The original documents are located in Box 28, folder "Republican National Committee (5)" of the Robert T. Hartmann Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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Republican National Committee.

MEMORANDUM

TO

Members of the Republican National Committee and Republican Congressional and

Senatorial Leadership

FROM

: Dr. Henry Lucas, Member Republican National Committee Executive Committee and

Chairman, National Black Republican Council

DATE

: December 1, 1975

SUBJECT: National Black Republican Council (NBRC)

As we approach the 1976 Presidential Campaign year, I feel it is my responsibility to comment directly to you about the NBRC. You will recall that at the 1972 Convention, the Rules Committee proposed and the Convention adapted a resolution making the NBRC the official affiliate of the RNC, with its chairperson having a seat on the RNC Executive Committee. The purpose of this action was first to put the Republican Party clearly on record as welcoming black participation at all levels of Party affairs. Secondly, it extended to one (organization) entity NBRC the official right to go out and take on the difficult job of trying to bring some structural organizational order to the involvement of black Republican Clubs.

While the Republican Party, the Party of Lincoln, has a history of concern for all Americans, it nevertheless in recent years has come under attach from time to time as being anti-black. This in part is true because Republican relationship with blacks in a given state or county often reflects the inability of individuals to communicate, or to agree. The result is predictable. Consider if you will, the turmoil that would exist if every Young Republican organization in the country was independent without a known structural relationship to the Party. Obviously, Party leadership could spend considerable time reacting to factions competing for leadership.

NBRC is making progress, though in desperate need of resources. We will make more progress as other states join New York and Indiana in providing staff assistance in developing its state councils. Tom Milligan has brought on a part-time black special assistant who also handles labor portfolios. On October 17, 1975, Indiana was the first state to hold a black Republican Convention with twelve local councils participating -a good start. New York held its second state meeting on November 22, again because there is at least part-time staff assistance.

I make these comments about the NBRC, so that you can be reminded that it is a member of the Republican Party's family of official affiliates. Your support, therefore, is needed if black participation in the Party is to develop in an orderly faction. I am enclosing a copy of my recent memorandum to the NBRC leadership following our national meeting in Denver, which had representatives from 22 states and the District of Columbia.



A principle objective of the NBRC is to serve as an "outreach" mechanism (for attracting blacks) and orientation for playing an active role in Republican affairs. Emphasis is placed on participation in county and state structure. Republican candidates at all levels are encouraged to seek our NBRC groups as a source for identifying individuals who may support their candidacy.

Finally, in a presidential election year, you can expect a number of new black groups to surface under various banners. Some will be Republican, others will be publishing organizations. I trust that you will take advantage of our NBRC structure as our goal is to responsibly serve the Party. Our leadership is as follows:

Willa Good - Vice-Chairman, Eastern Region 280 Langdon Terrace Mt. Vernon, N.Y. 10553

<u>Jack E. Robinson</u> - Co-Chairman, Eastern Region 61 Arborway Boston, MA 02130

Robert J. Keyes - Vice-Chairman, Western Region 1443 Edgecliff Lane Pasedena, CA 91107

Dr. Robert L. Wright - Vice-Chairman, Southern Region 804 4th Avenue Columbus, GA

George W. Cathcart - Acting Vice-Chairman - MidWest Region 3785 Iroquois
Detroit, MI 48214

John L. Wilks - Executive Director

310 First Street, S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003

SOUTHERN REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE FILE-RNC

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BOOK OF THREE COPIES

WHJ5-7 PD NL GWA080307

THE WHITE HOUSE DC 10

THE ELECTIONS OF 1976 OFFER A CHALLENGE TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. WE CAN BUILD ON RECENT SUCCESSES OR WE CAN SEE OUR GAINS WIPED OUT AND OUR PARTY DEFEATED.

NONE OF US WANT THAT TO HAPPEN -- AND I AM WORKING TO MAKE SURE IT DOESN'T. I AM CONFIDENT OUR POLICIES OF FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY IN GOVERNMENT, A NATIONAL DEFENSE SECOND TO NONE, LOCAL CONTROL OVER LOCAL AFFAIRS AND STRONG, STABLE ECONOMIC RECOVERY WILL ATTRACT WIDESPREAD SUPPORT.

AFTER A DECADE OR MORE OF NEAR-CONSTANT UPHEAVAL, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT STABILITY IN THEIR LIVES AND CONFIDENCE IN THEIR FUTURE. THEY WANT STRENGTH AND SECURITY AT HOME AND ABROAD. THAT IS EXACTLY WHAT THIS ADMINISTRATION IS DOING AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO.

FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN GOVERNMENT ARE ESSENTIAL, HOWEVER.
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE'S TAX BURDEN MUST BE LIGHTENED. THE RATE
OF GROWTH IN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SPENDING MUST BE REDUCED. THE
MASTERY OF THEIR LIVES MUST BE RESTORED TO THEIR OWN HANDS, NOT
LEFT IN THE HANDS OF A BUREAUCRATIC ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

A UNITED REPUBLICAN PARTY, MAXIMIZING ITS ADVANTAGES AND MINIMIZING ITS INTERNAL DIFFERENCES. CAN BE A WINNING PARTY IN 1976.

I AM CONFIDENT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WILL WIN IN 1976. WITH YOUR HELP, YOUR SUPPORT AND YOUR HARD WORK IN THE STATES YOU REPRESENT, VICTORY WILL BE ENSURED.

MY BEST WISHES TO ALL OF YOU FOR A SUCCESSFUL AND ENJOYABLE CONFERENCE AND FOR A VERY HAPPY HOLIDAY SEASON.

GERALD R. FORD.

WHJ5

MR CLARKE REED, PROGRAM CHAIRMAN
1975 SOUTHERN REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE
HYATT REGENCY HOUSTON (C/O ASST HOTEL MNGR ON DUTY
(HOLD FOR ARRIVAL 11 DECEMBER)
1202 LOUISIANA
HOUSTON, TX 77022



WHJ6
HONORABLE HOWARD CALLAWAY (HOLD FOR ARRIVAL 11 DECEMBER 1975)
1975 SOUTHERN REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE
HYATT REGENCY HOUSTON (C/O ASST HOTEL MNSR ON DUTY)
1200 LOUISIANA

HOUSTON, TX 77002

WHJ7
HONGRABLE MARY LOUISE SMITH (HOLD FOR ARRIVAL 11 DECEMBER)
1975 SOUTHERN REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE
HYATT REGENCY HOUSTON C/O ASST HOTEL MNGR ON DUTY
1200 LOUISIANA
HOUSTON, TX 77002

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RECD WHJ995-007

WWW RPT WHJ005-007



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 26, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

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ROBERT T. HARTMANN HOWARD 'BO' CALLOWAY

FROM:

WARREN RUSTANDWSR

SUBJECT:

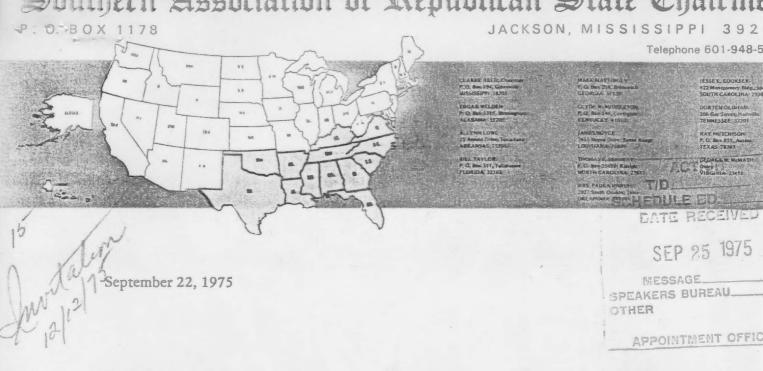
Invitation to the President to address 1975 Southern Republican Conference in Houston, December 12-13

I would appreciate your comments and recommendation on the attached invitation from Clarke Reed.

