

RBC HAS SEEN

President Ford Committee

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December 15, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

BO CALLAWAY 

SUBJECT:

Weekly Report #22, Week Ending December 12, 1975

STATE CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATIONS

No additional State Chairmen were named during the past week. An update on current state activities includes:

ARIZONA - Our State Chairman, Burt Kruglick, reports a growing enthusiasm in our organization as PFC people become more visible and active. A Press Conference is scheduled for December 16 to announce the full Committee. Obviously, active support from Goldwater and Rhodes would be helpful. Congressman Conlan is considered to be for Reagan, although he has made no public announcement; and, Sam Steiger is being forced to keep a low profile due to the conservative nature of his District.

CALIFORNIA - In addition to Ev Younger and Denny Carpenter being named as California Co-Chairmen, a Northern and a Southern State Chairman have been appointed -- Nita Ashcraft is the Northern Chairman from San Francisco; and Mayor Pete Wilson from San Diego is Chairman for the Southern part of the State.

The names of 115 individuals who are either County Chairmen or members of a County Steering Committee have been released. Of the 58 California counties, 23 have Chairmen or Steering Committees, with all the major counties covered except San Diego and Kern.

Eight Members of Congress have publicly endorsed you: Bob Wilson, Clair Burgener, Shirley Pettis, Chuck Wiggins, Pete McCloskey, Burt Talcott, Don Clausen, and Andy Hinshaw. Four Members of the California Assembly and four State Senators also have endorsed your candidacy: Jerry Lewis, Dixon Arnett, Frank Murphy, Gene Chappie, John Nejedly, Peter Dare, Howard Way, and Denny Carpenter (PFC Co-Chairman).

More than 1,000 support cards are on file of individuals who have volunteered to help in the campaign, and a statewide newsletter was mailed on December 12.

COLORADO - Bill Graham, a former Executive Director of the State GOP, will serve as Campaign Coordinator for the PFC in Colorado. The appointment of a State Vice Chairman and formation of an Advisory Committee is scheduled for next week.

FLORIDA - I visited three major Florida counties last Monday -- Hillsborough, Pasco and Pinellas -- and was pleasantly surprised with the enthusiasm and organization in each. In Clearwater (Pinellas County) I addressed the regularly scheduled County Executive Committee and would have presumed that this group might give us some trouble. However, the 250 members attending were enthusiastic and many expressed their support and interest in working in the campaign.

Skip Watts, our Primary States Coordinator, arrived the following day for a priority county review with state and local PFC leaders. Beginning in Pinellas County (Clearwater and St. Petersburg) he briefed local coordinators on our strategy for voter identification and recruitment and "turn-out-the-vote". December 9th marked the 90-day timetable until Florida's primary election so kick-off deadlines were discussed, including: telephone canvass operations; mailings; staffings; volunteer quotas; a "free media" coverage program; President and First Family schedules; voter contact efforts with youth; veterans and elderly voters; and, the Advocates program. Pinellas County has the largest GOP vote in Florida and Bill Young has provided us with his management team.

In South Florida (Dade, Broward and Palm Beach Counties) we have recruited both paid and volunteer managers, and each county has effective leadership in place. In Dade County (Miami) we have a full-time volunteer manager, Harry Devant, who has managed State Representative Tom Gallagher's campaigns. (Gallagher is the only elected Republican in the Greater Miami area.) Devant will operate the voter canvassing programs under PFC County Chairman, John Malloy. Each of the 35 designated leadership spots have been filled with volunteers. Four

coordinators have been assigned a specific geographic area and will work out of three separate headquarters, one of which is Cuban oriented. Each area has in turn been divided into communities and neighborhoods, which are assigned to volunteer coordinators who supervise precinct and block captains.

Palm Beach and Broward Counties are similarly organized. An organizing picnic sponsored by the Broward leadership on December 6 was attended by 300 volunteers, including Congressman Herb Burke.

Skip's overall assessment is that a good job has been done in organizing at the County level in Florida's priority areas where 65% of the GOP vote is concentrated, but that more work needs to be done in getting to the precinct and block levels and in the non-priority areas.

We are still concerned that only limited efforts are being made to bring all factions together, although recent meetings between Stu and Skip for the PFC and Bill Cramer, Jerry Thomas and others are helping correct this problem. It is beginning to slowly sink in to the State PFC organization that this is not a Congressional District race but one with statewide (much less National) significance. More time will be scheduled for me, Stu and Skip to work in the State.

Assistant Secretary Rogers' recent trip to Florida was a political minus. Although we understand that the trip couldn't be cancelled and appreciate Mr. Rogers' meeting privately with a group in Florida, his public stand on the Cuban and Panama Canal issues did damage. Since these are such volatile, local issues, no one should be scheduled in the State unless strong, positive stands are publicly discussed. If, indeed, the Administration's policy is to remain the same on Cuba and the Panama Canal, then Mr. Rogers should have said so. His non-committal posture was interpreted as a bad indication and (rightly or wrongly) a potential change in current policy.

