, call one of your local television stations and say that you want to rent studio time for the production of the spots. You should tell your station that you will need: a live camera, a slide chain, the capability to chroma-key slide and live camera, and a film chain. The film will be put on the projector and the sound and picture from each spot will be transferred to video tape. At the appropriate moment in each spot where you appear, the scene will cut from the picture and sound from the projector to the picture and sound coming from you in the studio. Behind you will appear a background similar to the background on the film. This background shot comes from one of the slides which is included in the RNC package.

By means of an electronic process called chroma-key, you and the slide are placed in the same picture. For example, if the slide is of the U. S. Capitol taken from ground level, the image on the television screen will look like you are standing in front of the Capitol. You should also ask the television station to prepare a "lower third" slide which will have your name on it and will be superimposed over you while you are talking. You will also need a disclaimer super, lower third, which goes at the end of each spot and says "Paid for by the Smith for Congress Committee, Sam Brown, Treasurer", or words to that effect. To give you an example of how this will look, refer to the following example of one of the spots in the

package. The left hand side of the page contains the visual instructions, the right hand side has the sound instructions.

#4

CHALLENGE - 30 seconds

1. ANN IN FRONT OF CAPITOL
(this is on film)

1. ANN: Congress decided forty-two thousand dollars a year wasn't enough pay, and voted itself a two thousand dollar raise and made it inflation-proof. So when Congress spends too much money and prices go up, they get a raise. This isn't just wrong, it's downright immoral.

2. CUT TO CANDIDATE (you)
IN STUDIO WITH CHROMA-
KEY SLIDE IN BACKGROUND.

SUPER NAME SLIDE

SUPER DISCLAIMER SLIDE

2. CAND: Our Congressman's vote made the difference -- that was the margin it passed by. I'm _____ and I'll vote to repeal those raises. Not because I'm running -- but because it's right. I want to be your Congressman.

Once again, to hear these spots, call us toll free at 800 424-0215 and ask to hear the do-nut spots.

Needed: Issues Information

The NRCC is receiving many inquiries from interested Republicans who are wondering where our candidates stand on the important issues of Campaign '76. To facilitate answering of these requests, we are asking to be placed on each of your daily or weekly mailing lists to receive press releases, issue position papers, and newspaper clippings, so that we can be more informed about the issues and messages that each of you is delivering "on the hustings." They should be sent to Research Department, National Republican Congressional Committee, 518 HOB Annex, Washington, D. C. 20515.

Election Law Report

By Jan Baran, Legal Counsel

ANALYSIS: RECOUNTS AND CONTESTS

In recent years, election recounts and contests have increased markedly. The Senate, for example, spent over a year in its efforts to resolve the contests for seats in New Hampshire and Oklahoma subsequent to the 1974 races. Therefore, candidates and their campaign staff should have a basic knowledge and awareness of the steps necessary for a recount should the election warrant one. The following is a check list which should help in such cases.

On November 2, the legal HOTLINE at NRCC offices in Washington will be manned by attorneys who will be available for help and advice. If you have any legal questions on Election Day or evening, call 800 424-7991.

CHECK LIST FOR CONTESTS AND RECOUNTS

1. SAFEGUARD BALLOTS, VOTING MACHINES, PUNCH CARDS, AND ELECTION RECORDS.
 - a. Get Governor or State police or U. S. Attorney to impound ballots.
 - b. Make sure voting machines are sealed and under security.
 - c. If punch cards are used, see that they are locked in transfer cases and that they are kept under proper atmospheric conditions.
 - d. See that poll lists and voter application cards are safely stored.
 - e. Get affidavits of election irregularities.
 - f. Have news media conduct investigation if they will -- keep a scrap book of all newspaper articles concerning the contest.
 - g. Run a careful addition of each official canvass. Check for obvious errors, unexplained discrepancies and transpositions.
2. GET GOOD LEGAL COUNSEL.
 - a. Line up one or more volunteer attorneys to assist in contest or recount.
 - b. Get copies of the latest State election laws from Secretary of State.
 - c. Make a check list of filing dates and time limits.
 - d. Have memorandum brief prepared by counsel giving:
 1. General laws of recount and election contests.

2. What are the legal criteria for counting a precinct.
 3. Major decisions of the State and local courts on election problems.
 4. Any Attorney General opinions of above.
 5. Check into burden of proof, presumptions of validity, requirement of probab change of result in order to contest, etc.
 6. Make sure of your legal grounds for contest.
- e. Analyze whether to seek a partial or total recount.
 - f. Check for avenues of appeal, both interim and final.
3. SET GROUND RULES OF CONTEST OR RECOUNT.
- a. Follow statutes carefully.
 - b. Where no statutory guides exist, consider:
 1. Making agreement with opponent to control the procedure.
 2. Check with elections director, clerk, Secretary of State or appropriate official to approve ground rules.
 3. Obtain adequate space where recounts can be conducted -- if machines are to be inspected, arrange times and places.
 - c. If you are a petitioner, select your venue if you can; if respondent, determine whether change of venue is desirable.
 - d. Where machines malfunctioned:
 1. If you are trying to preserve the original count, get an expert from the machine manufacturer.
 2. If you are trying to upset the machine tally -- get an expert from the competitors.
 - e. Where recount is of punch cards:
 1. Consider hand counting - a horrible and tedious job.
 - a. Prepare a "template" so the cards can be easily read -- use a color code for counting.
 - b. Train your people on what to look for on the cards.
 - c. Insist on careful handling of the cards.



2. Check with your computer people to look for possible errors. Make sure that master print-out does not have a precinct tallied twice or other input error.
3. Check rerunning punch cards on an independent computer.

f. Know your absent voter law and check ballots separately if possible.

4. TRAIN YOUR PEOPLE.

a. Get attorneys who agree to spend the time necessary to supervise the recount -- if necessary work in shifts.

1. Have attorneys school your checkers and talliers. Conduct a mock recount.
2. Get a very reliable person to keep a close running tab on any vote changes (probably a C.P.A., since few lawyers can count).
3. Consider having your people challenge everything and anything the first few sessions; it gets them roused up and removes any reluctance to challenge that might otherwise exist. "If in doubt -- challenge," but never challenge your own ballot.
4. Keep a good list of ballots that have been challenged and why.
5. Watch what the opponent is doing -- he might challenge what you believe is an obviously good ballot in hopes of having a court sustain him -- if so, it is usually safer for you to challenge the same sort of ballot he is challenging, when the situation is reversed.
6. Prepare sample ballots or other instruction sheets.

b. Obtain people who will loyally work the recount as watchers, checkers, and talliers.

5. KNOW YOUR JUDGES AND THE LAW.

a. Know the politics of the local judiciary and attitudes toward the candidate, parties, etc.

b. Consider suggesting an outside judge.

c. If contest is not a recount but a factual deprivation of some voting right, consider:

1. Asking for new election.
2. Asking a "throw-out" of an offending precinct.
3. Affidavits of correct voting.
4. Check for violation of voting rights statutes, including Federal.



6. GET PROPER PUBLIC RELATIONS.

- a. In event of new election -- you want to be seen in the best light.
- b. Having the public behind you is good strategy and may discourage your opponent and get him to withdraw.

7. MISCELLANEOUS:

Raise funds to pay for filing fees and/or necessary costs, or see if you can qualify for a State sponsored recount. Legal fees for recounts and contests are not subject to F.E.C. regulations, but corporate or union or union funds are prohibited (see F.E.C. Regs., 100.7(b)(17)).

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

The NRCC now has copies of all FEC publications. They are available free of charge to members and candidates, and may be picked up in Room 520 H.O.B. Annex, or ordered by phone or mail. The following is a list of literature on hand:

Federal Election Campaign Laws (complete compilation of statutes)

FEC Campaign Guide -- "The 1976 Amendments"

FEC Campaign Guide #1 -- "Campaign Guide for Committees"

FEC Campaign Guide #2 -- "Campaign Guide for Federal Candidates"

FEC Campaign Guide #3 -- "Campaign Guide on Contributions & Expenditures"

Bookkeeping and Reporting Manual for Candidates and Political Committees

FEC Forms (including all registration and reporting forms)

FEC Proposed Regulations, Federal Register reprint

REMINDER: Campaign reports are due OCTOBER 10.

Quip: Just because the Declaration of Independence says that everybody has the right to pursue happiness doesn't mean that the Democrats have to finance the chase.

A farmer in Georgia met a Democrat candidate for President who asked the farmer how many children he had. "Seventeen boys, eh?"

"I suppose they are all good Democrats," asked the candidate.

"All but one," was the answer. "He got to readin'."

A Speech to Make? These May Help

"Campaign 1976" -- Rep. Jim Martin leveled Jimmy Carter and the Democratic Platform in few fell swoops. Carter, scorned Martin, "is going to try to stand four square on at least two and sometimes three sides of every issue." Where does he stand on defense? Carter wants to "strengthen" our armed forces by reducing the defense budget. Where does he stand on the economy? To reduce inflation, raise employment, and balance the budget, Carter's solution is to increase spending, add \$150 billion in new programs, and cut taxes. "What," queried Martin, "kind of leadership is that?" The North Carolina Congressman ended the denunciation with a searing explanation of the differences between the two parties' platforms in campaign '76.

The Politics of Agriculture -- Rep. Bud Brown (Ohio), in remarks to the Marion County Farm Bureau, compared the Republican and Democratic approaches to farm policy. In contrast to the Democrats' vaguely worded phrasing, the Republicans unequivocally stated in their 1976 platform that farmers should not be singled out by export controls. President Ford, said Brown, has stated he will not block foreign sales of American farm products -- and has maintained that as his position ever since the current five-year Soviet grain deal was struck. Jimmy Carter, on the other hand, adopted the same stance "just in time for the Iowa State Fair and then backed away from it the next day." Brown then proceeded to lacerate the Democrats with a lengthy analysis of the recent agricultural record under the leadership of Republican Administrations as compared to the performance turned in during the last three years of Democratic presidency.

Business and Government -- Under Secretary of Commerce Edward Vetter, in a speech to the Houston World Trade Center, told the audience that, in his opinion, the least effective voices raised before government are those of the American business community. Too many times their messages come out sounding like "windfall" or "giveaway". Vetter recommended that business be heard offering the commitments it is willing to make so that these two words will in the future be perceived as the necessary tradeoff for the capital formation needed by the private sector for full employment. Describing the world trade scene, Vetter outlined the status of U. S. exports, international economic factors at work today, and the services offered by the Dept. of Commerce to assist U. S. businessmen entering foreign export markets.

"U. S. Responsibilities in World Population Issues" -- Ambassador Marshall Green, before the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco, reminded listeners that the population problem is often defined in the narrow sense of too many people pressing upon inadequate food supplies. This is but one dimension of the problem, says Green, and not the most serious at present. Today the most serious manifestations of overpopulation are "an alarming increase in unemployment as well as widespread environmental degradation." There are, he concluded, at least four interrelated elements that any country must consider if it is to seriously cope with its population problem: leadership commitment, innovative approaches to family planning, paramedic training, and improved status of women.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(This is the third in a series of speech texts by former Rep. O. K. Armstrong.)

Today I want to discuss with you the important matters of national defense and foreign affairs in general. Let me again remind you of our Republican Platform, adopted at the Kansas City convention in August. It is explicit on these subjects. It is definite. It is easily understood. It states in simple language our policies on how to defend this country of ours, and all other matters affecting our international relations.

When we Republicans assumed executive office eight years ago, we found the national security machinery in a shambles. The National Security Council, which functioned so effectively under President Eisenhower, had fallen into disuse. As an important first step, the National Security Council was streamlined to cope with immediate problems and long-range planning.

Our party leadership has also taken steps to report its foreign policy and national security objectives. An annual "State of the World" message, designed to increase communication with Congress and the people, has become a part of White House practice under President Ford.

I do not need to tell you that we Republicans stand for a national defense second to none in the world. In contrast, all the news you hear from our Democrat opponents, when national defense is mentioned, is this: "Let's cut it down! It is too expensive." Figures as to how far they would cut down the appropriations for defense vary from five to twelve billion dollars. Such a proposal is sheer demagoguery.

We have learned that a superior national defense is the fundamental condition for a secure America and for peace and freedom for the world. In today's troubled times, we are challenged by an ideology that seeks to dominate the world -- and already dominates more than one-fourth the people of the globe -- our military strength is the only guarantee for world peace.

In the face of growing military power of the Soviet Union, a period of sustained growth in our own defense power is essential. In constant dollars, the present defense budget will not more than match the defense budget of 1964 -- the year before a Democrat administration involved America so deeply in the Vietnam War. Last year, the military programs of the Soviet Union exceeded ours by 85 percent, and exceeded ours in operating costs by 25 percent, in research and development by 66 percent.

The issue is whether or not our forces will be adequate to any future challenge of our enemies. I say they must be!

I agree with the statement in our Republican Platform, and pledge to support legislation to bring it about: "To continue the major modernization program of our strategic missile and bomber forces, the development of a new intercontinental ballistic missile, a new missile-launching submarine force, and a modern bomber capable of penetrating the most sophisticated defenses of the 1980s." Such a program will insure for us a deterrent to Communist aggression.

The U. S. Navy, the guarantor of freedom of the seas, must have a major ship-building program to insure that no enemy will ever gain naval supremacy over us. Likewise, we must retain superiority in the air. In addition, I support the military aid programs for our allies as they stand with us against possible future aggression.

In this connection, I believe that we must support the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which you know as NATO. It is composed of fifteen nations, banded together to maintain a strong military deterrent against aggression. So-called liberal (which I call radical) members of Congress have been snipping at NATO, with statements to the effect that the "cold war" is over, and we no longer need our allies since "detente" and "co-existence" is now the vogue.

President Ford has dropped the word "detente" from official vocabulary. It proved to be a one-way street, with the Soviet Union taking advantage of it to tighten their control over the captive nations of Eastern Europe and other parts of the world. I am determined that the NATO alliance shall not be lulled into a false sense of security, but will be ready to respond when needed to preserve the peace of Europe and the world.

We Republicans recognize the interests of our country in the Pacific area. Japan remains the main pillar of our Asian policy. We have helped to provide the framework, over the course of thirty years, for the development of Japanese economy which has risen to third place among free-world nations. We must continue our policy of close co-operation with this valued friend.

The Republic of Korea has been much in the news recently, due to the axe murder of two American officers by North Koreans, while our men were working in the demilitarized zone. Many of our Democrat opponents are saying that we should now pull out our troops from South Korea, and by inference they say, "Let that country go down the drain of Communist aggression." I favor maintaining U. S. troops in Korea so long as there exists the threat of renewed aggression from North Korea and Red China.