Thank you.

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The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The Southern Association of Republican State Chairmen cordially invite you to address the 1975 Southern Republican Conference which will be held at the Hyatt Regency Hotel in Houston on December 12-13. Approximately 1500 Party leaders from throughout the South will be in attendance.

The two day event will climax with a banquet on Saturday evening, and we would like for you to make the address at that banquet. Of course, if your schedule dictates, we would welcome having you speak at any other time during the Conference.

Originally, the event was scheduled for Dallas; however, because of the recent convention of the National Federation of Republican Women being held in Dallas, Texas Party leaders have decided to hold our Conference in Houston.

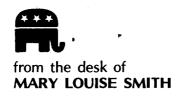
We hope very much that your schedule will allow you to speak to the 1975 Southern Republican Conference and know you address will be an inspiration to all the attendees.

Sincerely,

Clarke Reed Chairman

CR/sj





December 15, 1975

SAND

MEMO

TO:

Robert Hartmann

FROM:

Mary Louise Smith

Attached are copies of last week's RNC mailings for your distribution.

12/16/15 - Sent copies to JTC + GAA. (nm)

J. Pred 1023



HERITAGE NEWS BULLETIN



Heritage Groups Division and NRHG(N) Council

December, 1975

In the absence of the GOP NATIONALITIES NEWS, here is another interim report to keep you posted on some of the recent activities of the Republican Heritage Groups. As previously stated, the GOP NATIONALITIES NEWS has not been published since last June; however, the next issue is scheduled for early 1976.

EXECUTIVE BOARD

The Executive Board of the NRHG(N)Council will meet on Saturday, 24 January 1976 in Cleveland, Ohio. Topics of discussion will include both the NRHG(N)C 6th Annual Convention 20-23 May 1976, the Republican National Convention, being held in Kansas City in August, and Heritage Groups support to Republican candidates in 1976.

The Honorable Ralph Perk, Mayor of Cleveland, will host a Saturday luncheon for the Executive Board members.

Details of the meeting and the agenda will be mailed to members of the Executive Board shortly.

NRHG(N) COUNCIL CONVENTION

Planning for the NRHG(N)Council's 6th Annual Convention is well underway. The Convention will be held from Thursday 20 May through Sunday 23 May 1976 at the Hotel Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

The Convention's Host Committee informs us that a highlight of the Convention will be the Annual Century Club Reception being held on Thursday evening at the new Penn Mutual Life Insurance Observation Tower which offers a beautiful panoramic view of Philadelphia city. Other activities will include the Saturday evening banquet featuring two entertainment groups and two afternoon receptions honoring special guests.

Appropos to both the 1976 Bicentennial Year and the city of Philadelphia, two major Bicentennial Touring Activities are being scheduled. Several other tours will also be available for those attendees who are not participating in official Convention meetings, workshops, etc.

Look for additional details and registration information in the forthcoming issue of the GOP NATIONALITIES NEWS, which will be available early in the new year.

GENERAL NEWS

Stanley Glod, a Washington D. C. Attorney of Polish Heritage, was recently appointed to serve on the Presidential Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations for a 2-year term. Mr. Glod is also National Treasurer of the NRHG(N)Council. The Committee is composed of representatives of government, labor, industry, small business, retailers, and the general public.

* * * * *

Lt. General Leo Dulacki, USMC (Retired), of Polish descent, has been selected by Presidential appointment to serve on the National Armed Forces Museum Advisory Board of the Smithsonian Institution. The Board is responsible for advising and assisting the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian on matters concerning the portrayal of the historic contributions made by our Armed Forces to national development. General Dulacki is an officer of the Kozcuisko Foundation and an active Republican Heritage Groups member.

* * * * *

Five of our Republican Heritage Groups members have been chosen to serve on the National Advisory Council on Ethnic Heritage Studies of the Dept. of HEW. One of the primary functions of this Council is to advise the Secretary concerning the administration of Ethnic Heritage Studies Programs throughout the United States and thereby assist in the improvement of these programs. The extensive, broad experience of the Heritage Groups members in this area will certainly make a valuable contribution to this Council. They are as follows: Aloysius Mazewski, President of the Polish American Council; Dr. John B. Tsu, Director of International Studies, Seton Hall University; J. R. Provencio, Director of Inter-American Science Program, University of Texas at El Paso; Dr. Michael Pap, Director, Institute of Soviet and East European Studies, John Carroll University; and Ralph Perk, Mayor of Cleveland. In addition, Mayor Perk has been designated Chairman of the Advisory Council.

* * * * *

Congressman Edward Derwinski (R.-Ill.) recently introduced a bill (H. R. 864) expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the signing in Helsinki of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe did not change in any way the longstanding policy of the United States on nonrecognition of Soviet Union's illegal seizure and annexation of the three Baltic nations of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. The Bill was passed on Tuesday, December 2, by a unanimous vote with 407 Congressmen voting for the Bill.

* * * * *

Mitchell P. Kobelinski, Director of the Export-Import Bank and of Polish descent, recently was the Keynote Speaker at the unveiling ceremonies of the Kopernik Monument in Utica, New York. In his remarks, he highlighted the valuable contributions made to the American culture through the multi-cultural pluralistic society - the beautiful mosaic.

* * * * *

Anna Chennault, Co-Chairwoman of the NRHG Council, received the "Culture Award" from the Institute of Chinese Culture, Inc., at its Annual Chinese American Fellowship Luncheon Meeting in New York City on November 29, 1975. She also was the luncheon keynote speaker. Ambassador Konsin Shah, Consulate General in New York, presented the Award.

* * * * *

Mrs. Joan Carroll, a part-time employee at the Heritage Council office, was recently elected President of the Patapsco (Howard County, MD) Republican Women's Club. Mrs. Carroll joined the Council staff in early August of this year.

* * * *

Armando LaCasa, who is a member of the Ways and Means Standing Committee of NRHG(N) Council, has recently been elected as Chairman of the Little Havana Community, which represents the Cuban community of Dade County, Florida, in community development projects.

1080 SEANO

NEWS FROM MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS

The Republican State Nationalities Council of Colorado met and held elections on 21 November 1975. The newly-elected officers are: Jose Borrego, Chairman; John Cieslewicz, Vice-Chairman; Andrejs Tobis, Secretary; and Gunnar Knoff, Treasurer.

The Council also passed an amendment to their constitution which provides for an additional officer--Second Vice-Chairman. Myron Kalba was elected to fill this new position.

The Lithuanian American Republican League of Illinois has scheduled its Annual Awards Banquet for 28 February 1976. The theme will be the enrichment of the American culture through the contributions of the Lithuanian heritage.

Jonas Talandis, Lithuanian Republican Federation Chairman, has announced the creation of Regional Coordinators for Federation activities. The four coordinators, to be designated shortly, will be working within regional boundaries identical to those used by the Republican National Committee and the NRHG(N)Council.

Casimir Oksas, Midwest Region Vice-Chairman of the NRHG(N)Council was the keynote speaker at the Midwest Region-Heritage Groups Seminar which took place on 8 November 1975 at the Hyatt-Regency O'Hare in Chicago.

The Seminar, held in conjunction with the plan to encourage more single nationality federation members to meet on a regional basis, provided the attendees an opportunity to exchange views and lend mutual support in an effort to develop greater appreciation within the Republican Party for the ethnic contributions to the GOP and to the political process as a whole.

The panel discussions covered a wide range of ethnic-related concerns: Single nationality state organizations, ethnic press, radio and television appeals, and those political issues which are most relevant to the Heritage groups.

Some of the participants in the seminar panels were Joseph Zukowski, President of the Illinois Republican Nationalities Council; Jay Niemczyk, Director of the Heritage Groups Division at the Republican National Committee; Inese Stokes, Midwest Region Vice-Chairwoman of the NRHG(N) Council. Others included Dr. Mitchell Zadrozny, former candidate for

Congress, 11th District; Alex Jankunas, former candidate for trustee, Morton College District; Nicholas Olek, former Director, Illinois Ethnic Groups; Eddie Amond, President, Indiana Republican Heritage Groups Council; Frank Padzieski, past President, Michigan Republican Nationalities Council; Darlene Weis, Director of Nationalities, Wisconsin Republican State Committee; John Spatuzza, Chairman, Italian Republicans of Illinois; Edward Gjertsen, President, Scandinavian Republican League of Illinois; and Voldemars Korsts, Honorary Chairman, Latvian Council of America.

Chairman, Mary Louise Smith, RNC, sent Oksas a letter congratulating him on his initiative in organizing the Regional Seminar, which he shared with the group.

The afternoon of discussion was followed by a reception hosted by the Illinois Republican Nationalities Council.

Best Wishes for a Happy and Joyous Holiday Season

PLEASE REPRODUCE THIS AND PASS IT ON TO SOME OF YOUR COLLEAGUES.

THANK YOU.



Dear

You have been among my most generous supporters and because of this I must alert you to a little understood provision of the new Federal Election Law that requires immediate and thoughtful consideration.

Under the new rules, the campaign role of the Republican National Committee has been materially altered in two key areas, one of which is vital to my own reelection prospects. To begin with, at the conclusion of the nominating convention the Presidential election becomes federally funded and private contributions are prohibited. The Republican National Committee therefore, under the law, is the only national vehicle for providing additional funds for the Presidential campaign. Secondly, and very important to me, the Republican National Committee is the only national organization that can contribute in excess of \$5,000 for both indirect supportive services as well as direct assistance to Senatorial and Congressional races to meet essential campaign needs.

This is vital and necessary help for me and many others who must be reelected in order to give a Republican Administration the Congressional support it must have to be effective. It cannot be provided adequately unless the National Committee raises its \$25 million budget which because of this new law and its new responsibilities is much greater than in past years.

Now, here is the important provision of the law that I mentioned earlier. The contribution that you have already made is legally applied to my 1976 primary. This donation, and any other donations you have already made to candidates running in 1976 Federal elections will be deducted from your \$25,000 legal limit for 1976. This means that your 1975 \$25,000 limit may expire unused unless you do something by December 31st.

I implore you to make a substantial donation now to the Republican National Committee. It has an election year plan that is new and sound and I know will help very importantly to reelect me and a Congress that will back a Republican President.

If, on the other hand, the Republican National Committee fails to provide the necessary funds to its Presidential and Congressional candidates, we may well be overwhelmed by those who would take us rapidly down the same ruinous road of galloping inflation, taxation and socialism now being voted for by the Democrats in control of this Congress.

Your help is urgently needed and it is needed before the end of this year. I feel certain that when you consider what is at stake you will respond generously.

Sincerely,

P.S. Checks should be made payable to the Republican National Committee and mailed in the enclosed envelope.

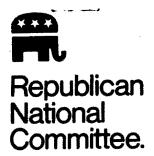
jmc

SUMMARY SHEET

- 1. \$25,000 is the total amount that an individual can contribute in any one calender year to any or all committees registered with the Federal Election Commission.
- 2. The only exception is that a contribution to a candidate running in 1976 is deductible from a contributor's limit in 1976 and not 1975.
- 3. Under new I.R.S. rules, there is no Gift Tax on a political contribution up to the \$25,000 limit.
- 4. No earmarked gifts are accepted by the Republican National Committee.

 A maximum contribution to the National Committee, therefore, in no way affects one's gift limit to individual candidates.
- 5. Husband and wife have individual limitations independent of each other. Where contributions by both spouses are not made from separate accounts, there must be an indication that each spouse is making a separate contribution.
- 6. The advantage of giving stock with capital gain no longer exists as the donor must pay a capital gains tax at the time of gift based on original cost.
- 7. The Republican National Committee, if it has the funds, could increase the allowable spending limits for the campaigns of individual candidates by at least 15%. This is obviously a lot more than the \$1,000 an individual contributor can give to a candidate. Giving to the National Committee therefore is the best way in which to help individual candidates.
- 8. Individual partners in a partnership, regardless of whether the partnership has a government contract, may contribute as an individual.
- 9. Only the Republican National Committee, under the 1974 Act, can spend for the Presidential General Election and thus supplement the federal money with \$3.3 million in supportive efforts.





December 9, 1975

Mr. Tom Wicker New York Times 229 West 43rd Street New York, New York 10036

Dear Mr. Wicker:

Since the story on which you based your column of December 9th originated from an interview with me, I feel compelled to clarify several points which unfortunately were quite garbled in Mr. Weaver's story.

First, under the campaign reform amendments of 1974, we must charge any campaign for any service or material we provide them, as we are limited to a total \$5000 contribution in dollars or in kind services. If President Ford were unopposed, our position could not legally be any different than it is.