The Reagan strategy seems to be based on the use of paid media and telephone canvassing, with emphasis on registration at Party functions by their people. Although they have many philosophically-committed volunteers, they have little organization at the county level or below. The "shell" organization seems to be part of a basic plan. rather than lack of organization, with the concentration

being on winning the primary statewide as opposed to winning delegate races in a Congressional District. (This seems to be the Reagan strategy in some other states as well.)

Skip and Oscar Juarez, the State Campaign Manager, will be conducting training seminars throughout the State during the first week in January.

HAWAII - Nola Haerle, the Regional Coordinator, reports that the organization is beginning to move thanks - to a great extent - to your visit and Mrs. Ford's reception. Hung Wai Ching, the Finance Chairman, is very enthusiastic about meeting their quota. They may have some difficulty in keeping their budget under the \$10,000 allocated due to exorbitant costs in Hawaii, but are currently planning to set up a five-month operation to take them through the State Convention in May.

On the negative side, it is discouraging to hear that only two PFC Committee people were allowed to attend your reception. Whether this was the fault of the local GOP organization or your advance team is being checked out, but the initial report indicated that in early meetings with the advance people, the Republican leadership was told to pay no attention to PFC requests. If true, this obviously needs to be corrected. (Of the total Republican group allotted, the PFC had requested five invitations.)

Reagan activity is picking up somewhat, basically through the Women's Federation, although the President of the Club indicates she is for you.

ILLINOIS - Dick Ogilvie met with members of the Illinois Congressional Delegation and reports that all, except Phil Crane (Reagan's Chairman in Illinois) are supporting you. Most have agreed to run as a committed delegate from their District, but those few who don't feel they can do this have agreed to let State legislators or other well-known Party people run in their place. Since the Illinois primary is a "beauty contest", with no effect on the delegate selection, it is important that individuals with good name identification run as Ford delegates.

A press director has been hired by the Illinois Committee, as well as a downstate political coordinator.

IOWA - Of the 99 counties in Iowa, 23 have PFC Chairmen which covers all of the major voting areas. Steering Committees have been organized in each of the six Congressional Districts except the 3rd District which is strongly organized for Reagan. It is the present consensus of the Iowa Committee to ignore the 3rd District and not stir up controversy. All of the Republican State Committeemen and women are Ford supporters with the exception, again, in the 3rd District.

Reagan activity is being coordinated by Dick Drake of the Iowa Young Republicans. There appears to be no organized support in the 1st, 4th and 6th Congressional Districts, with only token support in the 2nd. In the 5th District, five individuals have announced as Reagan delegates, but no formal organization has been established.

MASSACHUSETTS - The PFC campaign in Massachusetts has begun to set up a field organization working from a suburban Boston location which takes full advantage of availability of volunteers. Dave Sparks is the Campaign Director and has a paid staff of three: A field coordinator, office manager/press coordinator, and a secretary. After the first of the year additional staff will be added in the field area.

The initial phase of the campaign has been devoted to the recruitment and announcing of a Steering Committee which currently numbers over 200 and includes the leadership of the Party -- both moderates and conservatives.

The State has been divided into eight geographical areas and following the new year, the Field Director will divide the Steering Committee into these eight areas and use them as the nucleus of the organization. Good coverage has been given to announcement of the members of the Steering Committee in the local press as well as the major market media in Boston, Worcester and Springfield -- the State's three largest cities.

Also, in the planning stages is a major telephone bank to begin operation in January with regional phone banks being sited on a priority basis. Using vote statistics from several previous primaries which involved moderate and conservative Republicans, the strongest potential voting areas for the President will be located.

The Steering Committee shows the broad substantial base of support for the President: 33 Republican State Senators and Representatives out of 53 in the Legislature -- 40 members of the 80-member State Committee and a number of local Republican Chairmen.

On the Reagan side, there is only 1 State Representative and 3 State Committee members who are publicly for Reagan, although several others could be expected to be in his camp. In Massachusetts, the Reagan effort is somewhat subdued, following the Governor's lead in his announcement when he omitted Massachusetts from the list of early primary states. Their goal seems to be to set up a situation where they can exploit any sizeable vote for Reagan as a win. To assist them in this goal, they are pointing to the fact that McGovern carried this State and it is the home of the Kennedy's. They are offering speakers to local Republican groups to either speak or debate. Most unusually, they are conducting a voter registration drive in heavily Democratic South Boston aimed at anti-busing leaders and those affected by the busing decision. They are pushing hard the Democratic leadership's refusal to endorse an anti-busing amendment at its recent meeting in Kentucky.

We need to be cautious here as even the Republican State Chairman feels that Reagan can get 30 - 40% of the votes. He basés this opinion on the fact that the conservative members of the Party have been extremely active over the years and have been trying to take over the Party machinery -- it is elected the same day as the Presidential Primary. General apathy is a considerable factor and we must be sure that we do all we can to re-ignite the fire in the more moderate wing of the Party.