How about the question of the Republic of China, on Taiwan? I agree with our Republican Platform that we shall continue to support the freedom and independence of our friend and ally, the Republic of China on the island of Taiwan.

When we Republicans assumed executive office in 1969, we were confronted with the war in Vietnam. A Democrat President, Lyndon B. Johnson, had been elected in 1964, you will remember, on assurances to the American people that he would not escalate that war. Within a year, he had escalated it by committing more than a half a million young men, to get bogged down in a land war in that part of Asia. They were so hampered by official restrictions that there was no possible way for those troops to win a military victory in that conflict.

I recognize that there are wide differences of opinion concerning that tragic struggle in Vietnam, but I am sure that the majority of American people agree with our Republican Platform which I shall vigorously support. It says:

"We pledge that American troops will never again be committed for our own defense, or for the defense of those to whom we are committed by treaty or other solemn agreements, without the clear purpose of achieving our stated diplomatic and military objectives."

in other words, if we are again forced into war, we'll let our military forces win it!

In our own Western hemisphere, we have problems that demand the cooperation of a Republican Congress and a Republican President. On the question of the Panama Canal, our country intends that the Panama Canal shall be preserved as an international waterway for the ships of all nations. In any talks with the government of Panama, however, I believe that our negotiators should in no way dilute, forfeit, or transfer any rights, power, jurisdiction, territory, or property that are unnecessary for the protection and security of the United States and the entire Western hemisphere.

Finally, what should be our foreign policy with respect to the Soviet Union in general? Our Party offers a policy that maintains our fundamental strength, and proves our steadfast determination to prevent aggressive use of Soviet power.

Our trade in non-strategic areas creates jobs here at home, improves our balance of payments position, and contributes to an improved political climate in the world. Therefore, we support the sale of farm products to the Soviet Union, while at the same time we guard against any increases in domestic prices due to sudden shifts in Soviet policies. I am pledged to make the interests of our own country paramount in our dealings with Communist countries, or any other governments.

In many other areas of international cooperation, I am pledged to support all measures that will benefit the average American citizen and taxpayer: the elimination of terrorism, control of the international drug trade, orderly use of ocean resources, and the elimination of waste in the program of foreign aid. I favor not only the elimination of waste in that program, but pressure upon other countries, especially the oil-producing nations getting rich at our expense, to assume a bigger share of the cost.

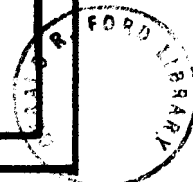
Yes, the Republican policies in foreign affairs present plenty of specific items of benefit to the American people, in my district, in our state, and in the nation, and in which the people can place their faith.

Attention: Speech Kit Users

The NRCC 1976 Speech Kit contains a minor error on page 97.

The last line on that page reads: "beginning in FY 76 with the advent" etc. The figures are transposed and should read: "FY 67."

Holders of the kit are urged to make the change.



Candidates and incumbents -- here's an eleventh hour piece of campaign advice -- don't overlook the value of your wives!

Congressman Jim Collins of Texas, Vice Chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, has been using "endorsements" by his wife since 1970 -- a "very effective and popular" program with district voters. The idea is to send, over the Congressman's wife's signature, a handwritten note (printed in blue ink offset) to a target list of women voters. Dee Collins' letterhead note of 1970 shows how simple and personable this approach can be:

October 29, 1970

Dear Friend,

Because we, as women, share a deep concern about crime and violence in our country today, I want to ask your help.

My husband, Congressman Jim Collins, has worked hard for law and order in our country. He cares about the safety and future of your home and children.

Please give Jim your continued support and your vote next Tuesday.

Sincerely,

Dee Collins

Collins calls the letter "a campaign idea for a winning finish," noting that many women commented on it.

"We had volunteers stuff envelopes to women voters, and mailed two weeks before the election. Printed in blue, the women who received it thought my wife had written each by hand.

"I wish I had known about it in my first campaign!"

The idea has been very effectively carried over during incumbency. Mrs. Charles Thone, wife of Nebraska's First District Congressman, started mailing letters home to friends shortly after arriving in Washington. Finding she couldn't keep up with demands for correspondence, she switched to a seasonal newsletter format to write, in friendly and informal style, her experiences in Washington and the comings and goings of Thone family life. Thone's press secretary reports over 5,000 women are now on the mailing list.

"We find even our issue letters from the district mention it," said one staffer. "And women are always asking 'when do we get the next one?'" Her newsletter, and printed

copies of her favorite recipes distributed at our state and county fairs, are just about the most effective thing we've ever done."

Should your office decide to adopt either of these communications forms, remember: they are not chargeable to the franking privilege, but must be paid for as a private mailing.

Political Punchlines

Humor to Spice Up Your Speeches

A Britisher, while touring Washington, remarked to a cab driver: "You have a wonderful country here, you know; very nice city, stunning nice women and a bully lot of other things, but you have no aristocracy."

"No what?" asked the cab driver.

"No aristocracy," replied the Englishman.

"Aristocracy? Aristocracy? And what's that?" asked the Washington cab driver.

"Aristocracy, is people who have never done nothing -- and whose people before them never did anything -- folks who have always been people of leisure."

"Oh, yes; we have them here, but we call them Democrats."

They were discussing a certain Democrat politician.

"Well," summed up one voter, "I'll tell you this about him. He might have typhoid fever and recover; he might have pneumonia and recover; he might have yellow fever and recover; but -- if he ever had lockjaw, by gosh, he'd bust!"

Quip: Just because the Declaration of Independence says that everybody has the right to pursue happiness doesn't mean that the Democrats have to finance the chase.

A farmer in Georgia met a Democrat candidate for President who asked the farmer how many children he had. "Seventeen boys, eh?"

"I suppose they are all good Democrats," asked the candidate.

"All but one," was the answer. "He got to readin'."

Correct Phone Numbers for NRCC Divisions . . .

Many calls to divisions of the NRCC are placed to wrong numbers -- delaying the caller and creating unnecessary phone traffic. Following are the numbers for all divisions when calling through the Capitol board:

Executive Director	5-1832	Legal	5-1811
Art Department	5-1813	Photo Lab (B-304 Rayburn)	5-7121
Broadcast Services	5-1806	Public Relations	5-1800
Campaign Division	5-1816	Research	5-1820
Distribution Service	5-1809	Speakers' Bureau	5-1816
Finance Division	5-1826		

(Off Capitol board, use 225- instead of 5. The area code is 202.)

TIME TO WATCH OUT FOR "MASS MAILINGS" UNDER THE FRANK

Tuesday, October 5, is the cut-off date for franked mass mailings. The time is at hand when members of Congress must be concerned about the deadlines for franked mass mailings. Because of frequent delivery delays within the U. S. Postal Service, mail may be received on election day or shortly before. To counter opposition criticism over abuse of the frank, you are advised to get dated receipts for every mass mailing from the House Folding Room, or the Post Office if delivered directly.

In addition, it is a prudent action to submit every mailing to the Commission on Congressional Mailing Standards for an opinion of its frankability. A section of a pamphlet by the Commission dealing with franking deadlines is reprinted below. Copies are available in Room 309, Cannon House Office Building.

