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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

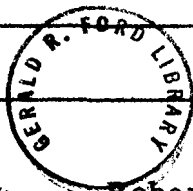
4.1.75

TO: Jack Calkins

For Your Information ✓

For Appropriate Handling

Original sent to Bill Walker



RDL

Robert D. Linder

RNC
Personnel Recm.
FAA Adm.
Stan Parris

W

WHA018(0924)(2-008462E091)PD 04/01/75 0924

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PMS PRESIDENT GERALD FORD

WHITE HOUSE DC

DEAR MR PRESIDENT I WOULD LIKE TO STRONGLY RECOMMEND YOUR

CONSIDERATION OF STAN PARRIS FOR THE POSITION OF ADMINISTRATOR OF

THE FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION. STAN HAS BEEN AN ABLE LEADER OF

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HERE IN VIRGINIA, A MEMBER OF THE VIRGINIA

GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND THEN OF THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS.

HIS EXPERIENCE IN AVIATION AND IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS BOTH FIT HIM

ADMIRABLY FOR THIS POSITION.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH

RICHARD D OBENSHAIN CO-CHAIRMAN REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

NNNN



Republican
National
Committee.

Mary Louise Smith
(111-11)

Given, pls handle

May 13, 1975

MEMORANDUM

TO: Robert Hartmann
FROM: Mary Louise Smith *MS*
SUBJECT: RNC Open House

may note + attention also?
gave
Sure

I would appreciate it if you would extend an invitation on my behalf to the White House Senior Staff and their aides and assistants to an RNC Open House on Tuesday, June 10 at 6:00 p. m.

you'll be Europe.

We would enjoy having members of the White House Staff tour the building, meet the Division Directors and, in general, discuss the internal operations of the Committee.

5/19/75
gave

The welcome mat is out and we hope many of you will be able to accept our hospitality. If possible, please let me know how many of the Staff we can expect on the 10th and thanks for passing on the word to your colleagues.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 9, 1975

MEETING WITH MARY LOUISE SMITH

Tuesday, June 10, 1975

5:45 p.m. (15 minutes)

The Oval Office

From: Gwen Anderson *GA*

I. PURPOSE

Mary Louise Smith, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, has requested this appointment with you.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS PLAN

- A. Background: Mrs. Smith wishes to discuss some questions regarding the Republican National Finance Committee.
- B. Participants: Mary Louise Smith
- C. Staff: Counsellor Robert T. Hartmann
- D. Press Plan: None

III. TALKING POINTS

None required.



STATEMENT OF MARY LOUISE SMITH ON JUNE 16, 1975

The President acted in the forthright and open manner to which we have become accustomed in declaring that he wants to keep Vice President Rockefeller on the ticket. At the same time, the President is not depriving the Republican Party of the right to choose its nominees by leaving the ultimate choice up to the National Convention delegates.

As Chairman of the Republican National Committee, I must myself remain neutral in the matter of nominations before the Convention. However, I do agree with the President that Mr. Rockefeller is an especially able man with a lifetime of dedicated service to his country.



RLH
m
MARY LOUISE SMITH
CHAIRMAN

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
310 FIRST STREET, S.E.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003

June 16, 1975

The Honorable Robert Hartmann
Counsellor to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Bob:

Just a brief note to thank you for your assistance in arranging for the Senior White House Staff to visit the Republican Headquarters recently.

The RNC Staff and I tremendously enjoyed the opportunity to meet with them and to spend a few social hours getting better acquainted.

With warmest best wishes.

Sincerely,

Mary Louise

Mary Louise Smith



DATE 6-11-75

TO:

R.T.H.

FROM:

GWEN ANDERSON



INFORMATION: X

ACTION: _____

APPROPRIATE HANDLING: _____

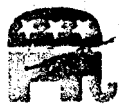
OTHER: _____

COMMENTS:

Alde Hermann

wanted you to have
a copy of RNC

Speakers Bureau assignment



Republican
National
Committee.

Bel H. F41-184

MEMORANDUM

SPEAKERS BUREAU ASSIGNMENTS

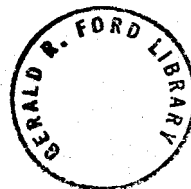
AB Hermann, Assistant to the Chairman
and Director, Speakers Bureau

Period Covered: January 1 - May 31, 1975

Number of Speaking Engagements: 315

Estimated Total Attendance: 101,700

Estimated Total Phone Calls: 1,900



SPEAKERS ASSIGNED
January 1 - May 31, 1975

CABINET

Simon	1
Weinberger	3
Butz	18
Morton	2
Coleman	2
Dent	1

GOVERNORS

Moore	1
Bond	1
Thomson	1
Bowen	3
Holshouser	1
Milliken	1

SENATORS

Tower	5
Roth	1
Domenici	3
Dole	10
Brock	2
Stevens	7
Baker	4
Curtis	4
Hatfield	2
Case	1
Brooke	2
Schweiker	1
M. Young	1
Goldwater, Sr.	2
Griffin	2
Percy	3
Packwood	2
Bartlett	1
Stafford	1
Laxalt	1
Bellmon	1
Garns	1
Buckley	1
Fannin	1

RNC STAFF & MEMBERS

Chm Smith	16
Co-Chm Obenshain	15
Hermann	7
Guarino	25
Engebretson	1
Rove	8
Bertini	2
Wilks	2
Bishop	1
Armitage	1
Peckham	2
McInnis	1
Bill Lee	1
Ray Bliss	1
Jack Ranson	1



CONGRESSMEN

Rinaldo	6
Frey	2
Kemp	4
Rhodes	11
Anderson	6
Emery	6
Goldwater, Jr.	2
Esch	1
Conable	4
Crane	2
Moore	3
Heinz	4
Broyhill	1
Martin	1
Forsythe	1
Fish	1
Steiger (Sam)	1
Kasten	1
Pressler	1
Fenwick	1
Steiger (Bill)	1
Biester	1
Myers (Pa.)	1
Wilson	1
Symms	1
DuPont	1
Edwards (Jack)	1
Bafalis	2
Michel	2
Guyer	1
Kelly	1
Heckler	1
Bauman	1

ADMINISTRATION

Seamans (Energy)	1
Harsh (AGri.)	1
Brooks (Treas.)	1
LaSala (FEA)	1
Knauer (WHse)	1
Kleppe (SBA)	1
Jones (Treas.)	2
Hidalgo (USIA)	1
Wise (Treas.)	1
Garrett (WHse)	1
Anderson (WHse)	3
Lindh (WHse)	1

MISC.

Miller (Wm. E.)	1
Reagan	2
Scranton	1
Lugar	1
Knowles (Wisc.)	1
Orr (Ind.)	1
Ruckelshaus	1
Ayres	2
Mizell	1
Miller (Pa.)	1
Devlin (Pa.)	1
Sandman	<u>1</u>
Potter, I. Lee	1
Lionette (Mass.)	1

→ RTH

FYI

from Gwen

Conrad
RTH+
JC

June 10, 1975

MEMORANDUM

To: Warren Rustand

From: Mary Louise Smith

The following political invitations with Republican National Committee recommendations are attached for the President's consideration:

- | | | |
|-------------|------------------|------------------------|
| 1. #27-P-75 | Des Moines, Iowa | October 7, 8, 13 or 14 |
| 2. #30-P-75 | New Jersey | September or October |
| 3. #31-P-75 | Dallas, Texas | September 13, 14 |

bcc Dick Obenshain
Eddie Mahe
AB Hermann
Jo Good
Dick Thaxton
✓ Gwen Anderson
Gary Engebretson

kp



Number 30-P-75

State NEW JERSEY

Date September/October

Action _____

Sponsor: Republican Party of New Jersey

Place: _____ City: _____

Type of Event: Fundraising Dinner for Rep. Assembly candidates
Attendance: approx. 400

Requested by: national Committeeman Bern Shanley & Mr. Barba, Finance Chairman

Address: 570 Broad Street; Newark, N.J. 07102 Phone: 201/643-1220

Congressional district: _____ Republican Congressman: _____

Rep. elected officials: Sen. Clifford Case; 3 Republicans out of 15 Congressmen
Fenwick, Forsythe, Rinaldo
Conv. delegates: 67

Recommendations:

State Chairman: Webster Todd (609/989-7300)(h. 201/234-0398 or 439-2423)

This is main event of the year for the state party. Most anxious to have
President anytime but Todd will be out of state from Sept. 21 to 28.

Sponsoring organization: (financial position) (June 9) expenses understood and
agreed to by Mr. Todd

Fieldman: Max Rohm - high priority for this invitation. N.J. is one of only 4 states
with statewide Assembly races in '75. State experienced tremendous losses in
'73 but state is working very hard to recover and this would be a great boost
to the state party.

Charlie Peckham: Highly recommended especially in view of this years' elections.

Chairman Smith: Very important to them this year

Should be accepted if at all possible X

Strongly recommended _____

Recommended _____

Worth considering if consistent with future schedules _____

Not recommended _____

Rejected _____ reason: _____



Number 27-P-73

State IOWA

Date Oct. 7, 8, 13, 14

Action _____

Sponsor: Republican State Central Committee of Iowa

Place: Hotel Ft. Des Moines & Veterans Memorial Auditorium City: Des Moines -- Polk Co.

Type of Event: Fundraiser

Attendance: _____

Requested by: John McDonald, Chairman

Address: 1540 High St., Des Moines, Iowa 50309

Phone: 515/282-8105

Congressional district: 4

Republican Congressman: -----

Rep. elected officials: one out of six Congressmen - Chuck Grassley; Gov. Ray

Conv. delegates : 36

Recommendations:

State Chairman: John McDonald (o. 515/992-3728)

Sponsoring organization: (financial position)

Fieldman: Ron Rice - Strong, favorable recommendation. State Party could use money.

Charlie Peckham: recommended on the basis that doing it this year will obviate doing it next year.

Chairman Smith: What Le a good event!

Should be accepted if at all possible _____

Strongly recommended ☒ _____

Recommended _____

Worth considering if consistent with future schedules _____

Not recommended _____

Rejected _____ reason: _____



Date Sept. 13, 1975

Action _____

Sponsor: National Federation of Republican Women

Place: Fairmont Hotel City: Dallas

Type of Event: Biennial Attendance: _____

Requested by: Connie Armitage, President

Address: 310 First St., S. E. Washington, D. C. 20003 Phone: 484-6670

Congressional district: _____ Republican Congressman: _____

Rep. elected officials: _____

Conv. delegates : _____

Recommendations:

State Chairman: Jack Warren

Sponsoring organization: (financial position)(Reagan speaking Friday night.

Vice President invited 12th or 13th)

Fieldman: Doug Lewis - recommended

Charlie Peckham: Recommended.

Chairman Smith: _____

Should be accepted if at all possible _____

Strongly recommended _____

Recommended X 7/13/75

Worth considering if consistent with future schedules _____

Not recommended _____

Rejected _____ reason: _____





Republican National Committee.

Mary Louise Smith
Chairman

File

July 11, 1975

The Honorable Robert T. Hartmann
Counsellor to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Bob:

I am enclosing a memorandum which Dick and I have prepared, at Bill Cramer's suggestion. We felt it might be helpful to you with regard to the subject we will be discussing at lunch.

Thanks greatly.

Sincerely,

Mary Louise

Mary Louise Smith

Enc.

cc: Hon. William C. Cramer



CONFIDENTIAL

Determined to be an
Administrative Marking

By 80 NARA, Date 6/15/2015

MEMORANDUM FROM

MARY LOUISE SMITH AND DICK OBENSHAIN

The purpose of this memorandum is to set forth the present financial position of the Republican National Committee. It will outline certain choices which are now before us and the potential results of those choices.

The chief budget officer of the Committee has informed us that we face an imminent financial crisis unless steps are taken immediately to either increase our revenues or decrease expenditures. The figures below indicate the seriousness of this problem if we continue our operations at the present level.

	<u>July</u>	<u>Aug.</u>	<u>Sept.</u>	<u>Total</u>
Projected Income	\$600,000	\$450,000	\$450,000	\$1,500,000
Projected Expenditures	<u>625,000</u>	<u>650,000</u>	<u>650,000</u>	<u>1,925,000</u>
Projected Deficit	(25,000)	(200,000)	(200,000)	(425,000)

(Reflected in these figures are possible amounts which can reasonably be expected to come from various sources, including direct mail, pledges and 1972 and 1976 convention-related funds)

This situation is not markedly different than it was one month ago except for the critical loss of time and serious depletion of reserves. During that time a maximum effort has been made to work with and encourage the Chairman of the Republican National Finance Committee in developing initiatives to generate funds from large contributors on a direct solicitation basis.

At the end of that month, little demonstrable progress has been made in increasing major contributions. More important, there has been no solid commitment to future levels of fund-raising from major contributors; the time schedules necessary for planning future expenditures have been ignored.

Last fall we approved a fundraising program that projected \$8,000,000 of budgeted expenditures. It was felt that this was both achievable and necessary if we were to have any chance to raise the estimated \$21-23 million we must have in 1976 to both meet our budget and fulfill the mandate set forth under the new law. Although we are exactly on target for budgeted expenditures, the almost total lack of income from large contributors has brought us to the present crisis. We cannot with prudence launch into the months ahead without major corrective action.