The Massachusetts picture was clouded on December 11 when the Secretary of State announced that he would place on the ballot, in addition to Reagan and the President:

Rockefeller, Richardson, Baker, Connally, Mathias

Each has until January 9 to file an affidavit requesting his name be removed and can do so without declaring that he has foresworn any intention to seek or accept the nomination of his Party. The Vice President has already announced that he will remove his name, and we will be working on Baker and Mathias to do so also. However, we will have little influence on Connally. Politically, this can hurt us as Reagan has a hard-core 25%. Any other candidate, therefore, might be expected to draw votes from you. We will be watching this closely and develop our voter identification program accordingly.

NEW HAMPSHIRE - The PFC Committee is fully staffed with a Campaign Director, John Michels; a press secretary; and, four regional coordinators. A headquarters has been opened in Concord, staffed by volunteers.

The State has been divided into 22 areas, each with a coordinator responsible for the recruitment of city, town and ward Chairmen. Nineteen of these coordinators have been appointed, covering 80% of the 300 cities. In addition, 81 township coordinators have been selected. 467 people have signed support cards and have indicated their willingness to volunteer for the campaign.

A telephone bank staffed with volunteers will begin operation in January.

The entire Republican leadership in the State is supporting you, excluding, of course, the Governor, and many - including the President of the State Senate, two of the five Governor's Counsellors and the Speaker of the House - are playing leadership roles in the campaign.

The Reagan campaign still appears to be based on a telephone bank with paid workers. Several people whom they have contacted complain that although they had indicated their willingness to work for Reagan, there was no follow up of the original call. On the other hand, our field staff reports a growing apathy -- for all political candidates in general - which has slowed our pace in recruiting new people.

NEW MEXICO - A State PFC headquarters has been opened in Albuquerque. This State continues to be a bright spot organizationally with excellent leadership and solid support. Ward, precinct, and county conventions begin in March, which would be the recommended time for a Presidential visit.

PENNSYLVANIA - Skip Watts and Dick Mastrangelo met with Drew Lewis, Campaign Director Rick Robb, National Committee-woman Elsie Hillman, and State GOP Chairman Dick Frame to discuss overall strategy. Like Illinois, it will be important to have the most visible Republicans committed to you at the District level. However, the potential impact of a highly contested Senatorial primary has not been determined. At present, it looks as if Jack Heinz will be facing Philadelphia Prosecutor Arlen Specter and possibly Congressman Bud Schuster.

Marion Bell has been named Vice Chairman for the State. District, and County Chairmen have been recruited in almost all areas.

Reagan activity seems to be limited to Bucks and Westmoreland Counties.

As in most states, the common situs issue is extremely volatile, and everyone Skip and Dick talked with urged a veto.

TEXAS - This State continues to move toward a comprehensive plan and is very methodical in its overall approach to an organization. There are 250 counties in Texas and many of these have no Republican organization and, therefore, no prospective delegates for either Ford or Reagan. The State Committee's goal is to identify individuals for you in each of these presently unorganized counties, although their priorities still lie in the major counties.

UTAH - Meetings were held by Al Zapanta with Chuck Bailey of the RNC, Jim Brown, and the recommended PFC Co-Chairmen, Warren Pugh and Myrene Brewer. The organization is finally beginning to move, and the Co-Chairmen and State Finance Chairman, Gil Shelton, are well respected throughout the State. However, it will be important to find a good political strategist to be the day-to-day director.

Al also met with GOP State Chairman Dick Richards and Dave Turner of the State Central Committee. Although Dick has been playing games, this recent meeting was most productive. Dick agreed to make available to us their complete voter identification records and even offered us space in their headquarters to get us started. Al declined the latter, however, as everyone agreed that a separate location would be more suitable to our needs, combining a finance and political headquarters.

Jim Brown is working closely with Gil Shelton to raise the \$35,000 state quota, and they hope to have \$20,000 raised by the end of the year.

Senator Garn has decided to keep a low profile and is hesitant about accepting the Honorary PFC Chairmanship. His style, apparently, is to stay in the background. It's been recommended that Governor Romney and I call Garn and also that a "push" from you or other in the White House would be helpful.

WASHINGTON - Fred Baker, a semi-retired advertising executive from Seattle has accepted the Western Chairmanship for the State and Mayor Dave Rogers of Spokane is to give us his decision on Monday for the Eastern Chairmanship. Nola Haerle will be in the state this weekend to meet with them and with Jack Gordon, our volunteer campaign manager.

ISSUES - No one seemed overly discouraged by the Gallup Poll release, with many believing that it might help to shake up the troops and get people to realize that there's a lot of work to do.

Opposition to the "three bills" is still strong with common situs continuing to be an extremely emotional issue. All of our regional coordinators, without exception, label this the Number 1 problem in organization and recruitment.

