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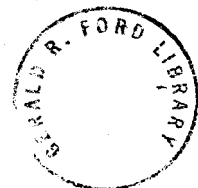
October 1, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
THROUGH: CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *CLJ.*  
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *T.L.*  
SUBJECT: Information provided by  
Rep. Skip Bafalis (R.-Fla.)

Attached is a lengthy proposed National Maritime Policy for the United States prepared by Carl C. Davis for Governor Carter. According to Skip, this material was made available to Carter on Monday, September 26, 1976, and is to be the basic position espoused by Carter on Maritime policy.

Attach.

*Max: I know that Jack Marsh  
would be very interested in  
this. Charlie*



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 2, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JACK MARSH

FROM:

CHARLIE LEPPERT

I talked with Hunk Henderson and he states that Guy Vander Jagt is no longer involved in the dispute on the use of the President Ford Committee mailing list.

The House Congressional Campaign Committee feels that its operation is proceeding very well. However, both Senator Stevens and Bob Wilson say that the President has approved the use of the President Ford Committee mailing list and that some documentation of the President's decision is needed to convince Mary Louise Smith. Mrs. Smith continues to deny Stevens and Wilson use of the PFC mailing list.

Henderson requested that some decision be given to him by Monday morning because there are approximately 150,000 letters that must be mailed out by October 9.

Henderson says he is staying with former Congressman Bob Barry and can be reached at 333-1886 or at this office number -- 554-8134.





October 4, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB WOLTHUIS  
THROUGH: CHARLES LEPPERT, JR.  
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *KL*  
SUBJECT: Congressional Participation  
During the President's  
Appearances in Oklahoma and Texas

Of the four persons I contacted, only Bill Archer will not participate in any of the weekend Presidential appearances in Oklahoma and Texas. In addition, neither Collins, Steelman or Archer wish to return with the President from Dallas to Washington aboard Air Force One.

Jarman, Collins and Steelman strongly indicated their desire to participate with the President at all appropriate events.

John Jarman will be in Bethesda Naval Hospital until Wednesday P.M. for the purpose of receiving his annual physical. He will fly to Oklahoma on Thursday. He asked that our advance people consider his participation in both Oklahoma and Dallas. Walter Graham in Jarman's Washington office (phone 225-2132) should serve as our contact.

Jim Collins is most interested in being with the President in all of his public appearances in Dallas. The advance office should contact Mary Lou McCarty in the Congressman's Dallas office (phone 214-749-2453).

Alan Steelman asked that the advance office work with Marvin Collins. Marvin can be reached in Steelman's Dallas office (phone 214-749-7277).

I strongly concur in Bill Archer's recommendation that, if possible, the President appear with the Texas and Oklahoma cheerleaders. Both alumni associations are very large in number and such an audience would be heavily publicized by both universities. The advance office should be aware that Congressman Archer's son, Rick, is one of the University of Texas varsity cheerleaders.



October 4, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
THROUGH: CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *CLJ*  
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *T.L.*  
SUBJECT: Rep. Steve Symms (R.-Idaho)

Steve strongly urges that, if possible, the President hold a signing ceremony in the western part of the United States on S. 3091, the National Forest Management Act of 1976 (Clear-cutting legislation). He stated that such a signing ceremony would be most beneficial for the President.

cc: Pat Rowland



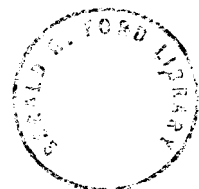
October 5, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
THROUGH: CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *CLP.*  
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *TL.*  
SUBJECT: Rep. Alan Steelman (R.-Texas)

When notifying Steelman's office of the President's appearance in Dallas, Marvin Collins, AA to Steelman, indicated the Congressman's chagrin over a statement made by Secretary Coleman when Coleman was in Texas.

According to Marvin, Secretary Coleman was a guest of Lady Bird Johnson at The Highway Beautification Program. The event was held in Stonewall, Texas on Friday, October 1st. During the program Secretary Coleman praised Senator Bentsen for his role in the passage of important highway legislation. The next day newspapers across the State played direct quotes of Coleman's praise of Bentsen.

While Steelman realizes the impact of this statement will not determine the outcome of his race against Bentsen, he is hopeful that henceforth cabinet members will realize the political damage which can be the result of these type statements.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 5, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK CHENEY

THRU:

JACK MARSH  
MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM:

CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *CLJ.*

SUBJECT:

Rep. Keith Sebelius (R. - Kansas)

Rep. Keith Sebelius says that a recent poll taken at the Kansas State Fair from September 18 to 26, 1976, showed the following results:

	<u>September 18</u>	<u>September 26</u>
Ford	50%	45%
Carter	45%	37%
Undecided	5%	18%
Sebelius	70%	60%
Opponent	21%	27%
Undecided	9%	13%



October 6, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM:

TOM LOEFFLER *T.L.*

SUBJECT:

Rep. Jimmy Quillen (R.-Tenn.)  
HR-9719

Jimmy Quillen instructed Mike Hynes of his staff to contact us urging that the President sign the Payments in Lieu of Taxes Bill which is HR-9719 and entitled, Public Lands Payments to State or Local Governments.

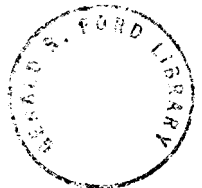
Jimmy believes that ~~the~~ enactment into law of this legislation will be a great asset to the President in the western part of the United States.



October 6, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *T.L.*  
SUBJECT: Rep. Peter Peyser (R.-N.Y.)

While informing Peter of the President's visit to the New York City area October 12 - 13, he stated that he will be willing to do whatever is necessary to assist the President in his election.



October 6, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM:

TOM LOEFFLER *T.L.*

SUBJECT:

Recommendation from  
Nola Hearle -- S-3823

Nola currently serves as the Northwest Regional Coordinator for the President Ford Committee which includes the State of Oregon. She stated that the Lake Oswego region in Oregon strongly urges that the President sign S. 3823, the Water Resource Development Act of 1976.



October 6, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *AL*  
SUBJECT: Rep. Alan Steelman (R.-Texas)

On October 5, I sent a memo to you which addressed Steelman's disappointment over a statement made by Secretary Coleman when Coleman was in Texas. For your information, attached is a copy of The Dallas Morning News story to which Steelman referred.

Attach.





8 A The Dallas Morning News Friday, October 1, 1976 \*\*\*

# Bentsen road efforts praised at ceremony

By RICHARD MOREHEAD

Staff Writer of The News

STONEWALL, Texas — A Republican member of President Ford's cabinet Thursday praised U.S. Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, Democrat, for assistance on high-

pushing and shoving, we hope to do better."

Coleman declared worthy public acts need to be recognized, regardless of party.

October 5, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
THROUGH: CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *CLJ.*  
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *KL.*  
SUBJECT: Rep. Alan Steelman (R.-Texas)

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According to Marvin, Secretary Coleman was a guest of Lady Bird Johnson at The Highway Beautification Program. The event was held in Stonewall, Texas on Friday, October 1st. During the program Secretary Coleman praised Senator Bentsen for his role in the passage of important highway legislation. The next day newspapers across the State played direct quotes of Coleman's praise of Bentsen.

While Steelman realizes the impact of this statement will not determine the outcome of his race against Bentsen, he is hopeful that henceforth cabinet members will realize the political damage which can be the result of these type statements.



October 6, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JIM BAKER  
PRESIDENT FORD COMMITTEE

THRU:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM:

CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *CLJ.*

SUBJECT:

Former Rep. Cal Johnson  
(R. - Ill.)

Former Rep. Cal Johnson called to express his concern about labor's involvement in this election. He suggested that the attached speech of Senator Goldwater in the September 10 Congressional Record, page S 15570, on labor's contributions to candidates for the U. S. Senate be sent to all GOP County Chairmen and, if possible, labor's contribution for the Presidential and other Congressional races be provided for each state to the local GOP Chairman in each state.

cc: Jack Marsh  
Dick Cheney  
Jim Cavanaugh  
Jim Field



# THE NEW RULERS OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, on August 31, the same day that I presented to the Senate a statement describing big labor's effort to gain control of the American political system, Jimmy Carter, the Democratic Presidential candidate, was huddled in Washington, D.C., with the bosses of big labor. When Mr. Carter left the Capital City, he took with him what a Washington Post staff writer called a ringing endorsement from organized labor.

According to news reports, AFL-CIO president, George Meany introduced Mr. Carter to a gathering of several hundred union leaders as "our candidate." The Washington Star reported that after speaking to the labor audience, Mr. Carter "had a private luncheon with some of the labor leaders." What went on at that closed meeting is unknown.

What the public does know, the Star indicated, is that Mr. Meany disclosed that he was setting up a steering committee of labor leaders to meet every 2 weeks to make sure that "our machinery is working to promote Mr. Carter." The story in the next morning's Washington Post revealed that Mr. Meany had also promised "an intensive campaign" on behalf of Mr. Carter by labor's political organization, which Mr. Meany proclaimed is "the best political machine in the country."

As the Carter-labor dialog was described in the New York Times of September 1:

Top labor leaders promised Jimmy Carter today that they would stage "the strongest most effective get-out-the-vote campaign ever conducted by the labor movement" this autumn.

The same article disclosed:

After [Mr. Carter's] speech before the general board of the AFL-CIO, the board unanimously adopted a resolution of support that said victory in November would "require millions of volunteer hours, millions of telephone calls, massive mailings and the personal commitment that trade unionists bring to politics."

We also know that Mr. Carter welcomed these pledges of help from big labor. He is quoted in the Washington Star as telling union bosses:

That they could make the difference between his winning or losing the election. Labor's help was badly needed.

Mr. President, big labor itself has openly confirmed exactly what I claimed in my speech of August 31. Union bosses are intent upon controlling this year's elections—will make greater efforts than ever before—and have enormous resources of the very kind required to get around the restrictions of the new election law.

Mr. President, among the evidence of organized labor's attempt to capture the American political system that appears in my earlier statement is a listing of union contributions to candidates for the U.S. Senate. An additional item has come to my attention since then, and in order to keep the list as current as possible, I am today revealing the updated figures, as follows:

## NAME AND ORGANIZED LABOR CONTRIBUTION

### MARYLAND

\*J. Glenn Beall, Jr. (R), \$17,900.  
Paul Sarbanes (D), \$71,595.

### TEXAS

\*Lloyd M. Bentsen (D), \$36,750.  
Alan Steelman (R), none.

### TENNESSEE

\*William E. Brock (R), none.  
James Sasser (D), \$21,900.

### NEW YORK

\*James L. Buckley (R), none.  
Peter Peyser (R), \$23,178.  
Daniel Moynihan (D), \$18,500.  
Paul O'Dwyer (D), \$500.  
Robert Abrams (D), \$300.  
Bella Abzug (D), \$19,420.

### NORTH DAKOTA

\*Quentin Burdick (D), \$25,500.  
Robert Stroup (R), none.

### VIRGINIA

\*Harry Byrd, Jr., none.  
Elmo Zumwalt (D), \$45,580.

### WEST VIRGINIA

\*Robert Byrd (D), \$79,300.

### NEVADA

\*Howard Cannon (D), \$44,550.  
David Towell (R), none.

### FLORIDA

\*Lawton Chiles (D), none.  
John Grady (R), none.  
Walter Simms (R), none.  
Helen Hansel (R), none.

### ARIZONA

\*Paul Fannin (R), retiring.  
Sam Steiger (R), none.  
John Conlan (R), none.  
Dennis DeConcini (D), \$4,100.

### HAWAII

\*Hiram Fong (R), retiring.  
William Quinn (R), none.  
Spark Matsunaga (D), \$26,650.  
Patsy Mink (D), \$2,400.