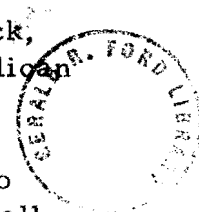
The first and obvious solution is to drastically cut back the services provided by the Republican National Committee by July 15. We feel that this is an absolutely unacceptable solution; however, it must be looked squarely in the face unless other alternative remedies can be successfully implemented.

The threat of a cutback endangers what has been the entire thrust of Committee programs since September, 1974. Our total effort has been devoted to building the Republican Party organizations at the state and local levels.

Our political plans for the 1975-76 campaigns are dictated by the increased responsibilities given to the Party organizations under the new Federal Campaign law. These services include:

- extensive opposition research conducted, to date, on ten Democrat presidential potentials, 12 Democrat Senate incumbents and 40 House Democrats;
- collecting and analysing precinct data; approximately 70 percent of 1974 precinct-level election data has been collected and 95 percent of 1972 data has been analysed on computer;
- developing computerized national voter name list; currently involved with 10 of 25 target states in early development of voter name lists and negotiating the purchase of 53 million names with phone numbers on computer;
- internal survey research (polling) capability; have in 1975 conducted 6 statewide surveys; plans to conduct early baseline studies in 80 Congressional Districts;
- expanded field force - 12 regional directors -- to aid state and local parties; involved directly in candidate recruitment, party organization and other activities; the field directors have developed excellent rapport with Party leadership;
- education and training programs; conducted 1 major metro area seminar, 4 large city seminars, 12 regional seminars, 5 finance seminars; planned for September, 2 communication-finance seminars; and
- organizing special voter groups, including Spanish-speaking, Black, Senior Citizens, Youth and Ethnic groups; also have begun Republican Mayors program.

The main objective of these programs is to develop and provide to candidates and party organizations those things which they have traditionally done for themselves at great cost, but can no longer afford.



Great momentum has been achieved thus far; this was strongly demonstrated at the Spring Leadership Conference. Contributing materially to this momentum has been increasingly effective intra-party communications, as well as programs to bring Republicanism to the forefront in the public media. More than thirty state party organizations are now committed to participating in the registration drive we have planned for this fall. This will be the climax of our 1975 programs. This voter identification effort will continue and increase the momentum.

Massive staff and program cuts would bring most of these programs and all of this momentum to a halt. And, obviously, staff and program cuts at the RNC would have serious political consequences. Such news would gratify the party's critics who have claimed that the GOP is dead. It would seriously blemish the Republican gains and demoralize regular state GOP organizations who are responding so positively to RNC programs.

There is a pressing need for an immediate emergency effort designed to raise \$300,000 before August 1. This is essential regardless of the ultimate decision in the matter of the Finance Chairman. It is recommended and requested that a person, or group of persons, be asked to make some calls on a crash basis, being totally aware of the emergency nature of their actions as well as of the long range importance and significance of them.

This emergency action will not provide a total solution in and of itself because it does not solve our long-range fund-raising problem. Along with this emergency effort must go continued planning and implementing to meet our needs for September and beyond. A solid, workable program for 1976 must be phased in simultaneously with the short-range remedy. On the basis of present performance - or lack thereof - we have reluctantly and regretfully concluded that the programs necessary to support the Republican National Committee for the remainder of this year cannot be established under the present Finance Chairman nor can the long-range programs that will allow the National Committee to meet its larger obligations in 1976 be successful under his direction.

July 10, 1975



Copy To JTC



Republican National Committee.

Mary Louise Smith
Chairman

August 1, 1975

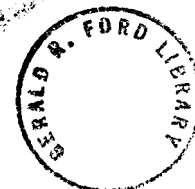
MEMORANDUM

To: Robert T. Hartmann

From: Mary Louise Smith *MLS*

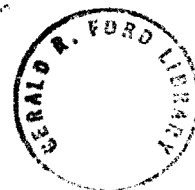
Subject: Presidential Political Invitations
Update

Attached for your information please find an updated list of requests for Presidential political travel and current status, from my memo to you of July 1, which have been processed to date by the Republican National Committee.



#	Event	Date	State	Status
* 19	Rhode Island State Finance Comm. Fundraiser Dinner	Aug 30	R.I.	ACCEPTED
* 31	National Federation of Republican Women Biennial Convention	Sep 13	TX	ACCEPTED
* 33	Oregon Republican State Central Comm. Fundraiser	Sep 4	OR	ACCEPTED
* 34	Washington Republican St. Central Comm. Fundraiser	Sep 4	WS	ACCEPTED
* 35	Montana Republican State Central Comm. Fundraiser	Sept 5	MT	Regretted
41	Missouri Republican Finance Comm. Fundraiser	Sep 12	MO	ACCEPTED
42	Bob Price Fundraiser barbecue	Sept	TX	Regretted
43	Minnesota Republican State Central Comm Fundraiser	Aug 19	MINN	ACCEPTED
44	Republican State Central Comm. of Iowa Fundraiser Dinner	Aug 18	IOWA	ACCEPTED
45	Maine Republican State Comm. Fundraiser	Aug 30	ME	ACCEPTED
46	Republican Party of Shelby County Party gathering	Dec 22	TN	Regretted
47	Republican Committee of Oakland County Friends of Dan Murphy gathering	Oct 10,11	MICH	Regretted
48	Oklahoma Rep. State Committee Fundraiser/Convention	My 14	OKLA	Holding
49	Massachusetts Republican State Comm Fundraiser	Oc/Nov	MASS	Holding
50	New Fairfield Republican Town Comm Dinner	Open	CONN	Regretted
51	New Mexico State Republican Party Lincoln Day Dinner	Feb, Mr Apr	NM	Holding
52	Republican Central Comm. of Cook County Republican Conference	Nov	ILL	Regretted
53	Kansas Republican State Comm.	Sept 12	KS	ACCEPTED

* Invitation previously pending



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 25, 1975

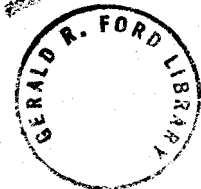
MEMORANDUM FOR: JACK HUSHEN
THROUGH: PHIL BUCHEN *P.W.B.*
FROM: BARRY ROTH *BR*
SUBJECT: RNC Expenditures for
Titular Head of Party

Referencing yesterday's Evans and Novak column concerning expenditures by the RNC for the President as titular party head, the following should be of assistance to you in responding to additional inquiries:

1. In an August 7 letter (attached) to FEC Chairman Curtis, Philip Buchen indicated that (a) the two national political committees have traditionally undertaken certain expenditures in furtherance of party goals for activities by the President and Vice President as titular heads of their political parties; (b) the RNC has made such expenditures during the present and prior Administrations; and (c) Buchen has requested the RNC General Counsel to contact the FEC directly in this regard.