LEGAL - It seems that a name similar to "Campaign '76" is already on record and will prevent our using this for our advertising group. Peter Dailey will be in town on Monday to discuss a new title.

TREASURER'S REPORT - A total of \$1,135,154 has been raised to date with \$68,898 collected during the week ending December 12. Total disbursements for the week were \$37,725. The Treasurer's Report is attached at TAB A.

The F.E.C. announced on Thursday requests for matching funds from three campaign organizations -- Bentsen, \$500,000; Ford, \$390,000; and Sanford, \$250,000. If everything is approved according to schedule, we would receive these funds on January 2.

FINANCE COMMITTEE - Bob Odell, former Executive Director of the Republican National Finance Committee, has been appointed as our Finance Director. Bob will take a leave of absence from National Direct Mail Services, where he has served as President for the past year.

Jack Black reports having raised \$15,000 in cash and \$10,000 in pledges at a meeting last week in Oklahoma City. Also, the PFC fund-raising dinner in Nashville last Thursday, at which Rog Morton was the speaker and honored guest, netted \$24,150.

Earl Butz was the guest at a fund-raising reception in Houston during the Southern Republican Conference. Although a final count hasn't come in, Bob Mosbacher hopes to meet \$15,000 which is excellent for the two days notice given for the event.

Missouri's \$7,325 was the highest state total for the week.

\$2,500 has been received to date from the New Hampshire mailing, representing 143 individual contributions. Although this response is far from great, the time of the year must be taken into consideration, as well as the list itself, which was comprised of Republican voters as opposed to known contributors.

MISCELLANEOUS

SOUTHERN REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE - From a general viewpoint our participation was a plus, but it was a difficult meeting to judge due to the low turn-out, a poor program, and the national press coverage. Locally the press was good (see TAB B) and we had a good representation of Ford supporters among the participants, but the overall attitude seemed apathetic, and compared to previous Conferences, this one was not well organized and lacked enthusiasm.

The negative reaction to my statements on the Reagan record among participants in Houston, and the subsequent national press coverage, must be considered a short term problem and possibly cost us some support in the South. However, the long-range benefits which will result from discussing the Reagan record should not be ignored nor minimized. Editorials such as the one in the NASHUA (New Hampshire) TELEGRAPH (see TAB B) are extremely helpful, but until the media begins to pick up on this, we must take the initiative. Preferably someone other than myself should take the hard line, but the consensus here is to continue to call attention to his record until more Advocates get involved.

Vice President Rockefeller did an outstanding job not only at the Friday night rally, but at his press conference and meeting with Southern Chairmen as well.

Rog Morton and Earl Butz did an equally good job with each holding press conferences and meetings with individual State delegations. Unfortunately, Bill Simon's attendance at the Conference and speech to the Houston Chamber of Commerce did not receive any coverage.

Governor Jim Holshouser and I were on a series of three panel discussions on Saturday afternoon. (The Reagan Committee also held three panels and was represented by John Sears and Phil Crane.)

Our staff did a good job of meeting with people, and although

most of the participants were already committed one way or the other, a number of new people were identified and will be worked into our State organizations.

Reagan arrived in Houston Saturday afternoon and other than answering a few questions at the Airport was not available to the press and to our knowledge did not meet with any of the delegations. About 500 people attended the banquet -- mostly from the Houston area as a number of the participants left Saturday afternoon. The press reported his appearance as being warmly, but not overwhelmingly, received.

GOP STATE LEGISLATORS BREAKFAST - Leo Thorsness hosted a breakfast reception here at Headquarters for GOP State Legislators who were in town for an Intergovernmental Relations meeting. Forty legislators representing 18 States attended and most signed up to help with the campaign in their States. Senator Scott and John Rhodes both spoke briefly on issues and answered questions, many of which concerned the common situs and tax legislation. A number of the legislators requested information on the Reagan record as well as more detailed information on Administration policy and programs, which we will be sending to them.

Copy to:
Dick Cheney

WEEKLY TREASURER'S REPORT

WEEK ENDING: December 12, 1975

	Beginning Totals	This Week	Totals to Date
CONTRIBUTIONS:			
Individual			
Identified	\$1,269,000.07	\$ 68,898.01	\$1,337,898.08
Suspense	1,390.00	-0-	1,390.00
Total	1,270,390.07	68,898.01	1,339,288.08
Committees, Reg.-			
Identified	14,350.00	-0-	14,350.00
Suspense	1,000.00	-0-	1,000.00
Total	15,350.00	-0-	15,350.00
Pledges	500.00	-0-	500.00
Total Contributions	1,286,240.07	68,898.01	1,355,138.08
Interest Income	1,548.53	467.42	2,015.95
Total Receipts	1,287,788.60	69,365.43	1,357,154.03

MATCHING FUNDS (MEMO ACCOUNT)