### MICHIGAN

\*Phillip Hart (D), retiring.  
Donald Riegle (D), \$4,700.  
James O'Hara (D), \$103,278.  
Marvin Esch (R), \$300.

### INDIANA

\*Vance Hartke (D), \$101,775.  
Richard Lugar (R), none.

### NEBRASKA

\*Roman Hruska (R), retiring.  
Edward Zorinsky (D), \$4,300.  
John McCollister (R), none.

### MINNESOTA

\*Hubert Humphrey (D), \$95,175.  
Gerald Brekke (R), none.

### WASHINGTON

\*Henry Jackson (D), \$168,477.  
George Brown (R), none.  
Henry Neilson (R), none.

### MASSACHUSETTS

\*Edward Kennedy (D), \$55,550.  
Mike Robertson (R), none.

### WYOMING

\*Gale McGee (D), \$41,794.  
Malcom Wallop (R), none.

### MONTANA

\*Mike Mansfield (D), retiring.  
John Melcher (D), \$21,650.  
Stanley Burger (R), none.

### NEW MEXICO

\*Joseph Montoya (D), \$41,200.  
Harrison Schmitt (R), none.

### UTAH

\*Frank Moss (D), \$58,475.  
Jack Carlson (R), none.  
Orrin Hatch (R), none.

Footnotes at end of article.



# MAINE

\*Edmund Muskie (D), \$27,863.  
 \*Robert Moks (R), none.

# RHODE ISLAND

\*John Pastore (D), retiring.  
 Philip Noel (D), \$300.  
 John Chafee (R), none.

# WISCONSIN

\*William Proxmire (D), none.  
 Stanley York (R), none.

# DELAWARE

\*William Roth (R), none.  
 Thomas Maloney (D), \$19,850.

# PENNSYLVANIA

\*Hugh Scott (R), retiring.  
 John Heinz (R), \$1,500.  
 William Green (D), \$64,075.  
 Jeanette Reidman (D), \$10,465.

# VERMONT

\*Robert Stafford (R), \$7,250.  
 Tom Salmon (D), \$3,000.

# MISSISSIPPI

\*John C. Stennis (D), none.

# MISSOURI (6)

\*Stuart Symington (D), retiring.  
 Warren Hearnes (D), \$1,250.  
 Jerry Litton (D), \$800.  
 James Symington (D), \$47,600.  
 John Danforth (R), none.

# OHIO

\*Robert Taft, Jr. (R), \$3,700.  
 Howard Metzenbaum (D), \$52,743.  
 James Stanton (D), \$30,969.

# CALIFORNIA

\*John Tunney (D), \$118,583.  
 Tom Hayden (D), \$1,000.  
 S. I. Hayakawa (R), none.

# CONNECTICUT

\*Lowell Weicker (R), \$4,500.  
 Gloria Schaffer (D), \$2,500.

# NEW JERSEY

\*Harrison Williams (D), \$115,750.  
 David Norcross (R), none.

Total, \$1,649,195.

# FOOTNOTES

\*Incumbent.  
 \*Includes aborted Presidential campaign.  
 \*Primary not yet held.  
 \*O'Hara lost primary to Riegle; Reidman lost to Green; Stanton lost to Metzenbaum; Hayden lost to Tunney.  
 \*Includes Presidential campaign contributions.  
 \*Primary on Sept. 15th.  
 \*Cong. Litton died; Hearnes nominated by Central Committee.

Now, there is a very interesting fact hidden among all this data. Note that nearly all labor contributions to Senate campaigns have gone to Democrat candidates. The respective totals are \$1,590,267 given to the Democrats compared with only \$58,928 contributed to Republicans. The Republican share of union largess is a barely visible 3 percent.

Mr. President, in the interest of further updating information which I compiled in my original remarks, I can state with assurance today that the true amount of total contributions by big labor, both in direct cash payments and in-kind efforts, to try to put their candidates in office by the 1976 elections will be an astounding \$70 to \$100 million. This will be the greatest attempt ever made by labor bosses in America to gain control over Government and the future of the Nation.

# CORRECTION OF THE RECORD

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, on August 31, I placed in the RECORD a lengthy statement concerning the influence which labor unions are attempting to wield in the forthcoming political campaign. In my list of contributions made by organized labor to incumbent Senators seeking reelection and to other candidates for the U.S. Senate in 1976, a contribution of \$4,500 to Senator LOWELL WEICKER, Republican, of Connecticut, and a \$2,500 contribution to Gloria Schaffer, his Democrat opponent, were inadvertently omitted. The Senate total should be \$1,649,195.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the correction will be made.




October 7, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM:

TOM LOEFFLER 

SUBJECT:

Rep. Ben Gilman (R.-N.Y.)

Upon receiving news that the President planned to be in Rockland, New York, Ben asked his staff to contact us in order that the President might say a few kind words on behalf of Gilman during the New York trip.



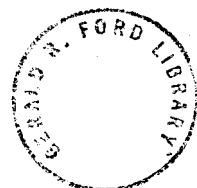
October 7, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: JIM CAVANAUGH  
THROUGH: MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *TL*  
SUBJECT: Telephone Conversation  
with Mr. Vernon Ravenscroft,  
Idaho State GOP Chairman

On October 6, our office received a call from Mr. Vernon Ravenscroft, Idaho State GOP Chairman. He asked that appropriate White House personnel be informed of the following:

- 1) Payments In Lieu of Taxes. He urges the President to sign this legislation as it resolves existing inequities in the ability of certain state and local governments to raise revenues. If the President does sign this legislation, politically it would firm up support for the President's election in the northwest region of the United States.
- 2) Agriculture. Out in the west there is still much respect for Secretary Butz.

Presently the price structure for all agricultural commodities is bad. Now that Secretary Butz has resigned, the President, in effect, is his own Secretary of Agriculture. He said the President, therefore, should come forward with positive leadership at this time and do whatever is necessary to firm up agricultural prices across the board. This would show the President truly cares for and understands the needs of the agricultural industry.



October 7, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

TO:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM:

CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *CLJ.*

SUBJECT:

Former Rep. Frank Becker  
of New York

Mr. Becker called our office this morning concerning the Presidential debate last night and also to advise the President to visit Senator Hubert Humphrey in the hospital next week while he is in New York. Mr. Becker said that he doesn't believe the Humphrey supporters like Carter and such a visit to the Senator would be very significant.

Mr. Becker, who served in the House of Representatives with the President, also stated that Mr. Ford appears to be making the same mistake that President Nixon did in surrounding himself with staff members who make it impossible for him to receive the advice and counsel of former colleague and friends. Mr. Becker states that it appears the President is being advised by people who have never conducted television debates before, and that he has had twenty years experience in this area. He is writing the President today, but doesn't believe the President will ever see his correspondence.





October 7, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: BILL NICHOLSON  
THROUGH: MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *TL*  
SUBJECT: Recommendation from Rep.  
Ed Madigan concerning the  
President's visit in Illinois,  
October 15 - 16

Ed understands that currently plans are being considered for a Presidential whistle-stop train tour from Chicago to St. Louis. This tour would pass through Madigan's district.

Ed is most interested in participating in this event with the President and recommends that, if possible, the President make quick stops at the following locations:

- 1) Bloomington Normal, Illinois -- home of Illinois State University (enrollment approximately 28,000). Also, the home of the Adlai Stevenson family.
- 2) Lincoln, Illinois -- Madigan's hometown and a Republican stronghold.



October 7, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: BILL NICHOLSON  
THROUGH: MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *W.C.*  
SUBJECT: Rep. Ben Gilman -- Suggested  
Appearance by the President  
During his New York City Visit

According to Ben, the President plans to visit Manuet Mall in the New York City area. He suggests that we also consider the following appearance.

Twenty minutes away from Manuet Mall, via helicopter, is Stewart Airport near Newburgh, New York. Gilman believes an airport rally would turn out 4,000 to 5,000 people drawn from the Hudson Valley area.

Recently the Congressman represented the President at the funeral of Major Arthur Bonafest who was killed by North Korean troops at Panmunjon along the North/South Korea demilitarized zone. According to Ben, the Bronze Star will be presented posthumous to his widow who resides in Newburgh, New York. Therefore, if possible, Gilman recommends that if the President is able to make the Stewart Airport appearance, he also present Bonafest's widow the posthumous Bronze Star award.



October 7, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM:

TOM LOEFFLER *T.L.*

SUBJECT:

Rep. Peter Peyser (R.-N.Y.)

During a conversation today, Peter again indicated his sincere desire to be of assistance to the President and the President's campaign. He stated that his strength lies primarily with Independents and Moderate Democrats in the New York City area. He would be happy to exploit this for the President.



PAGES 25 ET AL.



EXCERPTS:

LAST NIGHT IN THE DEBATE I SPOKE OF AMERICA'S FIRM SUPPORT FOR THE ASPIRATIONS FOR INDEPENDENCE OF THE NATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE. THE UNITED STATES HAS NEVER CONCEDED AND NEVER WILL CONCEDE THEIR DOMINATION BY THE SOVIET UNION.

I ADMIRE THE COURAGE OF THE POLISH PEOPLE AND HAVE ALWAYS SUPPORTED THE HOPES OF POLISH AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM FOR THEIR ANCESTRAL HOMELAND.

IT IS OUR POLICY TO USE EVERY PEACEFUL MEANS TO ASSIST COUNTRIES IN EASTERN EUROPE IN THEIR EFFORTS TO BECOME LESS DEPENDENT ON THE SOVIET UNION AND TO ESTABLISH CLOSER TIES WITH THE WEST.

I AM VERY MUCH AWARE OF THE PRESENT PLIGHT OF THE EASTERN EUROPEAN NATIONS AND, AS I DECLARED IN THIS YEAR'S CAPTIVE NATIONS PROCLAMATION:

"THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS THE ASPIRATIONS FOR FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE, AND NATIONAL SELF DETERMINATION OF ALL PEOPLES. WE DO NOT ACCEPT FOREIGN DOMINATION OVER ANY NATION."

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY  
(Philadelphia, Pennsylvania)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE  
NATIONAL QUADRENNIAL CONVENTION  
OF THE POLISH-AMERICAN CONGRESS

THE BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HOTEL

10:35 A.M. EDT

Your Excellence Cardinal Krol, Senator Schweicker, Congressman John Heinz, distinguished guests; ladies and gentlemen:

I feel great. How do you feel this morning?

I am greatly honored by your invitation to address the Convention of the Polish-American Congress, and I am mighty proud to be here, not just as President but as a friend of American Polonia.

It has been the policy of mine -- and the policy of my Administration -- to listen carefully to the voice of Polish America. When it comes to sacrifice and achievement, you have given more, far more, than your share in making this the greatest country in the history of mankind.

Fifty-eight years ago another Polish-American conference was addressed by the great patriot Jan Paderewski. His feats as an orator were no less stunning than his genius as a musician and as the leader of the Polish-American people.

His address to his audience in Polish for over two and a half hours -- I will not try to emulate that performance.

However, let me repeat a few of Paderewski's comments and observations. He said, and I quote, "The Poles in America do not need any Americanization. It is superfluous to explain to them what are the ideals of America. They know very well, for they have been theirs for 1000 years."

MORE



Another Polish American leader put the same thought this way. "I feel I am 200 percent American because I am 100 percent Pole."

Much of what America celebrates in its Bicentennial year we owe to Polish Americans. Before the Pilgrims even landed at Plymouth, Poles had already first built the first factory in America in the colony at Jamestown. Poles had already pioneered American civil liberties demanding and receiving from the Virginia colony a voice in their own government.

For more than 3-1/2 centuries, