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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 2, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: JERRY JONES
FROM: FRED SLIGHT

The creation of a finance and campaign committee to manage the President's 1976 election effort is necessitated by conventional political considerations regarding "candidate committees" as well as by the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974.

This memorandum covers several of the factors and considerations regarding the formation of a Finance Committee.

The attached tab sections are as follows:

1. Tab "A" - Statement of Purpose of the Committee.
2. Tab "B" - Justification for Early Formation.
3. Tab "C" - Federal Election Law Considerations.
4. Tab "D" - Committee Planning Considerations.
5. Tab "E" - Leadership Selection Criteria.

Attachments



STATEMENT OF PURPOSE OF THE COMMITTEE

A Presidential Finance Committee would serve the following purposes:

1. Remove from the RNC any actual instance or appearance of impropriety in extending its services to the President, as a candidate, that could not be given to other GOP contenders.
2. Provide the only legal means by which funds may be raised and expended in behalf of the President prior to his nomination at the National Convention (the '74 law requires a candidate to designate such a single committee which in turn must have a Chairman and Treasurer before a contribution may be accepted and which must maintain a checking account at an officially designated state or national bank to handle any disbursements exceeding \$100).
3. Assure the functioning of a fundraising unit in which no doubt would exist that the funds solicited would be used for the direct benefit of the President's election.
4. Establish a "candidate-oriented" unit which would have a greater probability factor in successfully raising money from individuals who are not strongly identified with the Republican Party.
5. Permit a means by which the RNC could spend \$2.8 to \$3.0 million directly in behalf of the President in the general election. By combining the Presidential campaign committee with the National Committee following the National Convention, these funds could not be spent, except if applied against the President's spending limitations.



JUSTIFICATION FOR EARLY FORMATION

Several considerations which mitigate toward an early creation of the Finance Committee are:

1. The development of a super-efficient and cost-effective plan and mechanism, the likes of which have yet to be witnessed by any party or candidate (see my memo to you of March 25), which can raise funds on a broad basis.
2. The existence under the new law of only two periods, pre and post nomination, in which the maximum of \$1,000 per donor may be given; hence, since the first period began on January 1, 1975, there is no fundraising advantage in postponing formation of such a unit.
3. The dependency on the small donor for '76 can be expected to lower the response frequency and contribution size, therefore profit margins are reduced and a longer solicitation period necessitated. This especially should be the case given the element of disillusionment caused by "Watergate" as well as the state of the economy and its expected rate of recovery.
4. Conservative and moderate voters, regardless of previous or current party affiliations, can be expected to be approached by a plethora of candidates this year, thus the old cliché of "getting thar firstust with the mostust" will have particular significance as the small contributor base will rapidly shrink as the year progresses.
5. The formation of said committee will be a definitive "signal" to current or potential GOP primary contenders that the President is running in '76.
6. The donation of funds, no matter how large, will assist in "locking" in Ford votes early on and will provide a basis for building a name list which can be used for a variety of purposes as the campaign progresses.

While the establishment of a fundraising unit for the President may raise questions as to the termination of the White House Account at the RNC, it is entirely feasible and not without precedence that expenditures may still be charged against the Account as a result of the President's role as Party head -- although scheduling will have to be scrutinized so that visits into the primary states cannot be attached as RNC subsidized campaign trips.



FEDERAL ELECTION LAW CONSIDERATIONS

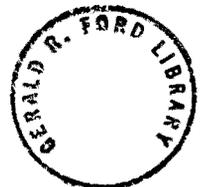
Considerations brought about by the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974 relating to Finance Committees include, but are not necessarily limited to the following:

1. Every Committee must file a statement of organization with the Federal Election Commission no later than 10 days prior to its anticipation of receipt of \$1,000 worth of contributions or expenditure of like amount.
2. Each candidate must designate a principal Committee which is responsible for receiving and compiling the reports of all other political committees (ie. state counterparts) with regard to its contributions and expenditures. Said reports must be filed at the prescribed intervals by the candidate and the Treasurer.
3. No contribution may be received nor expenditure made unless there is both a Chairman and Treasurer or the Committee (the law does not require these officials to be salaried, thus no payroll burden is encountered at the outset if their initial appointment is on a voluntary basis).
4. Every authorized Committee must maintain a checking account at a campaign depository (a national or state bank) designated by the candidate, and every expenditure must be made by a check drawn on the aforementioned account (except those to one person for \$100 or less which may be made from a petty cash fund).
5. A series of reports must be filed by the Committee which are as follows:
 - a. For a non-election year, a report must be complete as of December 31 and must be filed with the Federal Elections Commission by no later than January 1 of the election year.
 - b. In an election year, a report must be filed no later than 10 days before the election and must be complete as of 15 days before the election. A report filed by registered or certified mail must be postmarked not later than 12 days before the election. Finally, a second report must be complete as of 20 days after the election. It should be noted that any contribution of \$1,000 or more which is received after the 15th day before the



election must be reported to the Federal Election Commission within 48 hours.

- c. Quarterly reports must be filed by any candidate who receives contributions or makes expenditures in excess of \$1,000 in any calendar quarter.
- d. State reports (copies of the Federal reports) must be filed with the Secretary of State of each state in which an expenditures is made on the candidate's behalf.



COMMITTEE PLANNING CONSIDERATIONS

Once the Finance Committee is established, or for that matter prior to its official public creation, considerable thought needs to be given to identifying the President's "fundraising constituency" and the type of programs that will be required to reach them. As explained in my March 25 memo, it appears as though the President will be dependent on the use of public funds for his '76 race. Several thoughts come to mind regarding the initial planning which needs to be conducted in this area.

1. Acquire the 1972 CRP and RNC fundraising lists which are in the possession of the RNFC as well as the National Committee's current updated lists. Examine these lists and explore organization membership rules and commercial lists which might be acquired that would complement those already in possession.
2. Review the Federal election laws with legal counsel as well as with experienced political fundraisers in order to determine the full range of ramifications which the '74 law provides.
3. Develop an initial solicitation program (based on #1 and #2 above) which can be tested. At first blush, it would seem as though the program would be divided into three components:
 - a. Direct mail solicitations for the small "sustaining donor".
 - b. Personal phone solicitations to yesterday's "fat cat".
 - c. A broad-based, volunteer-oriented solicitation effort which would seek to raise funds locally on a person-to-person basis. This approach is perhaps the one most dictated by the new law and the one where guidelines from previous Presidential races are conspicuously lacking.
4. Examine the public financing aspects of the new campaign law and explore the desirability of applying for same. If such monies are to be utilized, then the Committee's fundraising programs must be compatible with the law's qualification requirements (ie. \$100,000 must be raised from at least 20 states with no less than \$5,000 per state and with only up to \$250 of any single contribution counting toward the qualifying figure).



5. Explore the rationale and feasibility of cooperating with the RNFC in raising funds from the major contributors. The National Committee is prohibited from spending funds for a Presidential contender prior to the nomination; however, following this act, up to \$3 million might be expended. Additionally, a donor is limited to a maximum contribution of \$1,000 to a candidate, however this does not preclude the donor from giving up to \$25,000 per calendar year in political contributions (ie. a donor can theoretically and legally give the President's Finance Committee \$1,000 in 1975 and \$24,000 in the same year to the RNFC).



LEADERSHIP SELECTION CRITERIA

Obviously, extreme caution and thorough consideration should be given to the selection of the Chairman and Treasurer. Additionally, the concurrent appointment of a General Counsel would seem prudent given the legal complexity of the '74 campaign law and the pressing need to petition the Federal Election Commission for advisory opinions on the numerous "grey areas" requiring resolution.

The Chairman

Factors or characteristics to consider in the selection of a Finance Committee Chairman include:

1. Impeccably honest, aggressive, but non-abrasive, well-known and respected figure who has the ability to speak to major contributors on a peer basis.
2. Publicly recognized association with the President, as accessibility and "clout" are extremely important to the image to be projected.
3. Prior political fundraising experience as the new law essentially mandates that the Chairman be thoroughly knowledgeable as to the various nuances and means of political solicitations. Errors of judgment as well as delay caused by unfamiliarity with the area cannot be tolerated for obvious legal and practical reasons.