Qualifiable -	
States Qualifiable	23
Funds Qualifiable	620,860.23

DISBURSEMENTS:

Fund Raising	378,430.45	13,924.29	392,354.74
Non Fund Raising	539,403.29	24,518.30	563,921.59
Refundable Deposits	34,160.20	-0-	34,160.20
Contribution Returns	7,136.00	-0-	7,136.00
Advances	126,424.00	(717.40)	125,706.60
Total Disbursements	1,085,553.94	37,725.19	1,123,279.13

FUNDS BALANCE:

Cash in Bank	232,974.90
Petty Cash	400.00
Certificate of Deposit	-0-
Securities in Process of Sale	500.00
Total Funds Balance	233,874.90

STATISTICS:

Total Number of Contributors as of December 12, 1975	3,976
Average Amount of Contribution to date	340.00
Cost of Fund Raising to date - percent of contribution	29%

SUMMARY OF CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENSES

	<u>CONTRIBUTIONS</u>			FUND RAISING EXPENSES IN THE STATES	
	QUOTA	RECEIVED	% OF QUOTA	AMOUNT	% OF CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED
ALABAMA	\$ 75,000	25,210	33.6	1,000	4.0
ALASKA	20,000	9,650	48.3		
ARIZONA	140,000	10,730	7.7	2,696.70	27.1
ARKANSAS	50,000	4,385	8.8		
CALIFORNIA	1,795,000	186,007.50	10.4	21,410.92	11.5
COLORADO	150,000	15,385	10.3	1,750	11.4
CONNECTICUT	300,000	31,816	10.6		
DELAWARE	100,000	7,330	7.3		
DISTRICT OF COL.	300,000	35,359	11.8		
FLORIDA	450,000	34,350	7.6	137.90	0.4
GEORGIA	150,000	71,531	47.7	8,554.66	12.0
HAWAII	45,000	1,220	2.7	3,887.40	318.6
IDAHO	35,000	1,000	2.9		
ILLINOIS	950,000	134,595.50	14.2	30,726.51	22.8
INDIANA	275,000	10,856.75	3.9	3,000	27.6
IOWA	150,000	3,910	2.6		
KANSAS	135,000	59,505	44.1	207.81	0.3
KENTUCKY	100,000	7,550	7.6		
LOUISIANA	75,000	8,775	11.7	500	5.7
MAINE	45,000	200	0.5		
MARYLAND	225,000	26,357	11.7		
MASSACHUSETTS	325,000	20,240	6.2		
MICHIGAN	550,000	68,152.02	12.4	6,100	9.0
MINNESOTA	275,000	33,492	12.2	1,000	3.0
MISSISSIPPI	40,000	130	0.3		
MISSOURI	250,000	45,650	18.3	3,550	7.8
MONTANA	40,000	1,500	3.8		
NEBRASKA	85,000	4,135	4.9		
NEVADA	25,000	7,110	28.4	2,444.33	34.4
NEW HAMPSHIRE	40,000	2,138	5.3	705.90	33.4
NEW JERSEY	350,000	37,473.33	10.7	6,008.94	16.0
NEW MEXICO	50,000	3,310	6.6		
NEW YORK	1,650,000	108,148.50	6.6	10,917.08	10.1

SUMMARY OF CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENSES

page two

	CONTRIBUTIONS			FUND RAISING EXPENSES IN THE STATES	
	QUOTA	RECEIVED	% OF QUOTA	AMOUNT	% OF CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED
NORTH CAROLINA	\$ 125,000	19,220	15.4		
NORTH DAKOTA	30,000	1,120	3.7		
OHIO	650,000	39,785	6.1		
OKLAHOMA	120,000	23,211	19.3	4,408.97	19.0
OREGON	90,000	23,925	26.6	4,241.80	17.7
PENNSYLVANIA	700,000	45,520.27	6.5	2,500	5.5
RHODE ISLAND	50,000	1,550	3.1		
SOUTH CAROLINA	75,000	1,195	1.6		
SOUTH DAKOTA	30,000	100	0.3		
TENNESSEE	175,000	24,885	14.2	525.69	2.1
TEXAS	650,000	84,442.20	13.0	4,000	13.7
UTAH	35,000	10	0.0		
VERMONT	25,000	910	3.6		
VIRGINIA	250,000	29,977	12.0	423.10	1.4
WASHINGTON	175,000	6,610	3.8		
WEST VIRGINIA	40,000	2,200	5.5		
WISCONSIN	225,000	15,070	6.7		
WYOMING	30,000	10,066	33.6		
CANADA		500			
TERRITORIES		-			
UNIDENTIFIED		501			
TOTALS	12,720,000	1,347,502.08	10.6	120,697.71	9.0

1/ Includes advances for fund raising and Direct Expenses only.

TREASURER'S OFFICE

Total Quot (000)	STATE	CUM. THRU	FRI 12/5	MON 12/8	Tues 12/9	Wed 12/10	THURS 12/11	CUM. THRU.
75	Alabama	23,710			1500			25,210
20	Alaska	9,650						9,650
140	Arizona	10,705	25					10,730
50	Arkansas	3,910	250		200		25	4,385
1,795	California	179,032.50	75		3200	2000	1700	186,007.50
150	Colorado	11,785			1500	100	2000	15,385
300	Connecticut	31,365	110	100	100	115	26	31,816
100	Delaware	7,130		200				7,330
300	D.C.	34,132	757				470	35,359
450	Florida	34,235		15		100		34,350
150	Georgia	70,281	500				750	71,531
45	Hawaii	1,220						1,220
	Idaho	1,000						1,000
950	Illinois	130,087.50	190	117	3450	650	100	134,594.50
275	Indiana	10,706.75	50	100				10,856.75
150	Iowa	1,910		2000				3,910
135	Kansas	57,505			2000			59,505
100	Kentucky	7,550						7,550
75	Louisiana	6,775			1000		1000	8,775
45	Maine	200						200
225	Maryland	24,967		75	300		1015	26,357
325	Massachusetts	20,235		5				20,240
550	Michigan	61,261.02	1933	2,615	883	219	1241	68,152.02
275	Minnesota	32,492			1000			33,492
40	Mississippi	30			100			130
250	Missouri	38,325	1000		6225	100		45,650
40	Montana	1,500						1,500
85	Nebraska	4,135						4,135
25	Nevada	7110						7110

Quot (000)		12/5	12/8	12/9	12/10	12/11		
40	N. Hampshire	1104	410		624		2138	
350	New Jersey	36,298.33	700		350	100	37,473.33	
50	New Mexico	3,310					3,310	
1,650	New York	105,963.50	1010	25	100	150	108,148.50	
125	N. Carolina	17,805		15	925	375	19,220	
30	N. Dakota	1,120					1,120	
650	Ohio	36,935	350	100	200	700	39,785	
120	Oklahoma	17,661	325			5225	23,211	
90	Oregon	21,425	850		1650		23,925	
700	Pennsylvania	43,895.27		75	1350	25	45,520.27	
50	Rhode Island	1,550					1,550	
75	S. Carolina	1,160	35				1,195	
30	S. Dakota	100					100	
175	Tennessee	24,885					24,885	
50	Texas	79,407.20		10	2025	1500	84,442.20	
35	Utah	10					10	
25	Vermont	900			10		910	
250	Virginia	29,555	75	202	20	5	29,977	
175	Washington	6,610					6,610	
40	W. Virginia	2,200					2,200	
225	Wisconsin	15,045				25	15,070	
30	Wyoming	9,215	591		260		10,066	
	Territories	—					—	
States Cum. Total		1,279,099.07	9,236	5654	28,972	11,389	12,647	1,346,997.07
	Unidentified	5			.01			5.01
	Sub-total							
	Other Receipts	500						500
	TOTAL	1,279,604.07	9,236	5654.01	28,972	11,389	12,647	1,347,502.08

TAB B

The Houston Chronicle, Dec. 14, 75

Ford Campaign Chief Sees Early Reagan Defeat

BY BOB TUTT

Chronicle Political Writer

Howard H. "Bo" Callaway, national campaign director for President Ford, predicted here Saturday that Ford will defeat challenger Ronald Reagan in the early primaries and destroy Reagan's credibility.

A Gallup Poll showing that former California Gov. Reagan has for the first time taken the lead over Ford for the 1976 GOP nomination will rally Ford supporters, said Callaway, here for the 13-state Southern Republican conference.

"Nobody has been speaking up for the President and people have forgotten what an outstanding job he has done," Callaway said.

"Through the luck of the draw," he said, two of the first three 1976 state presi-

dential primaries will be in New Hampshire, reputed to be Reagan's strongest Northern state, and Florida, thought to be Reagan's strongest Southern state.

The New Hampshire primary, the first in the nation, will be Feb. 24, the Florida primary March 9.

Ford should win in both these states and derail Reagan's plan to get momentum in the early primaries, Callaway said.

"We will beat him in his best Northern state, in his best Southern state then in his home state of Illinois and then Reagan will have no credibility," Callaway said.

He conceded that Reagan victories in these primaries would be serious, but said they would not be disastrous.

No matter how Ford fares in these early pri-

maries, Callaway said. "I don't see any set of circumstances under which the President will get out (of the race)."

He said he expects Reagan to show considerable strength in the South, but added even if Reagan realized "his fondest hopes," he would not get more than 50 per cent of the 606 Southern delegates to the 1976 Republican national convention in Kansas City in August.

Callaway said Reagan is basing his campaign on rhetoric and generalities, but credited the former movie actor as "a tough competitive candidate, tougher than any Democrat. He will be the toughest candidate that President Ford will face."

Even though he criticized Reagan, Callaway said he believes Reagan would be an acceptable

vice-presidential candidate to run with Ford.

On other matters, Callaway said he has advised the President to veto the same three bills that the Southern Association of Republican State Chairmen on Friday called on Ford to veto.

The bills, all pending in Congress, are the common situs picketing bill, which would expand the rights of labor unions to shut down construction projects during labor disputes; the energy bill, which would effect a temporary rollback of gasoline prices; and the bill continuing 1975 income tax cuts into 1976.

Callaway described news reports that President Ford may have a drinking problem as "the most irresponsible journalism I have ever seen. I know he doesn't have a drinking problem."

Also appearing at the GOP conference Saturday was Secretary of Commerce Rogers C. B. Morton.

Morton declined to say what he would advise on a veto of the energy bill, but said the measure is "the only bill we are going to get out of Congress."

Many in the oil industry would prefer continuing present federal energy controls to the energy bill now in Congress, he said, but if the bill fails to become law all energy controls will soon expire.

Regarding the Ford-Reagan contest, Morton said, "I think that there are those who are trying to paint Ronald Reagan as a far more conservative person than Gerald Ford. I don't see where the record of the Reagan administra-

tion in California bears that out.

"I think that should be examined if conservatism is the issue."

Morton said he regards Ford as the strongest candidate because "he is more of a political realist. I think he would have a larger political following than Gov. Reagan."

He said he thinks it is unfair to say that Reagan would be the same sort of candidate as Barry Goldwater, who suffered a crushing defeat by President Lyndon Johnson in the 1964 election.

Our Opinion

New Hampshire Telegraph

Mr. Reagan's Record

Ronald Reagan, or so the ultra-conservative legend runs, brought the yeasty state of California to the brink of perfection during his two terms as governor.

Since his tenure as governor constitutes his first and only governmental service and experience, Mr. Reagan and his flacks make much of it; too much, in fact.

When he announced his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination last week, Mr. Reagan performed the obligatory "mess in Washington" routine and promised to clean it up tidily, using the techniques he employed as governor of California to "manage government more efficiently."

"We found that fiscal responsibility is possible, that the welfare rolls can come down, that social problems can be met below the federal level."

So much for the rhetoric.
Now for the record:

While Ronald Reagan was governor of California the state budget soared from \$4.6 billion to \$10.2

billion — a more than 100 per cent increase.

While Ronald Reagan was governor of California the state sales tax was increased from 4 per cent to 6 per cent, the corporate income tax was increased from 5.5 per cent to 9 per cent, and the top personal income tax was increased from 7 per cent to 11 per cent.

While Ronald Reagan was governor of California the number of state employes increased by 5.7 per cent.

This is the man who promises to cut armies of employes off the federal payroll, who promises to balance the budget, who promises to begin paying off the national debt and who, to top his program of conservative delights, promises to cut taxes to boot.

Some people may be charmed by Ronald Reagan's pitch; some people may even be persuaded, but the difference between promises and performance, between the Reagan rhetoric and the Reagan record is a difference that should be made plain to the voters of New Hampshire and the rest of the nation.

The Houston Chronicle, Dec. 14, 75

Calloway sees plus in poll

By JANE ELY
Post Reporter

President Ford's campaign manager Bo Calloway both praised and damned Ronald Reagan here Saturday while he and others on the Ford campaign team maintained a stiff upper lip about the President's chances of election.

Calloway joined Bob Mosbacher of Houston, the campaign's new finance director, in saying a recent Gallup Poll showing Reagan leading Ford 40-32 percent among Republican voters has been a plus for Ford's efforts.

The poll already has galvanized Ford supporters to get out front, they said, and has been a benefit in raising money for the campaign.

Mosbacher said \$30,000, which he called an unusually high figure for one day, came in Friday.

"We have, we think, turned the corner," Mosbacher said. "We raised more money this week than the week before."

The Ford campaign team was in Houston to politic the participants at the Southern Republican Conference (SRC), where there has been a lot of mumbling about Ford's absence and the possibility he will sign the proposed energy bill.

Mosbacher conceded it will be more difficult for him to raise money for Ford in Texas if the President signs the bill.

"This bill is a of paramount concern in the oil business and I think there are some I won't get any money from," he said.

Mosbacher noted that he personally is opposed to the energy bill and hopes the President will veto it, but he will stick with Ford no matter what.

Calloway called Reagan "a very tough, hard, competitive candidate who will be the hardest candidate the President will

face — including any Democrat — between now and November."

He also said he considered Reagan qualified to be vice president.

This was amended later, however, when he was asked it again after he had spent long moments panning Reagan and his record as governor of California.

"Well, let's say he's not my choice," said an embarrassed Calloway.

Calloway said he was amazed to find people at the SRC talking about the possibility of Ford dropping out of the presidential race and said he could see no set of circumstances where that would happen.

He and the others stressed that Ford is running as the President and will campaign only as his presidential duties will allow.

Advisers Worried

Reagan's Federal Cutback Proposal Could Boomerang

BY ROBERT SHOGAN

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Washington — When Ronald Reagan first proposed his bold plan to turn \$90 billion in federal programs back to the states, his political advisers worried that the idea wasn't getting enough attention.

But now the plan is getting increasing attention — and some Reagan advisers are more worried than ever. It's not that they disagree with the principle of trimming the federal government. Rather they fear that a critical press and opposition Ford strategists could convert the complicated scheme into a boomerang against the Reagan candidacy.

There's some talk in the Reagan camp that the plan should be abandoned outright. Campaign manager John Sears denies the problem is that serious. But even Sears acknowledges that Reagan needs to spell out the details of his cutback proposal more clearly. "He should express himself more fully," said Sears, "but I think he will."

Jeff Bell, the 32-year-old issues specialist who drafted the federal cutback plan, worries that press coverage of Reagan's plan will be influenced by memories of George McGovern's disastrous \$1,000 a year income redistribution scheme in 1972.

"Reporters are like generals fighting the last war," said Bell. If the press runs true to form in 1976, Bell said, "it will be very rough on major proposals like this."

Bell's view of the press is shared by Ford advisers.

"I don't think the President even has to allude to it (the Reagan plan)," White House political aide Jack Calkins told a reporter.

"The guys in your profession will chop the living bejesus out of Reagan on that as soon as he gets out in the New Hampshire snows."



ANDERSON

The President himself might find it awkward to attack the plan, Calkins said, because his views "could be misunderstood" and taken to mean that he was against budget cutting. But he didn't rule out the possibility of criticism from Ford allies and supporters.

The President Ford Committee's research staff is conducting a detailed analysis of the Reagan plan, according to Peter Kaye, the committee's press secretary. The results will be made available to reporters and to Ford campaign spokesmen. Kaye, who characterized the Reagan proposal as "superficial and ill conceived," said: "We see this as a major opportunity for the country to find out what he (Reagan) is really like."

The controversial proposal, unveiled last September, is a natural outgrowth of Reagan's longtime role as a critic of the federal bureaucracy.

Reagan and most Republicans have always been "in favor of handing back more authority to the states," Sears pointed out. In fact, by last August, when Bell began to draft the budget cutting proposal, he said, "just about everybody was against big government."

Bell's purpose was "to distinguish Reagan from the other people," to set a theme for the campaign and, not incidentally, to attract attention to his still undeclared candidacy at a time when he

appeared to be lagging far behind Ford.

Bell said he was aware that there might be objections to the proposal. But, he said: "I discussed it 100 times with 30 different people" before going ahead. "There was so little resistance I didn't even write an accompanying memo," when he sent the candidate the text, which had been polished by conservative columnist M. Stanton Evans.

In the speech, delivered to the Executive Club of Chicago, Reagan proposed "A systematic transfer of authority and resources to the states" in such areas as welfare, education, housing, food stamps, Medicaid and community and regional development. A two-page press release ticked off precisely where the cuts would be made in the budget.

The first significant negative reaction came from conservative columnist and former Nixon aide Pat Buchanan, who wrote that Reagan had made a "tactical" error by pinpointing the proposed budget cuts and thus alerting organized pressure groups who would stand to lose by the reductions.

The response to the speech, however, was limited at first, probably because Reagan did not officially announce his candidacy until last month.

Since then, he has been questioned sharply about the plan as it would affect taxes in New Hampshire, site of the first primary, on ABC television's "Issues and Answers" show. And last week Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, whose column is closely read by other Washington reporters and politicians, labeled the \$90 billion scheme a potential "albatross" and "heavy burden" for the Reagan campaign.

"Sure it's a burden," said Bell, "because there are problems with it and some of the defenses he (Reagan) has might be better. But the other approach, vagueness and no specifics, represents a burden, too."

If Reagan's plan with all its complications is a gamble, for him to avoid specifics would also be risky. "The risk in that is you sound like an ass," Bell said.

In recent weeks, as the Reagan proposal has gotten increasing attention, questions have been raised about how states would find money to carry on necessary programs once the federal government had cut them and how much time they would have to get the necessary financial support.

In retrospect, Bell and Sears agree it might have been better for the original speech to emphasize that Reagan was not proposing his cutbacks on an immediate basis, that in some case federal guidelines would be retained for state and local performance and that the federal government could provide incentives for the states to set up their own programs as federal programs were phased out.

Sears said he believes Reagan can handle the necessary explaining in the months ahead. And he is expected to get plenty of advice in that area this week when he and his advisers hold a series of strategy conferences in Los Angeles.

On hand will be Martin Anderson, former Nixon White House aide, who is taking a leave from his post as a senior fellow at Stanford's Hoover Institute to join the Reagan campaign as an issues specialist.

Said Anderson about the \$90 billion cutback plan, "Whenever you propose any kind of major change, it's a pretty complicated business and subject to a lot of misinterpretation at the beginning."