1. Statutory Basis

Section 3210(a)(5)(D) states:

“(5) It is the intent of the Congress that a Member of or Member-elect to Congress may not mail as franked mail—

“(D) any mass mailing when the same is mailed at or delivered to any postal facility less than 28 days immediately before the date of any primary or general election (whether regular, special, or runoff) in which such Member or Member-elect is a candidate for public office. For the purpose of this clause (D) the term ‘mass mailing’ shall mean newsletters and similar mailings of more than 500 pieces in which the content of the matter mailed is substantially identical but shall not apply to mailings—

“(i) which are in direct response to inquiries or requests from persons to whom the matter is mailed;

“(ii) to colleagues in Congress or to government officials (whether Federal, State, or local); or

“(iii) of news releases to the communications media.”

2. Definitions

(a) *Candidate*.—For the purposes of the subject statutes and these regulations, a Member of or a Member-elect to the House of Representatives, shall be deemed to be a candidate for public office at any election as hereinabove set forth if his or her name appears anywhere on any official ballot to be used in such election.

(b) *Mass mailing*.—For the purposes of the subject statute and these regulations, “newsletters and similar mailings” means, in addition to newsletters, any planned or anticipated mailing of identical or substantially identical mail matter in quantity of more than 500 pieces. Such mail matter will be deemed to fall within the prohibition of the subject statute when the total of such pieces of mail matter exceeds 500, whether in cumulative mailings or a single mailing during the 28-day period of the subject statute.

Federal publications, publications purchased with Federal funds, publications containing items of general information, when individually ad-

ressed and not included in a planned mailing or one which can be reasonably anticipated, shall not be deemed "similar mailings" for the purpose of the subject statute or these regulations, unless such a mailing exceeds 500 pieces in a single mailing.

For example, baby books and information to new home owners would be frankable during the 28-day period, but certificates to high school graduates would not be frankable since such a mailing would be considered planned or reasonably anticipated.

3. Exceptions

The subject statutes provide three exceptions to the mass mail prohibition prior to elections, as follows:

- (i) (mailings) which are in direct response to inquiries or requests from the persons to whom the matter is mailed;
- (ii) (mailings) to colleagues in Congress or to government officials (whether Federal, State, or local); or
- (iii) (mailings) of news releases to the communications media.

The Commission believes the last two exceptions are self-explanatory.

In application of the first exception, the Commission stresses the phrase "direct response to inquiries or requests."¹ Therefore, response to a signed petition with a form or identical letter individually addressed to each of the signers of the petition is frankable. However, a follow-up letter to the same list of petitions is not frankable under this section in that it would not be in direct response to an inquiry.

Similarly, follow-up letters to persons who had previously written and had been answered on a particular subject, if such letters by their form and volume constitute a mass mailing, are not frankable during the 28-day period prior to elections.

4. Time of Mailing; Processing by the House Folding Room

(a) Mass mailings as defined under section 3210(a)(5)(D) may not be mailed as franked mail by a Member of or Member-elect to the House of Representatives when the same is mailed at or delivered to any postal facility other than the Publications Distribution Service of the House of Representatives, hereinafter referred to as the House Folding Room, less than 28 days immediately before the date of any primary or general election (whether regular, special, or runoff) in which such Member or Member-elect is a candidate for any public office.

(b) Such mass mailings, if processed through the House Folding Room, shall be deemed to be in compliance with the subject statutes and these regulations, if delivered to the House Folding Room, with instructions for immediate dispatch, not less than 30 days immediately before the date of any such election. In the case of mass mailings delivered to the House Folding Room prior to the 30-day cutoff period provided herein, the requirement of instructions for "immediate dispatch" may be modified to the extent that instructions are given for delivery of the mailing to the addressee not later than the 28th day immediately before the date of such election. The House Folding Room shall issue a receipt, which shall specify the date and time of delivery and a brief description of the matter to be processed, to the Member at the time he or she delivers such mass mailings to the House Folding Room.

¹ Advisory opinion dated Oct. 17, 1974, held as not frankable (during the 28-day period prior to the general election) approximately 2,000 letters to constituents who had completed a questionnaire since the proposed letter embodied an offer to meet with the addressee at some unspecified time and place and was not in direct response to an inquiry.



Seventy-Six

Ideas to help you Communicate and Campaign

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Editor's Note

Seventy-Six is an internal communication intended only for
GOP House members, candidates and staffs. You are urged
to retain copies for reference.

No. 16 -- October 11, 1976



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From the Chairman *A Message of Importance*

Dear Candidates and Colleagues:

On Sunday, October 10, I appeared on NBC's "Meet the Press" with my counterpart, Rep. James Corman, Chairman of the Democratic Congressional Committee. I was asked several times why I was optimistic about triggering a Republican sweep at the polls this November 2.

I would like to repeat for you what I told our interviewers: the American people want a change. They are beginning to realize the truth of our Republican message: that no President ever spent one penny that was not appropriated by the Congress. That no President has ever hired a bureaucrat or promulgated a rule or a regulation that was not authorized by Congress. And that for 40 of the last 44 years, Congress has been dominated lock, stock, and barrel by the Democratic Party. Its beginning to sink in that those are the folks responsible for the mess we're in today.

The cumulative record of the Democratic Congress is so bad that even Democratic Congressmen have decided to run against it. Today, thanks to their management, one out of every three Americans is dependent for his existence on a check from government (last year the line crossed for the first time; we now have more people living off a check from the federal treasury than we do working and paying taxes into the federal treasury). Today, every penny that two-thirds of the American people pay in federal income tax will do nothing but pay the interest on this year's national debt -- an amount higher than it took to run the whole government, exclusive of defense, as recently as 1959. Today, the federal budget is 42 percent higher than it was just 2½ years ago, and over half of that has been allotted to transfer payments -- taking from those who are pulling the wagon and giving to those who are riding on the wagon. This has got to stop -- and that is what this election is all about!

Momentum is on our side. We had a 10 percent Watergate "drag" working against GOP candidates in 1974. This will not be present in 1976. We have won three special elections since 1974 -- two in seats that had not been held by Republicans before. Even in the special elections we lost in traditionally Democratic strongholds, we managed to increase the percentage of Republican votes cast over the prior election. Every recent poll shows support building by the hour for President Ford and the Republican ticket nationwide -- and for our proven record of peace, progress, and prosperity.

The American people want a change. Will you be a part of it? The answer to that question is uniquely in your hands. Republican challengers in these final weeks have to convince the people of the United States that the only way they can get the change they are yearning for is to throw the Democrats out, put the Republicans in, and make John Rhodes the Speaker of the House!

Yours for Victory in 1976,



Guy Vander Jagt, M. C.
Chairman

GET-OUT-THE-VOTE

After the low Republican turnout in the 1974 Congressional elections and the projection of an apathetic electorate again this year, it is incumbent upon Republican Party leaders to make a maximum effort to get our supporters into the voting booth on November 2.

A successful Election Day get-out-the-vote drive depends on accurate information about who and where supporters are. A census of voters in each precinct (or campaign unit) in your district should be almost complete by now. If organization size makes a district-wide survey impossible, then select key precincts on the basis of polling data or past election returns showing the most heavily Republican areas.

Reminder: Don't let this survey, to locate favorable voters by name, address and telephone number, become bogged down in efforts by workers to persuade the uncommitted or opposed.

Once supporters are located, establish a plan to get them to the polls.

Here are some important steps in a mobilization drive:

1. Arrange for poll workers at each voting place to keep accurate lists of those who vote, and see that the lists are frequently sent back to headquarters.
2. Starting early in the day, begin to contact those who have not voted, either by telephone or in person.
3. One call is not enough. Telephone workers must continue to call potential supporters to remind them to get out and vote. Follow-up is critical.
4. Arrange for teams of field workers to serve as drivers or babysitters. These workers can either be dispatched by central headquarters, who find those needing help from the telephone calls, or using voter locator lists, work directly in neighborhoods knocking on the doors of supporters who have not voted.

The effectiveness of street workers in pulling in the vote has been demonstrated in election after election. Personal contact is more likely to stimulate a voter to go to the polls than a telephone call. If possible, organize field teams instead of having too many workers handing out literature at the polling place.

Ample time remains to plan an effective Election Day get-out-the-vote effort, even if the number of workers or callers available restricts the plan to a few precincts. In fact, an important element of planning is to concentrate resources on the highest potential areas. Don't waste time on areas of limited supporters or diffuse your efforts by having workers try to cover too much territory.

Favorable polls, good advertising, editorial endorsements -- none of these count unless your supporters get out and vote.

GRAPHIC ADVERTISING

What is good campaign graphic advertising?

Good campaign advertising has a specific goal (name identification, candidate image development, issue development, etc. . .). To be effective, all elements should combine to produce the desired results. The medium, the headline, the body copy, the illustrations, and the layout all must be merged together to create a single effect. Some media do some jobs better than others. For example, billboards are good for increasing name identification, but not for issue development. Comparison piece brochures or handouts are good for issue development when they are specific, timely, and not too verbose. To be effective, campaign advertising must achieve both penetration and impact on the desired audience. Following are some general guidelines; there are always exceptions -- but if the guidelines are followed, successful advertising is in the making.

GRAPHIC GUIDELINES

Headlines

1. Use provocative headlines.
2. Appeal to the reader's self-interest.
3. Inject news.
4. Include the candidate's name.
5. Make it simple.
6. Involve the reader.

Body Copy

1. Go straight to the point.
2. Be specific. Avoid superlative, generalizations, and platitudes.
3. With unrelated facts, don't try to relate them with cumbersome connectives. Number them.
4. Simplify complex issues.
5. Compare records (you vs. opponent/opponent vs. himself).
6. Be timely in issues and themes.

Illustrations

1. Use believable photos (avoid stereotypes, closeups and crowd scenes).
2. Use dominant illustrations (selected specifically for your purpose).

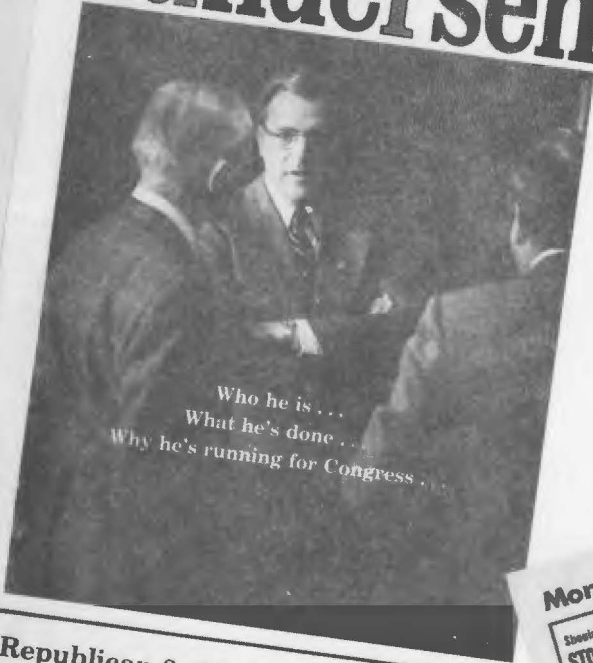
Design

1. Use crossheads (short, punchy, interior headlines).
2. Watch type sizes: 9 point is the smallest you should use in a brochure.
3. Make it fit a #10 envelope.
4. Target issues to groups.
5. Make effective use of white space.
6. Make layouts simple (no more than 3 faces, clean, uncluttered).
7. Set key paragraphs in italic or boldface.

Freeman

for congress

Adolf Gundersen



Who he is...
What he's done...
Why he's running for Congress.

Republican 3rd District of Wisconsin

Tate



"I don't meet a lot of big spending liberals in Fairfax County"

So why do we have one in Congress?"

MARKS. Congress.

4.4 Two hundred years ago a new nation was built...
It was not founded with the one thing we have in mind...
together we are building a new Congress...
restoration it was intended to be...
Mark Marks



Do You Want More Government Regulation?

	MIZELL	RAMSEY
Should Congress STOP FORCED BUSING? by limiting the power of federal courts	NO	YES
Should Congress vote itself AUTOMATIC ANNUAL PAY INCREASES?	YES	NO
Should Congress further RESTRICT THE RIGHT of law abiding citizens TO OWN FIREARMS?	NO	YES
Should VOLUNTARY PRAYER be restored to our schools?	YES	NO
Should Congress SLASH OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE program?	YES	NO

Tate

REAL THE ISSUE IS MONEY - YOUR MONEY

\$150,000 A Year?

This Congress would itself a pay raise, which passed 214-213. Steve Nad...
That's not all! The bill also gives Congress and Steve Nad a pay raise...
A \$16 yearly increase means they will double their salary to \$150,000 in 12 years and will make over \$150,000 in 25 years!

Mizell Says "No!"

During his 6 years in Congress "Vinegar Bend" never voted for a pay raise...
Do You Agree? If you do then vote "No!"

wilmer mizell

Meet the Man who will retire **Bob Eckhardt** from Congress

RAMSEY

NO CONGRESS

Test yourself.

Are you really being represented in Congress?



Bill Schluter CONGRESS

Three reasons why you should contribute to John M. Kenney's campaign for Congress.

Burdick

For United States Congress

BURGESS

★ CONGRESS ★



COHALAN

FOR CONGRESS


Our Congressman cares about the quality of our lives, and works hard to improve it.

VOTE PERFORMANCE NOT POLITICS.




Caputo
for Congress

A man who loves Georgia is running for Congress. We would like to introduce you to...



"Any Congressman you send to work in Washington should remember he was hired in **Lunenburg**"



Brady Denton
Congress



CONGRESSMAN HENSON MOORE

MOBILE



HUMES

FOR CONGRESS

the future is theirs...



WORKING FOR YOU IN WASHINGTON



Skip **BAFALIS**
U.S. CONGRESSMAN
10TH DISTRICT-FLORIDA
REPUBLICAN

RE-ELECT ROBINSON

Freeport can't afford to lose **norman lent**




VOTE FOR CHARLES **LEICK**



ELECT A MAN Who Will Represent You!

Your Congressman **BILL DICKINSON**



You Can Count on Him!



CONGRESSMAN **FISH**
FOR CONGRESS

Myers '76

In a tell-tale wrap-up of the 94th in late September, the House Republican Policy Committee has denounced the record of the outgoing Congress as one of failure -- failure to address major national problems, failure to deliver on promises, and failure to exercise its power constructively. Republican leaders catalogued five major areas of dismal performance:

VETOES

Confrontation with the Republican Administration, rather than cooperation, has been the style of this Congressional Democratic majority. To date (9/30/76), President Ford has found it necessary to issue 32 vetoes of costly, poorly conceived legislation in the 94th Congress.

"Often," said Policy Committee members, "the Democrats seemed to be counting on a veto to extricate them from tactical deadends or to focus on political issues. Only eight of the vetoed bills (25 percent) were subsequently passed by the necessary two-thirds margin. Twelve of the vetoed measures were never even subjected to a second vote, while the remaining twelve were sustained in the House or Senate."

Ford vetoes have saved taxpayers over \$9 billion in the last two years (another \$20 billion would have been saved, if not for overrides). They have prevented enactment of many dubious proposals -- politicizing the civil service, limitation of arms sales to our allies and friends, allowing common situs picketing in the construction industry, resurrecting outdated farm programs, and creating housing and school lunch programs that purportedly help the poor but in reality do not.

Yet, while the Democrats criticized President Ford for vetoing 32 of their measures, they have used the "reverse veto" to vote down many of his most progressive proposals. A few examples:

- Decontrol of oil prices. The Democratic Congress rejected decontrol measures while failing to come up with a program of their own to stimulate oil production and encourage conservation.
- Synthetic fuel development, strongly supported by the Administration as a means of lessening our dependence on foreign oil, was barred from House action on a one vote margin -- after an earlier bill had been rejected.
- Imposition of an arms embargo against Turkey, despite White House urging to the contrary. The result: closing down of 26 strategic bases in Turkey; endangering the balance of power in the Mediterranean; and increasing the threat to Israel.
- Food stamp regulations. Congress negated the President's reforms for this overgrown program, but has to date offered no credible substitute.

The Democrats have vetoed many Republican proposals through inaction as well. Those in the "dead letter drawer" include catastrophic health care protection, regulatory reform, limitation of forced school busing, crime control, deregulation of new natural gas, and expediting Alaskan natural gas pipeline construction. What the Democrats couldn't bury, they sought to hamstring by inserting in various bills Congressional power to check, hamper, and restrict the Executive Branch in its traditional decision-making roles. Examples include:

- Imposition of Congressional veto power on U. S. arms sales contained in the International Security Assistance and Arms Exports Control Act.
- Limiting the President's ability to order military base closings or reductions in military base personnel, as contained in the Military Construction Act.
- Imposition of Congressional veto power over the President's plans for energy emergencies and decontrol or deallocation of refined petroleum products as outlined in the Energy Policy and Conservation Act.
- Imposing a requirement for prior Congressional approval before the Energy Research and Development Administration may contract with private firms for nuclear fuel enrichment plants.

ENERGY

In his 1975 State of the Union address, President Ford presented a comprehensive energy program designed to lessen U. S. dependence on imported oil. The 94th Congress enacted only seven of these proposals, but rejected other major elements of the package. The result has been an increase in U. S. dependence on foreign oil over pre-embargo levels and a failure to encourage domestic oil and gas development. We witnessed the following:

- Efforts to control oil prices crippled domestic production.
- Efforts to deregulate natural gas prices yielded impasse.
- Efforts to encourage more investment in nuclear power generated requirements to slow down such development and make it more expensive.
- Efforts to achieve stringent conservation of oil and gas brought about increased reliance on these fuels.
- Efforts to encourage the use of coal stimulated attempts at strip mining restrictions and unrealistic regulation of coal burning.

CONGRESSIONAL REFORM

Elected in the wake of Watergate, the 94th Congress promised reform, openness, accountability, and integrity. Republicans maintain that the record, after two years, has been a "sad" one of cynically enacting only the least possible amount of reform necessitated by events or political survival.

The recent Wayne Hays scandal provides a perfect example. To House Republicans, the "reforms" triggered by the revelations were more cosmetic than substantive.

-- Members' office accounts were consolidated into no-strings-attached "slushfunds," amounting to \$55,000 to \$87,000 more than before.

-- By a one vote margin, the House voted in 1975 to raise Congressmen's pay automatically every time inflation triggers civil service pay raises. Republicans mounted a successful challenge to stop the automatic increase in the fall of 1976, but there is "every indication" that this decision will be overturned in the 95th Congress.

-- While publicly favoring the fullest degree of accountability and openness in Congress, the Democratic Caucus has privately favored closed caucuses, proxy voting, increased opportunities to enact legislation under suspension of House Rules, and reduced numbers required for committee meeting quorums.

Meanwhile, many reforms long advocated by Republicans are still awaiting action by the majority: televising floor proceedings, curbing lobbying on the floor by former Members of Congress, revised scheduling of legislation to permit more time for study before debates, the elimination of proxy voting, and public scrutiny and audit of members' staff and expense records.

ECONOMY

Republicans in the 94th Congress have favored extending unemployment benefits until the unemployed obtain real jobs generated by economic recovery. Democrats in the 94th Congress have attempted to use tax dollars to mandate artificial jobs into being, many of which would be filled by transferring workers already on other payrolls.

Republicans have worked for a steady pattern of solid economic recovery. Democrats have preferred to "hype" the economy with injections of emergency measures, like expensive public works projects of low priority that would materialize but few jobs, and only after the unemployment crisis had passed.

Republicans wanted to use the new Congressional budget procedures to work toward balancing the Federal budget. The Democratic majority used the process instead to "discipline" themselves to a mere \$50 billion deficit in FY 1977 as compared with the \$74 billion deficit rung up last year.

Standing as the most positive contribution made by the 94th Congress to economic recovery is a long list of ill-conceived Democratic legislation that did not become law: The Humphrey-Hawkins public jobs bill; an "emergency" housing measure that would neither stimulate housing construction nor benefit those priced out of the housing market; an expensive system of financial bail-outs for New York and other cities hit by years of financial mismanagement; a vast national economic planning and control measure; expansion of Federal subsidies to cities and counties to hire people for public service jobs over and above the 260,000 such jobs already subsidized; and funding of a massive scheme for low priority, slow start-up public works projects.

FOREIGN POLICY

The Policy Committee believes Congressional Democrats, in day-to-day conduct of foreign policy, "have undermined the credibility of our government leaders". Irresponsible Congressional adventurism in foreign policy making, they stated, has given the world the impression that our nation lacks the will to back up its commitments, and has left the U. S. in several situations with no option but to retreat rather than pursue "our long term interests". Here are examples:

- Introduction of anti-boycott legislation which could potentially push the Arabs into even stronger boycott enforcements (in much the same way Jackson/Vanik provisions of the 1974 trade bill backfired with regard to Jewish emmigration from the USSR).
- Attempts to block arms sales to Saudi Arabia, despite the importance of this Middle East country to the U. S. as supplier of 17 percent of our oil imports.
- Efforts to severely limit U. S. assistance to South Korea, thereby threatening the security of our long-time ally.
- Investigations of ongoing U. S. intelligence practices turning into publicity laden sideshows that served neither the interests of the American people nor the legitimate needs of the intelligence community.

In light of all the foregoing, it is small wonder the Democratic majority in Congress is now trying to disassociate itself from its handiwork as the elections draw near. Republicans, on the other hand, have not flip-flopped on their objectives; the issues they targeted in their 1975 Legislative Agenda can be found a year later in the 1976 Republican Platform. We urge candidates and incumbents to consult both, and compare them to the Democratic performance in the 94th Congress. It's up to you to make the voters see Republicans do have a "better way".

H O T L I N E

In order to insure that you are able to obtain the most current and accurate information regarding two critical areas of campaign activity, research and legal, the NRCC has installed for your use and convenience a free research/legal HOTLINE for any queries which you may have regarding these two crucial areas.

We want to emphasize to you that this HOTLINE, an incoming WATS line, is available to answer only questions pertaining to opposition/issue research questions and legal ramifications of certain campaign practices.