Finally, it should be understood that the Chairman is a full-time, chief operations officer in terms of all solicitation efforts. He cannot be a figurehead as new law's expenditure limitations require the full utilization of all campaign personnel.

The Treasurer

Factors or characteristics to consider in the selection of a Finance Committee Treasurer include:

1. Strong accounting and administrative background as the Treasurer is legally responsible for all reports filed with the Federal Election Commission and the Secretaries of State, and will by necessity be responsible for budgeting and control for the national headquarters and all state campaign counterparts.



2. Previous campaign experience, particularly in '72, would be very beneficial given the complexity of the reporting requirements and the difficulties that can be expected in developing and maintaining a tightly centralized accounting and control system for keeping state organizations in line.

The General Counsel

Factors or characteristics to consider in the selection of a Finance Committee General Counsel include:

1. Experienced practicing attorney with prior campaign exposure. The General Counsel will be required to work with the Federal Elections Commission in seeking advisory opinions and can expect media and citizen group inquiries as to the Committee's activities and filed reports. Moreover, the General Counsel should be expected to review for approval all contracts prior to their being signed.
2. Ability to work closely with the Treasurer in the Committee's dealings with the states (ie. explanation of the '74 law and its requirements, guidance as to the permissability of certain activities, etc.).
3. Willingness and ability to serve in a temporary capacity as legal counsel for the campaign component during the early states of the latter's formation.



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Republican National Committee.

This prototype budget was not prepared with the thought that it would reflect in any way the final budget that will be adopted by the campaign. It should be emphasized that we here at the Committee are not even in accord on several significant parts of this budget, since the tenets are so variable; and that any final effort on your part will require considerable planning and thought based on a great deal of data that was not considered in our undertaking.

Our intention was three-fold:

- 1) To demonstrate the realities of a \$20,000,000 budget and the very real limitations that will result therefrom in relation to some past campaigns.
- 2) To underscore the importance of the RNC's \$3,000,000 involvement and to dramatize the need for early communication as to which direction we should be going to make maximum use of that money.
- 3) To highlight the need for early and complete planning and preparation so that all the money that is spent during pre-convention is spent in such a way that it provides maximum support to the general election campaign itself.

We hope this proves to be a useful tool in the early planning sessions.

Eddie Mahe, Jr.
April 3, 1975



INTRODUCTION

The following information and tables represent an outline budget for the 1976 Presidential campaign. The time frame is assumed to be from the third week of August 1976, through the first week of November 1976. The funds for all expenditures made during this time period on behalf of the Presidential campaign must come from one or two revenue sources. The first would be the federal payment of \$20 million available to the candidate upon his nomination by the Convention. The second \$3 million could be expended by the RNC at any time, but benefit therefrom could not accrue to the candidate until after the nomination. Obviously, there must be a correlation between the expenditure of funds and the number of voters affected or influenced by such expenditures. Therefore, allotments to states in the following report are based in large measure on projections of $X\text{¢}$ per voter with X varying dependent on the type of activity discussed. Further, any Presidential campaign must put additional emphasis on the larger or key states, therefore bonus funds must be added to the regular allotments for these states.



CAMPAIGN OVERVIEW

As this budget is concerned with expenditures made after the nomination, it does not contain the setup expenses necessary prior to the Convention, in order that the operation herein discussed be ready to go upon the designation of a nominee. Such expenditures must come from the individual candidate's primary campaign funds. The budget assumes that these advance expenditures will be made so that the General election campaign will commence with full organization in the 50 states immediately upon designation of a nominee. Of necessity, this presumes that all key personnel shall have been located and hired, or at least agreements to come on board in a full time capacity should have been reached with all personnel desired. Further, all physical facilities to be utilized exclusively by the Presidential campaign must have been rented for occupancy no later than the close of the Convention. The single exception would be those items paid or partly paid by the RNC \$3 million allotment. The RNC can and should contract for benchmark surveys in each of the 50 states prior to the Convention. The results of these surveys will be turned over, and hence chargeable to the Presidential campaign, after the Convention. Further, it would be necessary for the RNC to have