As you are perhaps aware, this committee has very strongly taken the position during 1975 that disbursements by us in support of President Ford as titular head of the party were proper and legitimate, and on November 26th the Federal Election Commission agreed with this position. They also said that effective January 1, 1976 they will presume all activities on his part to be those of a candidate, so obviously all limitations in the law become fully applicable at that point.

Your quickly jumping to the conclusion that our actions reflect a sense of self-preservation or that we have in any way made a decision that President Ford will not be the nominee is not supported by the facts. Our actions are based on the present law as regards President Ford's campaign, but, as I stated to Mr. Weaver, we shall continue taking a strong advocacy position in support of the President's activities.

Additionally, I might call to your attention a column published on June 17, 1975 by your fellow columnists, Mr. Jack Anderson and Mr. Les Whitten, in which the point was specifically made that the President had instructed Chairman Smith to treat equally all Presidential candidates. It is our opinion that



President Ford should be commended for this and not unfairly compared with Presidents Nixon and Johnson who in fact insisted that their respective national committees be "slavish" in their support of them.

I sincerely hope that your future columns will reflect this reality.

Sincerely,

Eddie Mahe, Jr.

Executive Director



Mr. Ford's Woes

By Tom Wicker

Nothing could be more eloquent testimony to the deep political troubles of Gerald Ford than the decision of the Republican National Committee not to make its fund-raising lists available to him in the coming election year.

Instead, the committee, striking a stance of neutrality, is reported to have decided to make no services available to Mr. Ford that it does not also provide for his conservative Re-

because the actual powers of the office are so great that even a reasonably scrupulous man can wring great advantage from them.

The second assumption would have

been the political perception that in a

general election against any conceiv-

able Democrat (save perhaps George Wallace, if he is conceivable), Mr. Ford would be harder to beat than a narrower-base candidate like Ronald Reagan, who risks the fate of Barry Goldwater and George McGovern—capturing a party nomination by factional power, then being unable to unite that party or expand that fac-

G.O.P. Chiefs Deny Ford Aides Access To Contributor List

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.

Special to The New York Times WASHINGTON, Dec. 7-The Republican National Committee, caught in an unusual cam-

paign crossfire, has refused to

give the President Ford Com-

mittee access to its mailing list

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MEMORANDUM

national black republican council

TO : NATIONAL, STATE AND LOCAL COUNCIL LEADERSHIP

FROM: DR. HENRY LUCAS, CHAIRMAN

DATE : OCTOBER 31, 1975

Our first national meeting of the council was held on September 13, 1975 in Denver, Colorado. Twenty-two states and the District of Columbia were represented. It was successful as it brought about the feeling of togetherness among our various councils.

Given the limitations of travel and the need to be concerned about expenses and costs to our individual members, most of the council's work, as you know, is done at the local level. The Denver meeting reflected the work that had been done at all levels and allowed us to feel the strength of being a national body.

The meeting also made clear the tremendous amount of work we must do if we are to have our states complete the organization of the various local groups within their borders. I want to list now, some of the actions taken:

- 1) NBRC will hold a national meeting in March of '76. The location and date yet to be determined.
- 2) NBRC's national convention will be held two days prior to the Republican National Convention. The location will be Kansas City, Kansas so as to being close to Kansas City, Missouri, the site for the Republican National Convention.
- 3) The Regional Chairman should begin to develop regional programs.
 - a) They should name regional standing committees that coincide with the national standing committees. The chairman of the standing committees should then name a person in each state for the committee so that the work of the committee can be carried on at the state level.



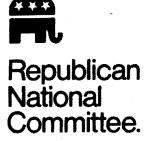
- Of particular importance is the need for the Issues Committee to hold its meetings and be prepared to report February 2, 1976, so that issues can be presented at our next national meeting in March.
- b) They should begin planning for regional fund-raising events. This should be coordinated through John Wilks, Executive Director and T. M. Alexander, Sr., Chairman of the Finance Committee.
- c) Regional meetings should be held.
- d) Make contact with all of the state chairmen within their region.
- 4) State Chairmen should complete the organization of the appropriate localities within their borders.
 - a) Monthly reports of activities should be mailed to John L. Wilks, Executive Director, so that general circulation of newsletters can proceed.
- 5) Fees are \$10.00. The annual minimum fee of \$10.00 is due January 1, 1976 and membership will be delinquent if not paid by April 30, 1976. The entire fee of \$10.00 must be submitted.
- 6) The state and local portions of fee is available once a state has a hundred members and thus eligible for its charter.
- 7) In order to support the activities of the council Century Club, \$100.00 membership should be encouraged where persons can afford and want to be supportive.
- 8) States having difficulty communicating with the state committee should make this known to the national chairman.
- 9) Each council should set-up a committee to encourage delegate participation.
- 10) Gloria Toote, General Council, agreed to develop an entertainment fundraising package through her contacts in the record of the theatrical world.
- 11) Councils should anticipate taking part in national registration drives in early '76.
- 12) Committees and councils should be on the lookout for candidates or persons who are interested in becoming a candidate for local, state, and national offices.
- Mayor Ed Bivens, Secretary-Treasurer NBRC and also Vice-Chairman, Mid-Western region relinquished his position of Mid-Western Chairman to George Cathcart of Detroit, Michigan.

- 14) All councils should have the general council advised on the appropriate official procedures for meeting the organizational and reporting requirements in that particular state.
- 15) Appreciation is in order for the excellent job performed by Lou Dodds and associates in Denver for the arrangements for the first national conference.
- 16) The Executive Director recommends that local councils begin to hold monthly NBRC forums.

(Additional information can be provided if necessary)



D. ganet



MEMORANDUM

TO : Members of the Republican National Committee and Republican Congressional and

Senatorial Leadership

FROM: Dr. Henry Lucas, Member Republican National Committee Executive Committee and

Chairman, National Black Republican Council

DATE: December 1, 1975

SUBJECT: National Black Republican Council (NBRC)

As we approach the 1976 Presidential Campaign year, I feel it is my responsibility to comment directly to you about the NBRC. You will recall that at the 1972 Convention, the Rules Committee proposed and the Convention adapted a resolution making the NBRC the official affiliate of the RNC, with its chairperson having a seat on the RNC Executive Committee. The purpose of this action was first to put the Republican Party clearly on record as welcoming black participation at all levels of Party affairs. Secondly, it extended to one (organization) entity NBRC the official right to go out and take on the difficult job of trying to bring some structural organizational order to the involvement of black Republican Clubs.

While the Republican Party, the Party of Lincoln, has a history of concern for all Americans, it nevertheless in recent years has come under attach from time to time as being anti-black. This in part is true because Republican relationship with blacks in a given state or county often reflects the inability of individuals to communicate, or to agree. The result is predictable. Consider if you will, the turmoil that would exist if every Young Republican organization in the country was independent without a known structural relationship to the Party. Obviously, Party leadership could spend considerable time reacting to factions competing for leadership.

NBRC is making progress, though in desperate need of resources. We will make more progress as other states join New York and Indiana in providing staff assistance in developing its state councils. Tom Milligan has brought on a part-time black special assistant who also handles labor portfolios. On October 17, 1975, Indiana was the first state to hold a black Republican Convention with twelve local councils participating -- a good start. New York held its second state meeting on November 22, again because there is at least part-time staff assistance.

I make these comments about the NBRC, so that you can be reminded that it is a member of the Republican Party's family of official affiliates. Your support, therefore, is needed if black participation in the Party is to develop in an orderly faction. I am enclosing a copy of my recent memorandum to the NBRC leadership following our national meeting in Denver, which had representatives from 22 states and the District of Columbia.

A principle objective of the NBRC is to serve as an 'outreach' mechanism (for attracting blacks) and orientation for playing an active role in Republican affairs. Emphasis is placed on participation in county and state structure. Republican candidates at all levels are encouraged to seek our NBRC groups as a source for identifying individuals who may support their candidacy.

Finally, in a presidential election year, you can expect a number of new black groups to surface under various banners. Some will be Republican, others will be publishing organizations. I trust that you will take advantage of our NBRC structure as our goal is to responsibly serve the Party. Our leadership is as follows:

Willa Good - Vice-Chairman, Eastern Region 280 Langdon Terrace Mt. Vernon, N.Y. 10553

Jack E. Robinson - Co-Chairman, Eastern Region 61 Arborway Boston, MA 02130

Robert J. Keyes - Vice-Chairman, Western Region 1443 Edgecliff Lane Pasedena, CA 91107

Dr. Robert L. Wright - Vice-Chairman, Southern Region 804 4th Avenue Columbus, GA

George W. Cathcart - Acting Vice-Chairman - MidWest Region 3785 Iroquois
Detroit, MI 48214

John L. Wilks - Executive Director

310 First Street, S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003



Mary Louise Smith Chairman

December 12, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO:

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS

FROM:

MARY LOUISE SMITH

SUBJECT:

CAMPAIGN MANAGEMENT COLLEGE

The first of the RNC Campaign Manager's Colleges will begin on February 1, 1976, in Washington, D.C., at the Marriott Twin Bridges. Each additional class will begin on Sunday evening and will run through the following Friday evening.

The curriculum is improved over the 1973-74 College and will include: Campaign Strategy/Planning/Tactics; Survey Research; The 1974 Campaign Reform Act; Key Decisions in Campaign Management; Fund Raising and Budgeting; Voter Name Lists; Campaign Plans and Timetables; Opposition and Issue Research; Media Communications; Advertising and Graphics; Direct Mail; Targeting: Telephone Operations; Voter Turn-Out; Special Voter Groups; Campaign Organization and Volunteers; Campaign Headquarters, and other subjects relative to increasing the proficiency of Republican campaign managers.

All accepted campaign managers will receive full tuition scholarships, which include all material costs, all meals (except Wednesday evening), lecture fees and in-town transportation for College "field trips."

The students are required to pay the costs of their transportation from their residence to the school, their hotel room and personal costs. (Due to the curriculum, all students are required to stay at the hotel during the College.)

You will soon receive a brochure that will provide the complete details.





J. Frenand

GRAM

December 11, 1975

T0:

Executive and National Committee

FROM:

Jack Mueller, Chairman, YRNF 〇岁 配

RE:

National Committee meeting and announcements

This is the official notice of the Executive and National Committee Meeting to be held Saturday, January 31, 1976. The meeting will be held in conjunction with the Young Republican Leadership Conference, and is scheduled for 2:00 PM in the Tudor Room of the Shoreham-Americana Hotel, Washington, D.C.

Would all state leaders consider the desire of their membership in reference to making reservations for a Hospitality Suite during YRLC. These rooms, while not limited, will be issued on a first-come-first-served basis. All inquiries should be directed to Janelle Welke at 202/484-6680 or 703/522-2800. She will have the information on prices, size and services available. The cut-off date will be January 15 as all Hospitality Suites will have to listed in the program.

We would like to request that all State Chairmen send to the YRNF office, a list of all of their members that were involved in any campaigns recently. We want to do an article for the YR News on any YR that ran a campaign, assisted in a campaign, or, particularly, any that ran for public office of any sort.

We would like to take this opportunity to introduce to you a new member of the YRNF staff. John Brasington has joined the Federation Staff now and will be working initially on the Leadership Conference. If there are questions on YRLC, please call John in the office. He comes to us from South Carolina where he was very active in the campaign to elect Governor James Edwards. Pat Reilly, after his duty in Mississippi with the Carmichael campaign, will be moving on to work in a New York office of Senator James Buckley.

This is to inform you that the Republican National Committee building will be closed for a break from December 24, 1975 through January 4, 1976. Any important calls can be directed to Gail Forward at 301/762-4649.

and A MERRY HOLIDAY SEASON TO ALL - AND A HAPPY REPUBLICAN

NEW YEAR!!!!!









December 10, 1975

Mary Louise Smith Chairman

MEMORANDUM

TO:

Republican State Chairmen

FROM:

Mary Louise Smith

RE:

Republican State Chairmen's Meeting, January 15-17, 1976 in Chicago, Illinois

With our State Chairmen's Meeting only a month away I want to briefly outline our proposed program and encourage you and your Executive Director to attend.

The program will include the following:

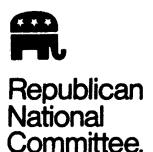
- A presentation of RNC plans and programs for 1976. This session will include discussion as to how these programs can best be implemented to benefit your state.
- 2. An indepth look at the Federal Election Campaign Act, its amendments and rulings by the FEC, providing the Supreme Court has not ruled it unconstitutional. This session will mainly focus on the role state political parties can play in federal elections.
- 3. A format for exchanges with representatives from the National Republican Senatorial Committee, the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, the President Ford Committee, and the Citizens for Reagan Committee.
- 4. Breakout sessions to discuss organizational planning, finance programs, fund raising and other aspects of electing Republican candidates.
- 5. A breakfast meeting for each of the four regions.
- A closed luncheon of the Republican State Chairmen's Association.

A \$35 registration fee to cover the costs of the meeting will be charged each person attending. To aid you in making your reservations, an evening reception on January 15th will open the meeting and we will finish by 5:30 p.m. Saturday, January 17th. Enclosed are hotel reservation cards to be mailed directly to the Marriott Motor Hotel. Please note that your hotel reservations must be in by January 1. Also please complete and return the enclosed registration form to the RNC by January 1.

With the added responsibilities to federal candidates in 1976, we, as national and state Republican parties, must work closely to insure Republican victories across the nation. Please join me in Chicago to begin a year of cooperation to elect Republicans at all levels.

Republican State Chairmen's Meeting Marriott Motor Hotel Chicago, Illinois January 15-17, 1976

	I will attend				
	_ I will not at	ten d			
Name					
Addre	ess				
			State		
	_My Executive	Director w	rill attend		
Name					
Addre	ess				
			State		
	Enclosed is _		for registration	fee (\$35 per	person)
	_ I will pay at	registrat	ion		
Pleas	se complete and	return th	is form by January	/ 1, 1976 to:	
		Director Political #265	R. Thaxton & Research Divisi Street, S.E.	ions	
			n. D.C. 20003		738° " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "



Bot Hartman FYI ARH

MEMORANDUM

January 23, 1976

TO:

Members of the Republican National Committee

FROM:

AB Hermann, Director, Speakers Bureau

RE:

Progress Report #2 on Republican Events during the so-called Lincoln Day

Period, January 30 - March 30, 1976

You will recall receiving a Memorandum from me, dated November 26, pertaining to the recommendation of our distinguished National Chairman, Mary Louise Smith, concerning holding 1,000 Republican events, large, medium or small, between January 30 and March 30, 1976.

Thus far we have received reports and commitments for Republican events from the following states:

Arizona	15	Maine	15	Ohio	50
Arkansas	20	Michigan	56	0k1ahoma	20
Colorado	35	Minnesota	76	Pennsylvania	45
Connecticut	30	Missouri	25	Rhode Island	15
Delaware	4	Montana	30-35	Tennessee	20
Georgia	8	Nebraska	15	Utah	15
Hawaii	4	Nevada	6	Washington	32
Idaho	10	New York	50	Wisconsin	40
Indiana	82	New Mexico	10	Wyoming	23
Kentucky	40				

In my first report, we recorded 15 states responding with total commitments of 426 events. This second report reflects additional states which have reported 345 events, bringing the total to 796 with 28 states reporting.

From Republican National Headquarters we have assigned for some of the main events a total of <u>116 speakers</u>, including Cabinet Members, Republican Senators, Congressmen, State Party leaders, and RNC Division Directors.

We will be deeply grateful if those states which have not yet reported would let us hear from them as soon as possible relative to what events may be in the making. We are most anxious, as I am sure you are, to meet the goal set by our National Chairman.

P.S. Let's surpass our previous record of 971 Lincoln Day events set in 1968!

TO: ROBERT HARTMANN

FROM: JOHN L. WILKS
Executive Director
Natl. Black Republican
Council
310 First Street, S.E.

Washington, D.C. 20003

Copies To:

RTH

DJS

FAH

GAR

Vernon Jarrett

Blacks no longer

tied to Democrats CHICAGO TRIBUNE 7/23/76



dying, if not extinct, breed in this Bicentennial Presidential election year?

And who is spreading that rumor

Who said the black Republican is a

And who is spreading that rumor about the Republican high command having written off the black voter as irretrievably committed to the Democratic Party?

"I know that there are centain politicians and news commentators who are creating a false image of the Republican

recognized officially by the National Republican Committee with the same status as the Young Republicans, the Federated Women and the Ethnic Council," he explained.

Wilks is hopeful—if one can judge by tone of voice—but he is painfully aware that not one of the 17 black members of Congress is a Republican.

"The next priority after our black outreach' program is to elect some

SMITH, Mary Louise

July 16, 1976

Dear Mary Louise:

With reference to our telephone conversation of a couple of days ago in which I requested a copy of your recent poll which was made available to the President Ford and Reagan Committees, which the President suggested would be helpful to me in connection with an assignment I have from him, this note will authorize our mutual friend, Gwen Anderson, to hand carry a copy to me for my confidential use.

Kind personal regards.

Sincerely,

ROBERT T. HARTMANN Counsellor to the President

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

RTH:nm





Republican National Hispanic **Assembly**

August 2, 1976

CHAIRMAN

Benjamin Fernandez

VICE CHAIRMEN

Manuel Almaguer, Esq. Alicia Casanova Manuel Gomzalez Monte F. Montez

SECRETARY

George J. Adams

TREASURER

Frank C. Casillas

GENERAL COUNSEL

Martin Castillo, Esq.

COMPTROLLER

Delfin H. Puno

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Alfonso Espinosa

DEPUTY DIRECTOR

Heana Alvarez Fresen

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Armando Acosta George J. Adams

Manuel Almaquer, Esq.

Michael Benages

Nelson Carlo

Africia Casanova

Manuel Casiano, Jr.

Frank C. Casillas Martin Castillo, Esq.

Daniel Catama Rita DiMartino

Alfonsi Espinosa

Benjamin Fernandez

Hon. Robert Farich

Dr. Julio Forcade

Frank Fouce

John Garcia

Manuel Goezalez

Edward Lucero

Hon, Carmen Maymi

Monte F. Montez

Delfin H. Para

Henry Ramuel:

Salvador Ramos Hon. Mary Louise Smith

Luis Terradas

Honorable Gerald Ford President of the United States The White House Washington, D. C.

Dear President Ford:

On behalf of the members of the Republican National Hispanic Assembly, we wish to thank you for your kindness of last Thursday.

Your speech during the first annual banquet of the Assembly was superb. Our people were touched by your remarks, and have indicated to me since the banquet, their full and complete support during the forthcoming campaign.

The number of Hispanic Americans appointed to your Administration is clearly indicative of your commitment to our people. We are grateful.

We look forward to an exciting partnership during the next four years.

Con todo respeto.

Chairman

BF/dr



Republican National Hispanic Assembly

July 8, 1976

CHAIRMAN

Benjamin Fernandez

VICE CHAIRMEN

Manuel Almaguer, Esq. Alicia Casanova Manuel Gonzalez Monte F. Montez

SECRETARY

George J. Adams

TREASURER

Frank C. Casillas

GENERAL COUNSEL

Martin Castillo, Esq.

COMPTROLLER

Delfin H. Pupo

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Alfonso Espinosa

DEPUTY DIRECTOR

Ileana Alvarez Fresen

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Armando Acosta George J. Adams Manuel Almaguer, Esq. Michael Benages Nelson Carlo Alicia Casanova Frank C. Casillas Martin Castillo, Esq. **Daniel Catania** Rita DiMartino Alfonso Espinosa Benjamin Fernandez Hon. Robert Finch Dr. Julio Forcade Frank Fouce John Garcia Manuel Gonzalez Edward Lucero Hon, Carmen Maymi Monte F. Montez Delfin H. Pupo Henry Ramirez Hon. Mary Louise Smith Luis Terrazas

To: NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Republican National Hispanic Assembly

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Republican National Hispanic Assembly

Dear RNHA Colleagues:

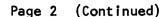
The month of June, 1976 was an explosive one for the Assembly.

We had a number of positive activities across the country which we would like to share with you; e.g.:

Rules Committee. On June 24, Jose Casanova, Rita DiMartino, and Benjamin Fernandez made a presentation to the Rules Committee of the Republican National Committee requesting (1) permanent auxiliary status for the Republican National Hispanic Assembly of the United States; (2) membership on the Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee; and (3) membership in the RNC.

There is an excellent chance that the first two of the three objectives will be achieved at the convention in Kansas City. We will be prepared to push through all three objectives, and should we succeed in any of the three, it would represent a major breakthrough in Republican politics for the Hispanic people of our country. We will keep you informed as to our progress.

Banquet. On July 29, 1976, the first annual banquet of the RNHA of the United States will occur at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D.C., entitled "A Salute to the Appointees and Executives Serving the Ford Administration". We are expecting over 1,000 people to attend. Confirmed guest speakers will include Senator John Tower, Congressman John Rhodes, Congressman Manuel Lujan, and Samuel Martinez, Director, Community Services Administration. There is a strong probability that the President also will be available to address our guests. We are very excited about the project, particularly since ticket sales are moving at a brisk pace. Splendid work by Frank Casillas, Banquet Chairman; Dick Salvatierra, Co-Chairman; and Roger Moure, Co-Chairman.





July 8, 1976

Appointments. Doug Bennett, Director of The White House personnel section, has come through for us splendidly. The President has appointed Al Zapanta to the position of Assistant Secretary, Department of Interior. We are very proud of Al, for he exemplifies the best in our Hispanic leaders.

The President has also appointed Phillip Sanchez to the Ambassador-ship of Colombia, and Abe Pena, Ambassador to Honduras. Both men are extremely qualified, and are national leaders in the truest sense of the phrase. Other appointments soon will be announced.

Republican National Hispanic Assembly of Detroit. Periodically, as we see the Assembly struggle to achieve success, we all need a bit of inspiration. In the month of June, it came from the Mexican-American population of Detroit, Michigan. Your Chairman met with a small group of dedicated men and women who have filed an application for the first local chapter in the State of Michigan. We are proud of the founders, for they exemplify everything that we are trying to do across the country. In fact, they have established a goal of being the first local chapter in the United States with 100 members. They believe that this modest goal can be accomplished during the month of July.

One of the founders, Ana Coronado, suggested that senior citizens sixty five years of age or older, be permitted to join the Assembly for \$1 a year. The idea is so practical that we are now encouraging all State Chapters to amend their Constitution to permit senior citizens to participate in this fashion.

The Detroit Chapter is also planning a major fund raiser in September, and they already are looking for candidates for the Michigan House of Representatives. Incidentally, Edward Rocha, one of the founders of the local chapters, has requested that the Charter be dated July 4, 1976. It has been done.

<u>California</u>. Moving at a very vigorous pace, California is finally getting its act together. Under the direction of Raymond Arballo, Chairman of the Membership Committee, some 34 communities are in organization to qualify for local chapters. This kind of activity should flourish into a dynamic State Chapter; one which should yield excellent results for the Republican Party.

On Saturday, June 19, 1976, the California Chapter of the Assembly, again, under the direction of Raymond Arballo, received affiliate status from the Republican State Central Committee of California. Ray's efforts towards this magnificent goal are in the finest tradition of commitment and dedication.





Page 3 (Continued)

July 8, 1976

Hialeah, Florida. On June 12, 1976, a banquet was given in Hialeah by the local Chapter of the Assembly. We were delighted with the excellent turnout, and the quality of the officers elected by the membership. Young and energetic, they have promised to develop the largest, strongest chapter in the United States. Based on our observations of the day, we believe them. Under the leadership of Victor Gonzalez, the local chairman, we expect to see some significant political changes within the city of Hialeah all via the Republican National Hispanic Assembly of Hialeah.

Illinois. Under the direction of Nelson Carlo, the Republican National Hispanic Assembly of Illinois has developed (1) an excellent Executive Committee, and (2) has received affiliate status from the Illinois Republican State Central Committee. They, too, are planning a major fund raiser in the fall to provide the Assembly with the funds necessary to employ a full time staff, whose prime responsibility will be the organization of the Assembly in Illinois.

Texas. Luis Terrazas, an extremely effective administrator, is organizing the State of Texas under the umbrella of the Republican National Hispanic Assembly of Texas. We expect the state to be completely organized by the end of July so that the Assembly can play an effective roll in the 1976 campaign. It is very exciting, particularly since we are receiving full cooperation from Hispanic leaders in every section of the state.

In order to function effectively during the 1976 campaign, we must intensify our organizational efforts at the grass roots level. Local chapters must be organized in each state, for they will be the cutting edge of the campaign.

The burden of leadership is on your shoulders. You must lead our people out of the political wilderness.

Con todo respeto,

njamin Fernandez

Chairman

BF/ff

cc: Mary Louise Smith, Chairman, Republican National Committee Robert Hartman, Counselor to the President, The White House



niemczyk, Jay



National Republican Heritage Groups (Nationalities) Council

September 21, 1976

Julian M. Niemczyk

The Honorable Robert Hartman Counselor to the President The White House Washington, D.C.

Dear Bob:

Am sending to you a copy of the letter I sent to twenty Council State Chairmen (Ohio, Pennsylvania, etc.) and twenty-eight different Nationalities Federations (German, Chinese, etc.).

This is the first in a series of Campaign '76 oriented letters to our National Heritage oganizations.

The response so far is very encouraging. These people are quick to respond to the Ford - Dole cause in their ethnic communities.

Best wishe

Julian M. Niemczyk

JMN:ej

Enclosure





National Republican Heritage Groups (Nationalities) Council

September 7, 1976

Lajos Hajdu-Nemeth President Hungarian American Republican National Federation 555 Easton Avenue Somerset, New Jersey 08873

Dear Lajos:

With only fifty-six days left until the National Election Day, our Heritage Groups Clubs and Organizations have much to do to assist in bringing about a Victory for the FORD - DOLE ticket.

We are all aware of the close and friendly feeling President Ford has had toward American Ethnics since he has associated with the various ethnic cultures from childhood and throughout his many terms as a Congressman from Michigan. Since becoming President, he has appointed ethnics to office, including Mitchell Kobelinski as Administrator of the Small Business Administration and Myron Kuropas as the first Special Assistant for Ethnic Affairs to the President. This is in sharp contrast to his opponent's obvious lack of understanding in this area.

Because President Ford has a greater understanding of the multi-cultural pluralistic nature of our society than any other President in our history, the ethnic community of America has a friend in the White House today. He understands ethnicity because he comes from a state, a particular congressional district, where he represented, lived with, and did business with ethnic Americans.

Having Senator Dole as the Vice President nominee is an added attraction for heritage leaders. As Chairman of the Republican National Committee, he proved to be a strong supporter, and his appreciation for ethnic Americans is very clear. Senator Dole knows that they came to America not to grab its riches and run away, but to build a new life, and enrich their country; that they built churches, hospitals and schools with their own personal contributions; that they organized the great fraternal organizations; that they took care of their widows, orphans and aged with their own contributions.

The FORD - DOLE ticket is a "winning team" combination. They know the Ethnics -- the Ethnics know them!

The Heritage Groups to elect the President has two basic assignments: 1) to gear up Nationalities Federations and State Councils across the country and to get them actively included in

Page Two September 7, 1976

the FORD - DOLE organization in each state, and 2) to establish new, independent committees to use as a vehicle in reaching those ethnics who are not Republicans and who might not want to be openly associated with a Republican group.

Naturally, our ultimate goal is to get out the ethnic votes, Republicans, Independents, and Democrats alike, to insure the election of the FORD - DOLE team, and to sweep the Democrat Congress clean by electing Republicans to office.

Specific tasks we ask you to undertake are:

- 1) Develop contacts in fraternal organizations
- 2) Open ethnic store fronts
- 3) Solicit local ethnic business firms for evening and week-end phone banks
- 4) Identify sympathetic voters
- 5) Expand membership
- 6) Recruit volunteers
- 7) Initiate registration drives
- 8) Arrange ethnic rallies to publicize and support candidates

In the near future, I expect to be visiting your area. At that time, we hope to have specific programs to discuss with you and your close associates. In the meantime, please remember -- time is short. There is much to be done!

Very sincerely,

Julian M. Niemczyk

JMN:ej

50 CENTS Dow Jones & Co., Inc. 1976

Two Section

The GOP: Dying f

Aides Say Moribund Party May Not Survive

By James M. Perry FROM WASHINGTON, D.C.

says Mark Siegel, executive director of the Democratic National Committee.

"The old theory that parties go up and down in cycles doesn't apply now. The Republican Party

News Analysis

can't bounce back any more. It has the brain wave of a dead person."

Sixteen blocks away, Eddie Mahe, the executive director of the Republican National Committee, reflects on what his friend and political foe has said. He chooses his words carefully.

"I can't say that Mark is wrong. I expected we would pick up 30 seats in the House of Representatives on Nov. 2. I was sure—absolutely certain—we would pick up 15. But we were beaten, and beaten so badly. We actually lost seats, and none of us expected that. The thing is, we did the very best we could. By and large, we were so pleased with our candidates. We spent enough money.

"But we lost. We cannot survive another decade like this. Now we are faced with a terrible problem: redistricting after the 1980 census. If we keep going the way we are now—and I see nothing changing—we will be destroyed as a national political party in 1981."

To be sure, there is always talk about the death of one or the other of our great political parties after major defeats. In 1964, following the Goldwater debacle, there was talk of the demise of the Republicans. After 1972 and the great Nixon landslide, there was talk of a permanent Republican majority.

But until now the party pros never believed that kind of talk. They knew there was another election and another chance. And usually it.



worked out. After the Goldwater debacle in 1964, the Republicans bounced back and picked up 47 House seats in 1966, And they elected a President in 1968.

"It was," says Siegel, a political scientist who used to teach at Loyola University of Chicago, "the old surge and decline theory. You elected a President and swept in a Congress with you.

2011

For the Week Ending NOVEMBER 27

or Real?

1980 Redistricting

Next time, the other side swept out your Congress and brought their own people in.

"But in the election of Nov. 2—and we'll remember it a long, long time—the voters institutionalized the Democratic Watergate Class of 1974. They should have been swept out, but all of them—with only two exceptions—stayed in. And once a district goes the same way twice in a row, it's hell to blast them out. So what we have here is huge chunks of what was once prime Republican territory turned now into Democratic country."

Some Republicans argue that their best chance is an unpopular Carter Administration that will become the issue in the congressional elections in 1978. Siegel says that even if the Carter Administration is unpopular, the voters won't turn out the Democrats in Congress. And feisty little Eddie Mahe (rhymes with sigh), who worked so hard to elect Republicans on Nov. 2, tends to agree.

"It will be hard to pick up seats," he admits.
"The Democrats won by too big margins. Labor really got things together for them and ran a computerized, finely tuned operation. They'll be back even better next time.

"We'll pick our targets, and they'll move right in to counter anything we do. And with two more years in office, these Democrats will vote themselves even more incumbency advantages—more newsletters mailed out with the frank [free postage], more offices back home, and more of everything, and there isn't anything we can do.

"Give the credit to the NCEC. They elected most of these Democrats. They set up two-year campaigns for each of them. They did a helluva job."

NCEC?

That stands for the National Committee for an Effective Congress, perhaps the single most

Please Turn, to Page 5, Column 1

Exploring . . . Enjoying
This Business of Living



How to find a college whose costs won't shatter your budget.

PAGE 10.

A white male's suit may end 're-verse discrimination.



Music great, music weird: You'll find it all on this year's discs.

PAGES 20, 21.

Outlet stores
let you live
like a big
spender—for
a pittance.

PAGE 8.



THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

Jan. 7, 1977

Gwen:

Per our telephone conversation,
Mr. Hartmann said I should return
the attached telegram to you.

Neta

MAIRGRAW SERVICE CENTER MIDDLETONN, VA. 23115

Westein union Duta 13131313111

2-001005E004 01/04/77 ICS IPMMTZZ CSP WSHB 7033790101 MGM TDMT ARLINGTON VA 200 01-04 0055A EST

PRESIDENT GERALD R FORD WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC 20500

PAR

AS AN EX-ELECTED OFFICIAL, AN EX-STATE CHAIRMAN (PENNSYLVANIA), AN EX-MEMBER OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, AND A MEMBER OF P.F.C., I'M PLEASED THAT YOU WILL CONTINUE AS OUR PARTY LEADER.

IN DEFERENCE TO ALL THE FINE PEOPLE WHO'S NAMES HAVE SURFACED FOR NATIONAL CHAIRMAN NONE HAVE ALL THE REQUISITES NEEDED AT THIS TIME, A PRAGMATIST ACCEPTABLE TO ALL REPUBLICANS WHO KNOWS GRASS ROOTS POLITICS IS A MUST. A NUMBER OF REPUBLICANS SUCH AS MYSELF HAVE LOOKED CAREFULLY FOR SUCH A PERSON, AND WE STRONGLY RECOMMEND GOVERNOR BOB RAY AS THE MAN FOR THE JOB.

WE FULLY RECOGNIZE THE SACRIFICE THAT BOB WILL HAVE TO MAKE, TO HAVE TO RESIGN AS GOVERNOR, BUT AS NEXT STATE CHAIRMAN WE ARE SURE HE WOULD ACCEPT THE DRAFT.

WE ARE PREPARED TO LAUNCH A DRAFT BUT FEEL SOME INDICATION FROM YOU IS IMPORTANT IN ORDER NOT TO EMBARRASS ANYONE.

I PLAN TO ATTEND THE RECEPTION THURSDAY AT THE CAPITOL HILL CLUB IN YOUR HONOR AND WOULD LIKE SOME INDICATION IF SUCH A DRAFT WOULD NOT BE DIVISIVE. I CAN BE REACHED AT 703-3790101 IF SOME MEMBER OF YOUR STAFF CARES TO DISCUSS THIS MATTER MORE FULLY.

IF WE RECEIVE NO INDICATION FROM YOU OR YOUR STAFF, WE WILL INTERPRET THAT OUR ACTION IS POSITIVE AND NOT IN CONFLICT

JACK JORDAN

00:55 EST

MGMCOMP MGM