2. On August 15, the RNC Counsel wrote to Chairman Curtis, at Buchen's request, that the RNC was drafting "a communication" to the FEC on these expenditures, which would be transmitted to them no later than September 12. This letter is also attached.

3. Such expenditures by the RNC are included within their quarterly reports of receipts and expenditures which are filed with the FEC, the Clerk of the House and the Secretary of the Senate.



4. The RNC only pays for the President's travel in his titular party role. Jerry Jones advises that the only trips now planned for the remainder of 1975 are either official or as head of the party, e.g., fund raisers at RNC invitation.

5. The PFC has not requested an advisory opinion from the FEC on the President's travels as head of party versus those as candidate, rather the RNC (above) has written to the FEC on this matter.

6. Phil Buchen's answer was to whether an advisory opinion would be sought on the apportionment of travel expenses on mixed political-official trips, not on the distinction between the President's two political roles.

In summary, the conclusion that we are interpreting the law as we see fit is inconsistent with the letters that have already been sent to the FEC, either by us or at our request.

cc: Don Rumsfeld
Bob Hartmann ✓
Jack Marsh
Dick Cheney
Jerry Jones



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 7, 1975

Dear Mr. Curtis:

This is in response to your letter of July 10, 1975, inquiring whether President Ford maintains an office account, newsletter fund or similar account within the purview of 2 U.S.C. 439a.

I regret the delay in responding to your inquiry. However, it was necessary to review in detail our present practices in order to respond fully to your question. No such accounts are maintained by or on behalf of the President to defray "any ordinary and necessary expenses incurred by him in connection with his duties as a holder of Federal office...."

As an accommodation to the White House press corps which travels with the President on all trips, regardless of the nature of the trip, the White House travel office has traditionally maintained a so-called press travel account. This account receives payments from the White House press corps for its share of the costs of travelling on Air Force One, the press charter plane which follows the President's plane, and any ground transportation necessary for the press to accompany the President at virtually all times while away from Washington.

Due to the unique nature of the President's schedule; e.g., confidential departure times, use of military bases, possibilities for sudden schedule changes, etc., the White House travel office makes the necessary arrangement for these transportation costs and bills the media accordingly. Receipts are maintained in an account used only for this purpose. Disbursements from this account are generally made into the Treasury of the United States for travel on government planes, to the airlines from whom planes have been chartered, and to the appropriate companies for ground transportation expenses.



While this account is not used for support of a holder of Federal office, we would be pleased to make its records available for inspection by members of your staff.

It is our understanding that for a number of years the two national political committees have undertaken certain expenditures in furtherance of party goals for activities by the President and Vice President as the titular heads of their political parties. The Republican National Committee has made such expenditures during the present and prior Administrations. I have, therefore, requested the General Counsel of the Republican National Committee to respond to you directly with respect to these expenditures. He has advised that these expenditures have already been filed with the Federal Election Commission, the Clerk of the House and the Secretary of the Senate, in the Committee's quarterly reports, and that he will promptly contact the FEC to discuss the matter further.

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

Sincerely,

Philip W. Buchen

Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Mr. Thomas B. Curtis
Chairman
Federal Election Commission
Washington, D. C. 20463

CC: Cramer, Haber & Becker



CRAMER, HABER & BECKER

WILLIAM C. CRAMER
RICHARD M. HABER
BENTON L. BECKER
EDMUND PENDLETON
ANTHONY J. McMAHON
ARTHUR R. AMDUR
MICHAEL A. MILWEE

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475 L'ENFANT PLAZA, S. W.
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CRAMER & MATTHEWS
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TWO BISCAYNE BOULEVARD, SOUTH
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(305) 358-0980
BRADHAM, LYLE, SKIPPER & CRAMER
899 FIRST AVENUE NORTH
ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA 33701
(813) 895-1991

OF COUNSEL
CHARLES W. SANDMAN, JR.
F. LAWRENCE MATTHEWS
KENNETH MICHAEL ROBINSON

August 15, 1975

Honorable Thomas B. Curtis, Chairman
The Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

Dear Chairman Curtis:

On August 7, 1975, Philip W. Buchen, Counsel to the President, wrote your office in response to its letter of July 10, 1975, which raised certain inquiries relative to a White House office account, newsletter fund, and similar accounts within the purview of 2 U.S.C. 439a. Mr. Buchen's communication made reference to expenditures paid by the Republican National Committee in furtherance of Party goals for activities performed by the President and Vice President as titular head of their political party.

Mr. Buchen stated:

"It is our understanding that for a number of years the two national political committees have undertaken certain expenditures in furtherance of party goals for activities by the President and Vice President as the titular heads of their political parties. The Republican National Committee has made such expenditures during the present and prior Administrations. I have, therefore, requested the General Counsel of the Republican National Committee to respond



Honorable Thomas B. Curtis

Page 2

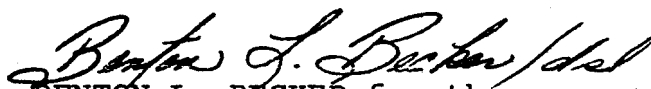
August 15, 1975

to you directly with respect to these expenditures. He has advised that these expenditures have already been filed with the Federal Election Commission, the Clerk of the House and the Secretary of the Senate, in the Committee's quarterly reports, and that he will promptly contact the FEC to discuss the matter further."

This is to advise that the Republican National Committee is currently undertaking the draftsmanship of a communication to the Federal Election Commission which documents would purport to disclose the history and purpose of the expenditures referred to in Mr. Buchen's correspondence, offer a rationale for same and generally acquaint the FEC with the need to recognize the concept that major parties payments for on-going party expenses in both election and non-election years are not chargeable to any Federal candidate.

It is anticipated that this project will be completed and transmitted to your office no later than September 12, 1975. In the interim, should you have any questions or inquiry regarding this matter, do not hesitate to call upon me.

Sincerely,


BENTON L. BECKER for the
Republican National Committee

BLB:dsl



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

From: Robert T. Hartmann

To: Jack Calkins

Date: September 2, 1975

Time

~~xxxx~~

p.m.

For your information.



RNC - COLLEGE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL
COMMITTEE

ROVE, Karl

(re. PERPS - Program to Educate
for Republican Principles)

September 2, 1975

Dear Mr. Rove:

Thank you for your letter of August 28th and for your thoughtfulness in forwarding the enclosed materials concerning the College Republican National Committee's Program to Educate for Republican Principles (PERPS). Your offer to send additional PERPS materials is appreciated.

With kind regards.

Sincerely,

ROBERT T. HARTMANN
Counsellor to the President

Mr. Karl Rove, Chairman
College Republican National Committee
310 First Street
Washington, D. C. 20003

RTH:nm

bcc: Jack Calkins



College Republican National Committee.

*Thank
you to JR
for info*

August 28, 1975

Mr. Bob Hartmann
Counsellor to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Hartmann:

I thought you would be interested in the enclosed materials being distributed on campuses by College Republican chapters.

These materials talk about the President's deregulation proposals. They are part of a program of the College Republican National Committee called PERPS. This stands for Program to Educate for Republican Principles.

PERPS tries to get College Republican clubs to spend a month publicizing one issue. Each month the National Committee will supply clubs with PERPS material on an issue. At minimum, we want to get them in the habit of reprinting the flyer and distributing it.

I thought you might be interested in these. I will make certain you get copies of additional issue materials.

Sincerely,



Karl Rove
Chairman

rmb
Enclosure



September 2, 1975

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College Republican National Committee
310 First Street
Washington, D. C. 20003**

RTH:nm

bcc: Jack Calkins



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College Republican National Committee
310 First Street
Washington, D. C. 20003**

RTH:nn

bcc: Jack Calkins



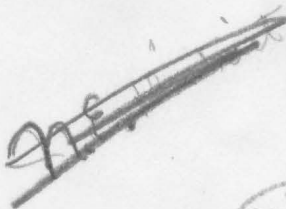
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 9, 1975

MR. Hartmann:

Sarah Currance in Dr. Connor's office dropped this off and said that it was for inclusion in the briefing papers that you would prepare when Mary Louise Smith would visit the President.

Gail



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN....

File

August 29, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DONALD RUMSFELD

FROM:

BO CALLAWAY

RE:

Republican National
Committee

This will confirm our conversation with the President today. The President has agreed that he will ask Mary Louise Smith to set up a task force as follows:

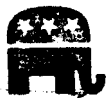
Mary Louise Smith, Chairman
Bryce Harlow
Ray Bliss
Bill Timmons
Dick Rosenblau

Consultants:

Cliff White
Ed deBoldt

The purpose of the task force is to provide a report to the President on how the RNC should be organized under the new election laws for the campaign for President. It is important that Mary Louise understands that this is an overall study, starting from ground zero with no sacred cows. It is not just a study to look at what is being done and recommend minor changes. The report should be in to the President by November 15. The purpose is to look at the RNC staff organization to determine it's productivity, it's effectiveness, it's imagination, and it's professionalism. It should be the basis of the RNC organization that either melds with or works closely with the President Ford Committee from the nomination through the election in November.





Republican National Committee.

Mary Louise Smith
Chairman

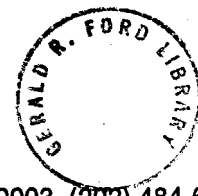
September 15, 1975

Honorable Thomas B. Curtis
The Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

Dear Chairman Curtis:

As indicated by Philip W. Buchen, Counsel to the President, on August 7, 1975, the Republican National Committee (R.N.C.) has undertaken the payment of certain expenditures incurred by the President, Vice President and their aides when engaged in National, state or local political party promotional activities. He correctly observed that these R.N.C. expenditures are within the public domain, having been filed quarterly by the R.N.C. with the Federal Election Commission, the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the United States Senate. This correspondence shall serve to further amplify those filings, to discuss the historical tradition associated with the President's role and obligation as head of the Republican Party, to consider alternative sources of payment for such expenditures, and, finally, to briefly categorize the items paid for by the Republican National Committee.

Mr. Buchen's letter of September 3, 1975, responded to F.E.C. Notice 1975-38 (F.R. 80202) wherein the Commission, "sought comments concerning a request from the Campaign Manager for Mr. Louis Wyman". Counsel's correspondence disclosed the method employed by the White House to allocate the cost of operating Government-owned aircraft on political and mixed official-political trips by the President, Vice President and their aides. Accordingly, this Memorandum will not address itself to the apportionment formula contained in Mr. Buchen's letter of September 3, 1975.



Honorable Thomas B. Curtis
Page 2
September 15, 1975

The question to be considered is:

"DOES THE FEDERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN LAW OF 1974 HAVE APPLICATION TO THE HISTORICAL TRADITION OF A NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTY'S PAYMENT OF EXPENSES INCURRED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THEIR AIDES WHILE ENGAGED IN NATIONAL, STATE, OR LOCAL PARTY PROMOTIONAL ACTIVITIES?"

The question of the Federal Election Campaign Law's application is restricted to expenses incurred for acts of the President, Vice President and their aides when engaged in Republican party political activities and is not addressed to those expenses incurred by the President, Vice President and their aides when engaged politically on behalf of any individual political candidate, including the candidacy of the President and Vice President themselves.

National political parties in the United States arose in the late Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries. What had been largely legislative parties evolved into constituency-based parties when the states expanded male suffrage by eliminating property-owning and taxpaying qualifications for the voting franchise. Although not mentioned in the American Constitution, National political parties have historically served to effectuate, organize and promote the exercise of the franchise right by the electorate.

In the early days of the Republic, Federal candidates had no great need for funds to reach a vast popular electorate. The electorate was widely scattered, served by a primitive communication system and largely restricted in its size by racial, sexual and property holding qualifications. The typical campaign was waged, almost exclusively, in the newspapers and financed largely by the individual candidates themselves. With the abolition of voting right restrictions, a new electorate resulted. To service, to communicate and to persuade that new electorate, National political parties evolved.



Honorable Thomas B. Curtis
Page 3
September 15, 1975

The American President has traditionally served as the leader of his party. President John F. Kennedy viewed the Presidents' partisan role in the following manner:

"No President, it seems to me, can escape politics. He has not only been chosen by the nation--he has been chosen by his party . . . if he neglects the party machinery and avoids his party's leadership--then he has not only weakened the political party . . . he has dealt a blow to the democratic process itself."^{1/}

In the minds of the public, the programs of the President are also the programs of his party; his personal success or failure becomes the party's success or failure. The Chief Executive is the embodiment of his party.

Thomas W. Madron and Carl P. Chelf, 1974 treatise titled Political Parties in the United States, commented on the President's role as head of the party:

"Frequently the party and the executive constitute a sort of mutual accommodation society . . . the executive uses the party as a channel for interacting with other elements in the political system, while on other occasions the executive will function as a vehicle for promoting party goals."^{2/}

But, who shall assume the cost incurred when the executive so functions?

^{1/}

Quoted by Stuart G. Brown, The American Presidency: Leadership, Partisanship, and Popularity (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1966) Flyleaf.

^{2/}

Mandron and Chelf, Political Parties in the United States, Holbrook Press, 1974, at page 286.



Honorable Thomas B. Curtis
Page 4
September 15, 1975

The Federal Election Campaign Law of 1974 reflects definitional distinctions between a "national committee" [2 U.S.C. 431 (1)], a "state committee" [2 U.S.C. 431 (1)], and a "political committee" [2 U.S.C. 431 (d)]. The distinctions are indicative of Congress' recognition of the existence of general partisan activity conducted on an ongoing basis by National political parties when compared to those activities of a specific candidate's organization seeking election to a specific office within a specific geographical area. National and State party organizations engage in day-to-day business which, among other things, includes maintaining offices, staffs, telephones, registration drives, speaker programs, publications, research, travel, fund raising, convention arrangements and voter education in both election and non-election years. The 1974 Act contains no limiting provision for expenditures by a National or State political party for these functions. The Act does limit the amounts that National and State parties may contribute to, or spend on behalf of, individuals seeking, " . . . Nomination for election, or for election, to Federal office . . ." (18 U.S.C. 608), but it does not impose a maximum monetary budget for the conduct of ongoing party business.

Political campaign committees accept contributions and make expenditures that are identifiable with the committee's support of its particular candidate for a particular office. National political parties, conversely, are charged with the ongoing responsibility of promoting voter registration and creating voter recognition of party identity and ideology, without reference to an individual candidate or election. A large measure of this function is performed by the President, Vice President and their aides on behalf of their National and State parties. When these party functions are performed and costs result from same, the beneficiary of those functions, i.e., the National or State political parties, should and does assume the cost incurred.

Partisan political activity is a recognized and Federally codified facet of an incumbent President's ordinary business. The purpose of the Federal Hatch Act (5 U.S.C. 7321, et seq.) is to prohibit partisan political activities by employees of the Executive Branch of the Federal Government. That prohibition excludes employees of the Office of



Honorable Thomas B. Curtis

Page 5

September 15, 1975

the President and the President, himself. This statutory exclusion is a Congressional recognition of the inherent partisan nature and duties of the Presidency. It does not necessarily follow that because Congress recognized the political role of the President of the United States as head of his party, and authorized his aides to assist him in fulfilling that role, that the expenses thereby incurred should be borne by the Treasury of the United States. As suggested earlier, a more feasible and practical alternative to the taxpayer bearing these costs is that payment of these obligations be assumed by the beneficiary of the acts, i.e., the President's National Political Party.

The obligation to assume a party role for one's National Political Party is not restricted to the President of the United States. Senators and Congressmen frequently are called upon to function as spokesmen for, to aid in fund raising events of, and, generally, to represent their own National Political Party. Such a party role is often undertaken by Members of Congress after announcing their candidacy for reelection to the position they presently hold and/or after announcing their candidacy to the Office of President of the United States. The costs incurred by a United States Senator, who is an announced candidate for the Presidency, when attending a fund raising event for his National or State Party should not deplete his Ten Million Dollar (\$10,000,000) Presidential primary effort. The party role performed by such individuals, acting as party spokesmen at party function, is identical to that party role of a President. Neither incurs the expenditures associated with their role in furtherance of their quest, " . . . for nomination for election, or for election, to Federal office . . . " (18 U.S.C. 608). Democratic National Committee Chairman Strauss' September 5, 1975, press release reflected his disagreement with this principle and argued:

"Suppose I as Chairman of the Democratic Party, should name one of our presidential candidates, or four of them, or all of them, as party leaders and sent them around the country at D.N.C. expense, without limit, and without allocating charges against their spending limits?"



Honorable Thomas B. Curtis

Page 6

September 15, 1975

Where the purpose of an expenditure is not for furthering an individual's candidacy, it is both wrong and unjust to insist that the political status of an individual's candidacy automatically denies to the National Political Parties the party services of its party spokesmen. If that is to be the result, then an artificial distinction has been established which ignores the purpose of the expenditure and, at the same time, expands 18 U.S.C. §608 to limit expenditures which are made for purposes other than those covered by the statute.

In 1975, the Republican National Committee allocated the sum of Five Hundred Thousand Dollars (\$500,000) to support the activities of the President, the Vice President and their aides when engaged in a party role. This budgetary allotment is consistent with past years budgets, without regard to whether the year in question was an election or nonelection year. On September 1, 1975, the Republican National Committee had received and/or paid bills totaling Three Hundred Nine Thousand Dollars (\$309,000) against the annual allotment. The National Party and various State Parties have been substantially aided financially and otherwise by this effort. The purpose of the travel associated with these payments by R.N.C. was not to further the candidacy of the incumbent President, but rather to further Republican Party interest. The Republican National Committee has filed quarterly reports reflecting its quarterly expenditures with the Federal Election Commission since the establishment of that agency. The Republican National Committee believes that it is the proper body to assume these expenditures, just as the Democratic National Committee believed it was the proper body to pay the expense incurred by Democrat Presidents engaged in their National party affairs during the years 1960 through 1968.

When the President, Vice President, and their aides are engaged in political activity on behalf of their National, State or Local political parties, the R.N.C. assumes the cost of their travel and transportation, advance men expense, telephone and telegraph cost and the cost of receptions incidental to those activities. In addition, the Republican National Committee assumes the costs incurred for films and photographs taken during such Presidential travel and the expense of Presidential and Vice Presidential gifts such as cuff links, tie bars and charm bracelets picturing the Presidential or Vice Presidential seal.



Honorable Thomas B. Curtis
Page 7
September 15, 1975

The Republican National Committee does not assume the expenses resulting from Presidential travel incurred when engaged in Presidential candidacy or Presidential travel associated with the candidacy of other individuals. In those instances, the candidate's committee is primarily responsible for the payment of cost, in accordance with the structures of the Federal Election Campaign Law. With one notable exception, the R.N.C. does not pay any of the expense associated with Presidential official travel, i.e., travel undertaken by the President of the United States in his role as Chief Executive. That exception is for certain expenditures incurred by advance men in relation to official travel by the President. These expenditures, which in most cases are for persons not employed by the Government, are assumed by the R.N.C. because the Chief Executive's appearances, regardless of their purpose, further party interest. All other expenditures incurred during the Presidential official travel are borne from appropriated funds.

The differing roles of a Presidential candidate and a Presidential party leader are sometimes subtle, but nonetheless real and subject to dispassionate analysis. The past and present system of payments by National political parties for expenses incurred by the President, Vice President and their aides for party promotional activity has the virtue of fairness. The alternatives, full payment of Presidential party promotional expenses by the taxpayers or, in those years when applicable, by the incumbent President's campaign committee, are simply not practicable. The former would constitute an improper expenditure of Government funds and the latter imposes an inequitable disadvantage upon incumbent Presidents seeking reelection, requiring them to deplete a significant amount of their Ten Million Dollar (\$10,000,000) primary campaign effort. Incumbency would then become a serious political liability to an American President.

The Republican National Committee plans to continue to implement the procedures outlined in this communication. Naturally, the records of the R.N.C. reflecting these past expenditures are available for inspection by the F.E.C., should the Commission so desire. We would appreciate very much any comments or suggestions that the Commission may think appropriate to make with respect to our



Honorable Thomas B. Curtis
Page 8
September 15, 1975

treatment of the payment of expenses incurred by the President, the Vice President and their aides when engaged in party promotional activities.

Sincerely yours,

MARY LOUISE SMITH
Chairman



REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
SMITH, MARY LOUISE
(t.y. for 1975 Republican Almanac)

September 17, 1975

Dear Mary Louise:

Many thanks for the 1975 Republican Almanac and the updated listing for the 1976 Presidential Preference Primaries which accompanied your September 16th letter. I am sure this publication will prove most helpful in the months ahead. I also appreciate your thoughtfulness in making the additional copies of the Almanac available to me.

Warm personal regards.

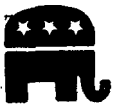
Sincerely,

ROBERT T. HARTMANN
Counsellor to the President

Mrs. Mary Louise Smith
Chairman
Republican National Committee
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D. C. 20003

RTH:nm





Republican National Committee.

Mary Louise Smith
Chairman

September 16, 1975

Mr. Robert T. Hartmann
Counselor to the President
White House, West Wing
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. Hartmann:

I am happy to enclose for your use in the coming months a copy of the 1975 Republican Almanac, prepared by the Political/Research Division of the Republican National Committee.

The 1975 Almanac includes several features not contained in our 1973 Almanac. Most notably, the 1975 edition has 1974 Congressional Vote Statistics by district with the "reconstituted" percentage of the Republican Congressional vote in the district back through 1966.

At the time the 1975 Republican Almanac was sent to the printer, the listings for the 1975 Presidential preference primaries were correct. Inevitably, there have been several changes, and I have included our most recent update, which reflects those changes.

I hope that this publication will be of assistance to you.

Sincerely,

Mary Louise Smith



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

RTH: Was this the other thing you were looking for which you said was with the Mary Louise Smith memo, attached?

nm

As you probably know, it was over on the table in your office with some other correspondence.

Just thought I would get the two together. (nm)

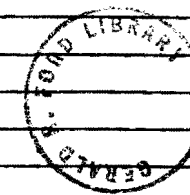
Yes - file

Hartmann

PRESIDENTIAL TRAVEL (1/1 - 7/7, 1975)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

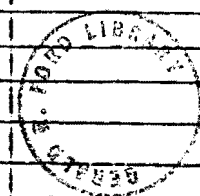
Date	Place	Expenses		Exp. billed	Exp. recover.
		Political	Non-political		
1-1-2	Colorado, Vail		(w/'74 travel)		
1-1	Washington, D.C.		\$ 255.01 ✓		
2/3	Georgia, Atlanta		5,491.91 ✓		
2/10	Texas, Houston		5,992.60 ✓		
2/11	Kansas, Topeka		2,345.63 ✓		
2/13	New York, N.Y. (inc. 12/74)	\$ 5,359.32 ✓		\$28,600 ¹	30,000
2/25	Florida		4,670.57 ✓		
3/1	Washington, D.C. (Pres. events)		87.75 ✓		
3/1	Washington, D.C.		462.62 ✓		
3/1	Tennessee, Nashville		371.17 ✓		
3/17	Indiana, South Bend		4,117.67 ✓		
3/29-	California, Bakersfield, San Diego, Fresno,		18,868.86 ✓		10,000
4/7	Oakland, San Francisco				
4/7	Nevada, Las Vegas		2,735.90 ✓		
4/18	Massachusetts, Boston, Concord, Lexington		5,404.31 ✓		
4/18	New Hampshire, Concord		2,179.63 ✓		
4/23	Louisiana, New Orleans		4,877.14 ✓		
4/25	Connecticut, New Haven (Yale)		610.77 ✓		
4/26	Virginia, Arlington	(no exp. recv'd)		none	none
5/1	California, San Diego (Mrs. Ford)		2,856.13 ✓		
5/1	Washington, D.C. (Iranian Embassy)		119.70 ✓		
5/7	Washington, D.C. (Pres. events)		64.58 ✓		
5/2-3	Virginia, Fredericksburg, Winchester, Norfolk		3,549.66 ✓		
5/18	Pennsylvania, Philadelphia		1,719.63 ✓		
5/20	North Carolina, Charlotte		4,002.15 ✓		
5/28-3	Europe		500.04		
6/4	New York, West Point, N.Y.		4,243.00 ✓		
6/1	Florida (Susan Ford)		281.84 ✓		
6/1	New York (Mrs. Ford)(inc. 4/75 and 9/75)		646.92 ✓		
6/14	Georgia, Fort Benning		4,543.11 ✓		
6/1	California (Warren Rustand)		475.60 ✓		
7/3	Ohio, Cincinnati, Cleveland	12,128.42		14,375 ²	14,375 x
7/4	Maryland, Baltimore, Ft. McHenry		116.19		
7/1	Washington, D.C. (Pres. events)		221.00 ✓		
Total:		\$17,487.74	\$81,811.09	\$42,975	54,375



Includes 10% of the fundraiser (\$27,200)

Includes 10% of the fundraiser (\$11,925)

Date	Place	Political	Non-political	Exp. billed	Exp. recovered
7/11	Michigan		\$10,619.96		
	Illinois		(incl. in above)		
7/12	Illinois		(incl. in above)		
7/13	Michigan, Traverse City, Mackinaw		(incl. in above)		
7/26 -	Europe		(incl. in above)		
8/4					
8/10	Arkansas, Fort Smith		3,175.39 ✓		
8/10-24	Colorado, Vail		2,865.32 ✓		
8/18	Iowa, Des Moines	\$ 2,284.33		\$ 6,320	
8/19	Minnesota, Minneapolis	5,380.98 ✓		5,000	\$ 5,000.
8/19	Illinois, Pekin, Peoria		6,166.72 ✓		
8/24	Montana, Libby Dam		1,664.07 ✓		
8/25	Illinois, Chicago				
8/25	Wisconsin, Milwaukee		2,870.10 ✓		
8/30	Maine, Brunswick, Augusta, Portland	3,994.22 ✓		5,200	5,200 +
8/30	Rhode Island, Newport	1,013.34 ✓		5,200	5,200 +
8/4	Washington, Seattle	2,637.49		14,470	14,470 x
8/4	Oregon, Portland	2,323.75 ✓		14,470	14,470 x
8/5	California, Sacramento		(incl. in 9/20)		
8/11	New Hampshire				
8/12	Missouri, St. Louis	4,595.79 ✓		5,576	5,576 +
	Kansas, Kansas City	(incl. in above)		3,770	3,770 +
8/13	Texas, Dallas	2,320.51 ✓		7,600	7,600 x
	Texas, Midland		1,718.04 ✓		
8/19	Oklahoma, Oklahoma City	2,036.53		8,235	8,235 +
8/20-21	California, Malibu, S.F., Sacra., Monterey		11,861.54 ✓		
8/30	Illinois, Chicago	4,316.02 ✓		7,410	7,410 +
9/1	Nebraska, Omaha		2,213.68 ✓		
9/4	West Virginia, Charleston		1,730.68 ✓		
9/4	New Jersey, Trenton	235.70 ✓		6,075	6,075 +
9/7	North Carolina, Kings Mountain				
	Tennessee, Knoxville		262.75 ✓		
9/10	Michigan, Detroit	2,393.96 ✓		6,410	6,410 x
9/14	Connecticut, Hartford	368.95 ✓		5,690	5,690 x
9/29-30	California, L.A., San Francisco	2,128.24			
9/30	Wisconsin, Milwaukee	449.28			
9/24	South Carolina, Columbia (CANCELLED)		711.36		
9/24	Florida, Gainesville (CANCELLED)		251.76		
Total:		\$36,479.09	\$46,111.37	\$101,426	54,726



Note: AF One bills not included in expenses

Date	Place	Expenses Political	Expenses Non-political	Exp. billed	Exp. recovered
5/29	Surveys (Greg Newell)		77.92		
10/24	Alabama, Dothan CANCELLED		12.60		
Oct.	Vail preadvance		79.95		
Oct.	Florida preadvance		421.10		
Oct.	Missouri, Kansas City preadvance	\$ 261.91			
-----	Total:	\$ 261.91	\$ 591.57		

TOTALS FOR 1975:

\$54,228.74*\$128,514.03\$144,401.00*109,101

PRESIDENTIAL AIRCRAFT EXPENSES TO DATE

\$11,496.88*

*Figures represent only bills received to date.
There is normally a three to four month lapse
before all bills are received.

TOTAL POLITICAL EXPENSES

\$ 54,228.74

TOTAL NON POLITICAL EXPENSES

128,514.03

TOTAL PRESIDENTIAL AIRCRAFT EXPENSES

11,496.88

PRESIDENTIAL TRAVEL EXPENSES
INCURRED BY R.N.C. TO DATE

\$194,239.65

October 28, 1975

MEMORANDUM

TO: Robert Hartmann
FROM: Mary Louise Smith
SUBJECT: RNC Financial Information As Requested

Payables on Hand 9/30/75 \$570,000 —

Total Checks written
10/1 to 10/24 \$508,000, approximately
\$300,000 of which was against accounts
payable 300,000
\$270,000

Checks in process by 10/31 150,000

Approximate Balance Unpaid of Payables
on Hand 9/30 120,000

Approximate billings received during month
of October, as of 10/24 200,000 — *went higher than anticipated*

TOTAL (approximate) Accounts Payable
Anticipated on 10/31 \$320,000 — ** 275,000 as
if next week
11/26*

After October 31 payroll and other necessary expenses (e.g. Finance
postage), expected cash balance will be \$250,000 to \$300,000 backed
up by \$300,000 line of credit secured at Riggs National Bank.

Normal Accounts Payable policy is to pay all bills within 10 days, a
policy that we will reestablish when we receive our income from the
first renewal in January. The current situation reflects the cash
flow problems that we first projected last June.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 25, 1975

TO: BOB HARTMANN

FROM: JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

_____ For Direct Reply

_____ For Draft Response

 X For Your Information

_____ Please Advise



September 25, 1975

Dear Dick:

Many thanks for your letter of September 16 and your most interesting commentary on the thrust and direction of "the new agenda".

I agree wholeheartedly with the content of your letter, and I am sharing it with other people here at the White House.

With warmest personal regards, I remain,

Sincerely,

John O. Marsh, Jr.
Counsellor to the President

Mr. Richard D. Obenshain
Co-Chairman
Republican National Committee
Dwight D. Eisenhower Republican
Center
310 First Street, S. E.
Washington, D. C. 20003
JOM:RAR:cb



SEP 18 1975



Republican National Committee.

Richard D. Obenshain
Co-Chairman

September 16, 1975

The Honorable John O. Marsh, Jr.
Counsellor to the President
West Wing - The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jack:

I hate to hit you with another philosophical letter, but I can't help mentioning that one of the most significant political facts in recent weeks is the following list of Democrat Senators who voted against the Congressional pay raise:

Allen	Robert Byrd	McClellan	Randolph
Bentsen	Cannon	Montoya	Stone
Biden	Chiles	Pastore	Talmadge
Burdick	Gary Hart	Proxmire	Tunney

Several of these Senators, such as Tunney, Pastore and Montoya, are running for re-election next year and one, of course, is running for President.

When you add the Democrat Governors, such as Jerry Brown, who are now preaching frugality in government, the seriousness of this Democrat effort becomes apparent. It indicates that there is a taxpayer revolt against government spending, and that these liberal Democrats have realized it, more quickly than many Republicans. The danger is that, having spotted this public trend and reacted swiftly, many of these Democrats could take the inside track away from us.

I believe this vote on the Congressional pay raise illustrates even more clearly the direction in which "The New Agenda" should go. Following upon the President's excellent and strong appeal for the reduction of regulation and redtape by the federal government, The New Agenda can provide a powerful combination of individualism, reduced government activism and creative free enterprise. The President's fine remarks to the Republican National Committee on Monday evening again pursued this theme very effectly.



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There is a subtle political danger, which inheres in the President's unique position. By virtue of his total, overall responsibility for the National government, he must deal with all matters in the public domain. A skillful Democrat, on the other hand, can virtually ignore other areas of public policy, and exploit this taxpayer resistance for all he is worth. This indicates to me that, as the campaign draws closer, special efforts should be made to keep The New Agenda of private enterprise and individual initiative constantly in the forefront of the President's public positions.

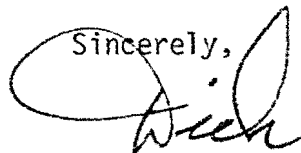
I am totally convinced that this is the area of maximum receptiveness. Except for the Mayaguez incident, the President's greatest responses have come from his vetoes of big-spending bills and from his speech to the National Association of Independent Businesses, calling for the reduction of regulation and redtape.

My friend Allan Brownfeld, writing in the RIPON QUARTERLY, of all places, said that "ironically, the political philosophy of strong government has become the orthodoxy of American politics at a time when we are discovering that that philosophy may have lived out its usefulness or even, perhaps, been false from the start."

I believe the President has made a very strong start in this area. I am just concerned that he keep a strong momentum, so that the false prophets, like Gary Hart and John Tunney, do not take the high ground to which they are certainly not entitled.

With continued best regards.

Sincerely,



Richard D. Obenshain