expended funds (budgeted at \$300,000) for the acquiring of voter lists containing the telephone numbers of registered voters. These funds will also become chargeable to the Presidential campaign when voter lists are turned over to them after the Convention. The purchasing of television time by the RNC can also be made at any time and only becomes chargeable to the campaign when such time is made available to the Presidential candidate for his use. It is important to note, in this regard, that such time purchases must be made without consultation with the candidate in order to conform to the law. The campaign, outlined in the following pages, presumes several types of activities: (1) As in 1968 and 1972, a voter identification program in each of the 50 states. This presupposes that voter lists with telephone numbers will be available and the budget for telephones includes not only the cost of the calls, but the installation of the telephones and the setting up of telephone banks, and the hiring of sufficient supervisors. The budget does not allow for paid telephoners as utilized in 1968 and 1972 in many states. Adding professional telephoners would increase the cost of calls from the budgeted 10¢ to somewhere around 30¢ a completed call. Further, the number of calls contemplated is set at roughly 2/3 the number made in 1972. (2) The campaign budget allows for state originated direct mail, although here again amounts budgeted are far less than 1968 and 1972 figures. (3) A small amount has been budgeted for

state administrative expenses. The amounts projected dictate that much of the headquarters staff must be volunteer in each state. By way of comparison, the Illinois administrative budget allocation included 20 full time administrative personnel in 1972. The proposed administrative budget for everything in 1976 would be \$22,300. (4) As in 1968 and 1972, the budget contemplates the hiring of full time fieldmen in each state. Here again, however, the number of fieldmen in 1976 would be roughly 2/3 of those utilized in 1972. For comparison sake, the 1972 Illinois Presidential campaign utilized 35 fieldmen. Budget allocations for 1976 contemplates 24. (5) The 1976 budget necessitates a drastic reduction in utilization of campaign materials. The total budget for campaign materials would be \$215,000. In 1972, \$2,600,000 were expended in this area. To be sure, the allotment for direct mail does contemplate additional printing at the state and local level than was used in 1972. But the total utilization of campaign material, specifically and exclusively concerning the Presidential candidate, will, of necessity, be drastically curtailed. For in 1972, the total of \$22 million was spent for direct mail, telephone banks and state support. The 1976 budget amounts to 1/2 of that amount. (6) In view of the necessary curtailment of individual voter contact by telephone and direct mail, the amount of mass voter contact through the media has been increased in the 1976 budget to compensate. Here the total media budget is approximately \$10 million as opposed to \$7 1/2 million in 1972. (7) The travel allotment for the Presidential candidate, the Vice Presidential candidate, their families



and surrogate speakers is also necessarily curtailed. In this category \$3,400,000 was expended in 1972. The budget for 1976 is \$1,700,000. This will be most heavily felt in the area of rally support. In 1968 and 1972, campaign appearances were budgeted at \$20 to \$25 thousand per event and a campaign day might consist of as many as six events. Under the 1976 budget restrictions, campaign appearances must rely heavily on pre-existing events at which crowds are already present, rather than the created events calling for the expenditure of large sums to build crowds. (8) Another area drastically curtailed, due to budget restrictions, would be the campaign administration. Nearly \$3 million was expended in 1972 on the main headquarters and national campaign personnel. The 1976 budget allots less than \$1,300,000. This puts a premium on locating executive and administrative talent who will serve the campaign without pay, at least from August through November.

The bottom line on all of the above is simply that the 1976 campaign can expend a maximum of \$23 million from August through November, with no assistance from the states. In 1972, the campaign expended nearly \$50 million with considerable additional expenditures by each state. To be sure, not all of the 1972 expenditures were either necessary or

prudent, but it is also true that many heretofore necessary and prudent expenditures can not be made under the 1976 budgetary restrictions. Alternative methods must be found to compensate.



BUDGET SUMMARY

Administrative Allotment		\$1,172,500
Personnel	\$ 862,500	
Office & Equipment	265,000	
Supplies	45,000	
Non-Media State Allotment		7,242,850
Field Staff	2,180,000	
Direct Mail	2,145,000	
Telephones	2,145,000	
Administration	772,850	
Media Allotment		9,364,250
TV	5,575,000	
(RNC portion 1,700,000)		
Print	580,000	
Radio	96,250	
Campaign Materials	215,000	
Regional Media Assistance	2,898,000	
Travel Allotment		1,700,000
President	800,000	
Vice President	400,000	
Family travel	350,000	
Surrogate Travel	150,000	
Survey Research (RNC Paid)		1,000,000
Key State Non Media Allotment		1,976,500
Voter List Preparation (RNC Paid)		300,000
Miscellaneous Reserve		243,900
TOTAL		<u>\$23,000,000</u>



ADMINISTRATIVE BUDGET

OFFICE & EQUIPMENT

Main Headquarters Rent	\$ 10,000
50 State Headquarters	125,000
Telephones, regular	10,000
Telephones, W.A.T.S. (including Hdqs. Bank)	50,000
Equipment Rental (including Xerox, MTST, ets.)	50,000
Furniture Rental	20,000
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TOTAL	\$265,000

PERSONNEL

Campaign Chairman (volunteer)	
Campaign Manager	\$ 10,000
Deputy Campaign Manager For Administration	7,500
Deputy Campaign Manager For Media	7,500
Deputy Campaign Manager For Field Operations	7,500
15 Division Directors	75,000
30 Deputy Directors	120,000
15 Regional Directors	45,000
50 State Executive Directors	150,000
Support Personnel (200) Fi	300,000
Finance & Accounting (20)	30,000
Legal	25,000
Staff Travel	75,000
Payroll Taxes	10,000
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TOTAL	\$862,500

SUPPLIES

Stationary (including mass mailings, etc.)	\$ 10,000
Postage (100,000 pieces)	10,000
Miscellaneous	25,000
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TOTAL	\$ 45,000



NON MEDIA ALLOTMENT



STATE	VOTING AGE POPULATION ¹	FIELD FORCE # of men/cost ²	DIRECT MAIL # of pieces/cost ³	TELEPHONE # of calls/cost ⁴	ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES ⁵	TOTAL ⁶
Alabama	2,392,000	7 - \$35,000	350,000/\$35,000	350,000/\$35,000	\$14,600	\$119,600
Alaska	206,000	1 - \$5,000	20,000/\$2,000	20,000/\$2,000	1,300	10,300
Arizona	1,442,000	4 - \$20,000	200,000/\$20,000	200,000/\$20,000	12,100	72,100
Arkansas	1,417,000	4 - \$20,000	200,000/\$20,000	200,000/\$20,000	10,850	70,850
California	14,509,000	43 - \$215,000	2,150,000/\$215,000	2,150,000/\$215,000	80,450	725,450
Colorado	1,719,000	5 - \$25,000	250,000/\$25,000	250,000/\$25,000	10,950	85,950
Connecticut	2,124,000	6 - \$30,000	300,000/\$30,000	300,000/\$30,000	16,200	106,200
Delaware	391,000	1 - \$5,000	40,000/\$4,000	40,000/\$4,000	2,950	15,950
D.C.	526,000	1 - \$5,000	50,000/\$5,000	50,000/\$5,000	11,300	26,300
Florida	5,799,000	15 - \$75,000	750,000/\$75,000	750,000/\$75,000	64,950	289,950
Georgia	3,227,000	10 - \$50,000	500,000/\$50,000	500,000/\$50,000	11,350	161,350
Hawaii	571,000	2 - \$10,000	75,000/\$7,500	75,000/\$7,500	3,550	28,550
Idaho	519,000	2 - \$10,000	50,000/\$5,000	50,000/\$5,000	5,950	25,950
Illinois	7,646,000	24 - \$120,000	1,240,000/\$120,000	1,240,000/\$120,000	22,300	382,300
Indiana	3,603,000	11 - \$55,000	550,000/\$55,000	550,000/\$55,000	15,150	180,150



NON MEDIA ALLOTMENT

STATE	VOTING AGE POPULATION	FIELD FORCE # of men/cost	DIRECT MAIL # of pieces/cost	TELEPHONE # of calls/cost	ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES	TOTAL
Iowa	2,002,000	6 - \$30,000	300,000/\$30,000	300,000/\$30,000	\$10,100	\$100,100
Kansas	1,601,000	5 - \$25,000	250,000/\$25,000	250,000/\$25,000	5,050	80,050
Kentucky	2,296,000	7 - \$35,000	350,000/\$35,000	350,000/\$35,000	9,800	114,800
Louisiana	2,457,000	8 - \$40,000	400,000/\$40,000	400,000/\$40,000	2,850	122,850
Maine	700,000	2 - \$10,000	100,000/\$10,000	100,000/\$10,000	5,000	35,000
Maryland	2,781,000	8 - \$40,000	400,000/\$40,000	400,000/\$40,000	19,050	139,050
Massachusetts	4,086,000	12 - 60,000	600,000/\$60,000	600,000/\$60,000	24,300	204,300
Michigan	6,037,000	19 - \$95,000	950,000/\$95,000	950,000/\$95,000	16,850	301,850
Minnesota	2,634,000	8 - 40,000	400,000/\$40,000	400,000/\$40,000	11,700	131,700
Mississippi	1,495,000	5 - \$25,000	200,000/\$20,000	200,000/\$20,000	9,750	74,750
Missouri	3,296,000	10 - \$50,000	500,000/\$50,000	500,000/\$50,000	14,800	164,800
Montana	484,000	2 - \$10,000	50,000/\$5,000	50,000/\$5,000	4,200	24,200
Nebraska	1,068,000	3 - \$15,000	150,000/\$15,000	150,000/\$15,000	8,400	53,400
Nevada	382,000	1 - 5,000	50,000/\$5,000	50,000/\$5,000	4,100	19,100
New Hampshire	550,000	2 - \$10,000	75,000/\$7,500	75,000/\$7,500	2,500	27,500
New Jersey	5,099,000	15 - 75,000	750,000/\$75,000	750,000/\$75,000	29,950	254,950
New Mexico	731,000	2 - \$10,000	100,000/\$10,000	100,000/\$10,000	6,550	36,550



NON MEDIA ALLOTMENT

STATE	VOTING AGE POPULATION	FIELD FORCE # of men/cost	DIRECT MAIL # of pieces/cost	TELEPHONE # of calls/cost	ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES	TOTAL
New York	12,700,000	39 - \$195,000	1,950,000/\$195,000	1,950,000/\$195,000	\$50,000	\$635,000
North Carolina	3,635,000	11 - \$55,000	550,000/\$55,000	550,000/\$55,000	16,750	181,750
North Dakota	431,000	1 - 5,000	50,000/\$5,000	50,000/\$5,000	6,550	21,550
Ohio	7,281,000	23 - \$115,000	1,150,000/\$115,000	1,150,000/\$115,000	19,050	364,050
Oklahoma	1,879,000	6 - \$30,000	300,000/\$30,000	300,000/\$30,000	3,950	93,950
Oregon	1,587,000	4 - \$20,000	200,000/\$20,000	200,000/\$20,000	19,350	79,350
Pennsylvania	8,336,000	25 - \$125,000	1,250,000/\$125,000	1,250,000/\$125,000	41,800	416,800
Rhode Island	691,000	2 - \$10,000	100,000/\$10,000	100,000/\$10,000	4,550	34,550
South Carolina	1,831,000	6 - 30,000	250,000/\$25,000	250,000/\$25,000	11,550	91,550
South Dakota	464,000	2 - \$10,000	50,000/\$5,000	50,000/\$5,000	3,200	23,200
Tennessee	2,881,000	8 - \$40,000	400,000/\$40,000	400,000/\$40,000	24,050	144,050
Texas	8,050,000	24 - \$120,000	1,200,000/\$120,000	1,200,000/\$120,000	42,500	402,500
Utah	746,000	2 - \$10,000	100,000/\$10,000	100,000/\$10,000	7,300	37,300
Vermont	316,000	1 - \$5,000	40,000/\$4,000	40,000/\$4,000	2,800	15,800
Virginia	3,331,000	10 - \$50,000	500,000/\$50,000	500,000/\$50,000	16,550	166,550
Washington	2,377,000	7 - \$35,000	350,000/\$35,000	350,000/\$35,000	13,850	118,850
West Virginia	1,238,000	4 - \$20,000	175,000/\$17,500	175,000/\$17,500	6,900	61,900



NON MEDIA ALLOTMENT

STATE	VOTING AGE POPULATION	FIELD FORCE # of men/cost	DIRECT MAIL # of pieces/cost	TELEPHONE # of calls/cost	ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES	TOTAL
Wisconsin	3,121,000	9 - \$45,000	500,000/\$50,000	500,000/\$50,000	\$11,050	\$156,050
Wyoming	244,000	1 - \$5,000	25,000/\$2,500	25,000/\$2,500	2,200	12,200

LEGEND:

1. estimated 18 years old and older
2. at one per Congressional District - \$2,500 salary & \$2,500 expenses
3. at .10¢ per piece
4. at .10¢ per call including installation and supervision
5. headquarters, rental, supplies, staff
6. at .05¢ per eligible voter



PRESIDENTIAL MEDIA BUDGET

TELEVISION		PRINT		RADIO	
50 - 30 sec. spots prime time full network	\$1,625,000	100 - full page ads major market	\$200,000	1000 - 1 min. drive time	\$75,000
30 - 60 sec. spots prime time full network	1,950,000	100,000 lines minor market and weeklies	150,000	250 - 1 min. ethnic and special	6,250
20 - 60 sec. spots prime time full network	1,300,000*	production	30,000	100 - 1 min. promotional (tv 1/2 hrs.)	5,000
4 - 1/2 hr. periods prime time full network	400,000*	special print magazines, inserts, etc.	100,000	production	10,000
production for above	300,000	promotional print (tv 1/2 hrs)	50,000		
	<u>\$5,575,000</u>		<u>\$580,000</u>		<u>\$96,250</u>

Campaign Materials

2,500,000 general brochures	75,000
1,000,000 issue sheets	30,000
misc. campaign printing	50,000
100,000 bumper stickers	10,000
50,000 posters	40,000
100,000 buttons	10,000
	<u>\$215,000</u>

*paid out of RNC funds

REGIONAL MEDIA ASSISTANCE

REGION	POPULATION	AMOUNT
New England	8,467,000	\$ 169,340
Mid Atlantic	26,135,000	522,700
East North Central	27,688,000	553,700
West North Central	11,496,000	229,920
South Atlantic	22,759,000	455,180
East South Central	9,064,000	181,280
West South Central	13,803,000	276,060
Mountain	6,267,000	125,340
Pacific	19,250,000	385,000



CANDIDATE TRAVEL ALLOTMENT

PRESIDENTIAL TRAVEL

50,000 Air Miles @ \$4.00	\$200,000
Advance Costs - 50 Events	100,000
Advance Man Fees	
25 Men @ \$2,000	\$50,000
Advance Man Expenses	
10 Weeks @ \$200	50,000
Rally Assistance - 50 Events	500,000
Sound Equipment	
Leaflet Printing	
Busses	
Band Expenses	
Ticket Printing	
Advertising	
Hall Rentals, etc.	
	<hr/>
	\$800,000

PRESIDENTIAL & VICE PRESIDENTIAL FAMILY TRAVEL

Air Travel - 50 Events	\$100,000
Advance Costs	50,000
Rally Assistance - 50 Events	200,000
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	\$350,000

VICE PRESIDENTIAL TRAVEL

50,000 Air Miles @ \$2.00	\$100,000
Advance Costs - 50 Events	50,000
Advance Man Fees	
12 Men @ \$2,000	\$24,000
Advance Man Expenses	
@ \$200 per week	26,000
Rally Assistance - 50 Events	250,000
Sound Equipment	
Leaflet Printing	
Busses	
Band Expenses	
Ticket Printing	
Advertising	
Hall Rentals, etc.	
	<hr/>
	\$400,000

SURROGATE SPEAKER TRAVEL

Air Travel - 150 Events	\$ 75,000
Rally Assistance	75,000
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	\$150,000

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE ALLOTMENT FOR SURVEY RESEARCH *

Alabama	\$17,500	Missouri	\$20,000
Alaska	7,500	Montana	10,000
Arizona	10,000	Nebraska	10,000
Arkansas	10,000	Neveda	7,500
California	50,000	New Hampshire	10,000
Colorado	10,000	New Jersey	50,000
Connecticut	12,500	New Mexico	10,000
Delaware	7,500	New York	50,000
District of Columbia	7,500	North Carolina	25,000
Florida	50,000	North Dakota	7,500
Georgia	20,000	Ohio	50,000
Hawaii	10,000	Oklahoma	12,500
Idaho	10,000	Oregon	12,500
Illinois	50,000	Pennsylvania	50,000
Indiana	25,000	Rhode Island	10,000
Iowa	12,500	South Carolina	12,500
Kansas	12,500	South Dakota	10,000
Kentucky	12,500	Tennessee	15,000
Louisiana	20,000	Texas	50,000
Maine	10,000	Utah	10,000
Maryland	20,000	Vermont	7,500
Massachusetts	25,000	Virginia	20,000
Michigan	50,000	Washington	15,000
Minnesota	20,000	West Virginia	12,500
Mississippi	12,500	Wisconsin	10,000
		Wyoming	10,000



*includes bench marks surveys and panel follow () in key states



BONUS FUNDS FOR KEY STATES

STATE	ELECTORAL VOTE	POPULATION	NON-MEDIA TOTAL	MAILING	TELEPHONE	MEDIA	TOTAL	GRAND TOTAL KEY STATES
California.	45	14,509,000	\$725,450	2,000,000/\$200,000	1,000,000/\$100,000	\$62,725	\$362,725	\$1,088,175
Florida	17	5,799,000	289,950	500,000/\$50,000	500,000/\$50,000	44,975	144,975	434,925
Illinois	26	7,646,000	382,300	750,000/\$75,000	750,000/\$75,000	41,150	191,150	573,450
Indiana	13	3,003,000	180,150	300,000/\$30,000	300,000/\$30,000	30,075	90,075	270,225
Michigan	21	6,037,000	301,850	550,000/\$55,000	550,000/\$55,000	40,925	150,925	452,775
New Jersey	17	5,099,000	254,950	500,000/\$50,000	500,000/\$50,000	27,475	127,475	382,425
New York	41	12,700,000	635,000	1,500,000/\$150,000	1,250,000/\$125,000	42,500	317,500	952,500
Ohio	25	7,281,000	364,050	750,000/\$75,000	750,000/\$75,000	32,025	182,025	546,075
Pennsylvania	27	8,336,000	416,800	1,000,000/\$100,000	750,000/\$75,000	32,400	208,400	625,200
Texas	26	8,050,000	402,500	1,000,000/\$100,000	600,000/\$60,000	41,250	201,250	603,750



ADDENDA

Illinois Presidential Campaign - 1972

PERSONNEL

Administration

Chairman
Executive Director
2 Secretaries
2 Clerks
1 Switchboard

Field Operations

1 Director
2 Secretaries
35 Fieldmen

Other Full Time

P.R. - 4
Volunteer Directors - 2
Umbrella Groups - 5
Research - 1
Finance - 2

Total Full Time - 59

FACILITIES

Phone Centers - 35
Storefronts - 103
Major Headquarters - 3
Congressional District Headquarters - 17

TELEPHONE CONTACTS

1,650,000

TOTAL BUDGET*

\$819,000

*Exclusive of Media

CC

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 22, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JERRY JONES

FROM:

FRED SLIGHT *FDS*

The following leadership is correct as best as I can recollect or determine. In some instances, responsibilities were shared with individuals other than the "official" chairman and in these cases such persons are indicated in parenthesis.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>
1952	Henry C. Lodge & Herbert Brownell (Arthur Summer- field & Sherman Adams)	--
1956	Len Hall (Sherman Adams)	--
1960	Len Hall & Bob Finch	Larry O'Brien
1964	Denny Kitchell (Dean Burch)	Larry O'Brien
1968	John Mitchell (H.R. Haldeman)	Larry O'Brien
1972	John Mitchell & Clark MacGregor (H.R. Haldeman)	Gary Hart & Frank Mankiewicz (Larry O'Brien)

The finance leaders were as follows.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>
1952	Sinclair Weeks	--
1956	Clif Folger	--
1960	Spencer Olin (Clif Folger)	--



<u>Year</u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>
1964	Ralph Cordiner	--
1968	Maurice Stans	Eugene Wyman
1972	Maurice Stans	Henry Kimelman