The number for the HOTLINE is 800-424-7991 and is in service between the hours of 9 A.M. and 5 P.M. for the period up to and including Election Night, November 2.



**"WHY A TOTALLY GOVERNMENT FINANCED AND ADMINISTERED
NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE PROGRAM
WOULD NOT BE IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE"**

By the American Medical Association

The problems of our medical care system -- ever decreasing in size and severity -- do not warrant a major overhaul, according to the American Medical Association. The following has been prepared by the AMA for legislators who believe the nation cannot be well served by imposing upon it a radical new financial and delivery approach to medical care -- an approach proven unworkable both in the United States and abroad.

The Corman-Kennedy proposal for National Health Insurance (NHI) would be financed and administered in entirety by government. All other major NHI proposals before the Congress invite financing and administration in varying degrees from the private sector. The complete divestment of the private sector from the financing and administration of an NHI program for the United States would not be in the interest of the American people for the following four reasons:

REASON ONE. Central financing is part and parcel of the Corman-Kennedy proposal. Hand in glove with central financing is central political control -- standardization, resistance to change, ultraconservatism, **centralized decision-making**, and rationing.

These faults have no remedies because they are organic elements to centralized political control of medicine -- and bold witness to this is found in the thirty-year experience of the United Kingdom's National Health Service.

The United Kingdom has found that with these faults of central financing, quality medical care cannot thrive.

Under the Corman-Kennedy plan the ultimate decision as to the amount of resources allotted to the nation's medical care would be purely and simply a political decision -- a political balancing act to find an acceptable division of tax money between such fiercely competing needs as defense, education, transportation and medical care.

The ultimate decision as to the allocation of resources for the medical care of the 56 million people of the United Kingdom is made in one small room at 10 Downing Street by a politician, the Prime Minister.

And the major flaw in all centralized national systems is that in an effort to hold costs down, too little is spent on medical care.

Fiscal pressures become tremendous. As the demand mounts for the use of tax money for this and that program, government by its nature must curb the spending of the programs. What is the least they can get by with? What is the bare minimum?

In medicine there can be no minimum level of care.

But government must curb. And when medicine is curbed, it loses clinical freedom.



Without clinical freedom, delivery systems quickly become debilitated.

This has been the European and British experience with medical care supported in entirety by tax money -- central political control. The record is written clearly for all to read.

REASON TWO. The Corman-Kennedy plan has been given a price tag by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare of \$63.5 billion -- in terms of additional budgetary resources required (new money).

The other major NHI proposals before the Congress, which invite participation in varying degrees from the private sector, have spectacularly less estimated costs.

The four other major NHI proposals in Congress when compared by the same ground rules used by HEW to reach the Corman-Kennedy estimation are as follows:

Ullman, \$10.6 billion; Bureson-McIntyre, \$9.2 billion; Long-Ribicoff, \$8.3 billion; and the Duncan Bill, \$3.4 billion.

Of even graver concern is the fact that the estimating procedures used in these recent cost comparisons are the same procedures used by HEW a decade ago and led to gross underestimation of the eventual cost of Medicare and Medicaid.

But even if the HEW estimates are relatively accurate, the Corman-Kennedy figure of \$63.5 billion threatens the fiscal integrity of the national treasury.

REASON THREE. The Corman-Kennedy plan has no cost sharing provisions -- no deductibles, no co-insurance factors.

It has been the clear-cut experience of HMO-type health insurance systems that without some level of a "personal payment" to serve as a regulatory flow valve, medical care systems become swamped -- the "worried well" flood physician offices and hospital emergency rooms.

In the foreseeable future the nation's medical care delivery resources would not be able to cope with the new influx of patients that would be generated by passage of Corman-Kennedy NHI.

Rationing by "wait your turn in line" would quickly develop as it did in the United Kingdom -- up to a three-year wait for surgical electives. Such a rationing device in the United States would produce a furious public outcry.

REASON FOUR. The Corman-Kennedy plan would destroy the present private insurance industry -- the Blues and the commercials. Private insurance has experienced phenomenal growth in the last three decades -- rising from nothing to where it now covers, to varying degrees, more than 80 percent of the population. It seems reasonable to expect that this remarkable growth will continue to expand.

Last year the private health insurance industry in this country wrote \$33 billion worth of insurance. Its destruction would eliminate an estimated 200,000 jobs in the private sector.

Private health insurance is one of the many independent, private sector partners that jointly have developed the nation's present system. American pluralism -- the successful process of harnessing together the private and public sectors -- is still the best approach to solving the remaining problems of medical care in the United States.

Political Punchlines

Humor to Spice Up Your Speeches

I don't know if you've heard Jimmy Carter's latest idea for fighting inflation. He's going to put midget butchers in the supermarkets so the steaks will look bigger.

After that Playboy interview, Jimmy Carter was so unpopular in some parts of the country that in one little burg out West, he was run out of town on the Welcome Wagon.

One of the new shows that didn't make it to the fall television schedule was supposed to be about that girl in Washington. They were going to call the show: I Love Loosely.

You know how some office workers have a posture chair? She had a posture sofa.

Have you heard about the Lester Maddox cocktail? Drink two and you're ready for another Party.

In Washington, sometimes politics makes stung bedfellows.

They say there are no signs of intelligent life on Mars. I don't know about that. None of those rocks spent twelve billion dollars to fly down here.

Frankly, I never knew the world's oldest profession was typing.

For those of you who have never been to Washington, it's sort of a hotbed of hotbeds.

What do you think this means? I just called Dial-A-Joke -- and got the Post Office.

Election Law Report

ANALYSIS: CONFUSION ON DISCLAIMERS AS AGENCIES CROSS WIRES

Two Federal agencies, the Federal Communications Commission and the Federal Election Commission, have recently rendered opinions which have caused some confusion among candidates and radio and television broadcasters.

The dispute arose over the technical requirements of political advertisements which are broadcast. The FCC, pursuant to the Federal Communications Act (47 U.S.C. 317), requires their licensees to identify any sponsor of a political advertisement. In the past, such identification was achieved by mentioning the name of the political candidate or committee which paid for the announcement, e.g., "The preceding was paid by the Smith for Congress Committee."

Within the last two weeks, the FCC sent to all licensed broadcasters a letter which reminded them of the sponsorship notification requirement. In addition, the FCC noted that the Federal Election Campaign Act (2 U.S.C. 441d) requires that sponsors of ads which advocate the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate must signify whether the ad was authorized by any such candidate. Upon reading this notice from the FCC, many broadcasters concluded that political advertisements must contain a disclaimer which reveals who paid for the spot and whether the ad was authorized, e.g., "Paid for and authorized by the Smith for Congress Committee."

Unfortunately, the Federal Election Commission, located six blocks away from the FCC, was giving slightly different advice to inquisitive candidates. The FEC told several office seekers that they would be in compliance with the disclaimer statute if the statement simply read "paid for by Smith for Congress." Relying on this advice, campaigns proceeded to produce their radio and TV spots and inserted the "paid for by" disclaimer. However, when these tapes were presented to various broadcasters for airing, they were rejected. Why? Because the FCC had led the stations to believe that the disclaimer should include both "paid for by" and "authorized by".

Frustrated candidates, adamant broadcasters and slightly embarrassed agency officials have resolved the problem. Both the FCC and the FEC agree that "the paid for by" disclaimer will satisfy all relevant statutes if the sponsor of the ad happens to be a candidate or a principal campaign committee. The FCC will send out another letter to their licensees in the hopes of setting straight those who may have been misled by the first letter.

Candidates confronted with this situation may discover that the broadcaster is reluctant to air an ad unless he has received specific assurances from the FCC. If this is the case, the Political Broadcasting Division of the FCC is prepared to speak directly with licensees to erase any misunderstanding as to what disclaimer is legally required. Licensees may call 202 632-7586 and ask for either Milton Gross, Division Chief, or Ed Berlin. Both are attorneys with the Federal Communications Commission.

At the Federal Election Commission, Dan Swillinger, Deputy Assistant General Counsel, is similarly prepared to confer with candidates regarding disclaimers. He may be reached by calling 202 382-5657.



RECENT DEVELOPMENTS: FEC PROPOSED REGULATIONS NOT FINAL

Congress adjourned two days prior to the conclusion of the mandatory waiting period for FEC proposed regulations. As a result, the FEC will be unable to promulgate these regulations in final form. Some observers are of the opinion that all the proposals will have to be resubmitted to the next Congress.

Although the Commission's rules do not have the weight of law, they should not be ignored or lightly regarded. These rules serve as clear and detailed notice to all concerned as to how the FEC interprets the numerous complicated provisions of the election laws. Furthermore, the FEC has issued a statement which declares that all Federal candidates should comply with the requirements of the regulations during the remainder of the 1976 elections.

The proposed regulations appeared in the Federal Register on August 25, 1976. Copies are available from either the FEC or from the NRCC Legal Department.

CANDIDATES: A REMINDER

A copy of the 1976 Legislative Issues Briefing Book prepared by the House Republican Conference has been mailed to you. We urge all candidates to make frequent use of it. With background information, pro-con arguments, and listed status of bills current to August 23, 1976, the format should prove an invaluable reference in busy campaigns. If any campaigner has not received his copy, please contact the House Republican Conference, Room 1618 Longworth House Office Building, Washington, D. C. 20515, or telephone 202 225-5107, immediately!

Correct Phone Numbers for NRCC Divisions . . .

Many calls to divisions of the NRCC are placed to wrong numbers -- delaying the caller and creating unnecessary phone traffic. Following are the numbers for all divisions when calling through the Capitol board:

Executive Director	5-1832	Legal	5-1811
Art Department	5-1813	Photo Lab (B-304 Rayburn)	5-7121
Broadcast Services	5-1806	Public Relations	5-1800
Campaign Division	5-1816	Research	5-1820
Distribution Service	5-1809	Speakers' Bureau	5-1816
Finance Division	5-1826		

(Off Capitol board, use 225- instead of 5. The area code is 202.)

A Speech to Make? These May Help

Republicanism versus the 94th Congress -- The Republican Research Committee has prepared a dynamite three part issue package on the 94th Congress. Part I, "Republicanism: The Spirit of '76", outlines the basic philosophical differences between the Republican and Democratic parties; Part II, "94th Congress: Failed Expectations", overviews the dismal record of the Democrat majority in contrast to the positive contributions of the GOP; and Part III, "Initiatives", lists by category the innovative legislative measures proposed by the GOP. The series may be obtained by calling or writing the National Republican Congressional Committee, Research Division, 518 HOB Annex, Wash., D. C. 20515, telephone 202 225-1820.

"Priorities in Federal Law Enforcement" -- Richard Thornburgh, U. S. Assistant Attorney General, rendered a lengthy discourse on the priorities which currently guide law enforcement at the Federal level. He highlighted three priority areas: organized crime and racketeering, including the network of international narcotics traffickers, official corruption, and white collar crime. Thornburgh sketched for the Pittsburgh Executive Board the specifics of the Justice Department's commitment to each of these areas, and predicted the Federal government will continue to concentrate the use of its vast law enforcement resources to "ensure that we are working toward the President's stated goal of increased domestic tranquility in all of its ramifications."

"What Can Business Do to Short-Circuit Big Government?" -- House Republican Leader John J. Rhodes aired this perennial theme before a Phoenix audience. Business, he said, is too often unable to plan wisely for itself because "it spends too much time and money to meet too many uneconomic demands from government." One way to get to the root of this problem is to start forming political action committees. "It is far easier to head off bad bills," Rhodes reminded, "if you elect the right people to office. Big labor learned this long ago."

Minority Advancement -- A Look at the Record -- Secretary of Commerce Elliott Richardson reviewed the strides made for and by Black Americans in the last ten years. To create more permanent, satisfying jobs which will lift minority citizens to a better life, Richardson cited three requirements: locating new firms where there is tax base erosion and underemployment; assisting small and minority businesses; and assuring job creation be made accessible to the economically disadvantaged. The Secretary then cited the President's major proposals to spur the economy in order to provide a decent standard of life "for all Americans". Aiming a blast at Congress, Richardson pointed out that though the President urged passage of some 72 economic proposals before the summer recess, so far "not one . . . has become law." Urban economic development must become a Congressional and local priority objective, and not just the initiative of President Ford alone, he concluded, if our best intentions are to be achieved.

"Business and Government Face the Future" -- Deputy Secretary of State Charles Robinson, before the Conference Board in New York, acknowledged the critical importance of business in international affairs. Developing a dialogue with the previously neglected sectors of the world's economic community, he pointed out, can be accomplished "through closer government-business partnership and through business and government acting singly, but in mutually supportive roles." Robinson analyzed five areas which will have a bearing on future business and governmental behavior: policy collaboration among industrialized countries, North-South economic relations, East-West economic policies, energy, and laws of the sea.

WHAT TO DO WHEN YOUR OPPONENT CALLS YOUR WIFE A "PRACTICING THESPIAN"

It's happened, at least according to one of the political war stories we've heard. A candidate, in the closing days of the election, called the wife of his opponent a thespian. The charge spread like wildfire; most people misunderstood the meaning of "thespian" since it does sound like another word, and the poor opponent lost the election.

The moral of the story is: Be prepared for the unexpected in the last few weeks of your campaign. If everything is going according to plan, your television and radio spots are airing, your newspaper ads are a great success, and your actualities are being played every half hour during the news. Your campaign ads were written around what you perceived would move the viewers and listeners toward your position. Your spots have been produced, time bought, copies distributed. All of this has taken a great deal of effort, time, and money. But what do you do when the "thespian affair" hits you? After holding press conferences and sending out actualities to respond, you may very well want to change some of your campaign advertising.

You already have purchased air time to run your spots, so that's not a problem. Your two immediate problems are: 1) drafting an effective spot which will counter this sudden problem, and 2) producing the spot, including copies.

If these two problems seem insurmountable, pick up your phone and call us at the Congressional Committee, where we can put our collective heads together and help you write and produce a radio or television spot. We have people in our Public Relations Department, which includes Broadcast Services, that have had to face what you may be going through and can give you suggestions that might put you on top of whatever problem you've got. We also have a television and radio production unit in-house that is used to handling problems that require very short turn-around times.

If you need help, call toll free 800 424-0215 and ask for Ed Blakely.

CORRECTION -- SPEECH KIT USERS!

A figure error has come to the attention of the NRCC 1976 Speech Kit editors. On page 213, under Welfare, line 5, the sentence now reads, "A record \$24.8 billion was paid out . . .". The figure should be, "A record \$8.5 billion . . .". Users are urged to make the change on their office's copy.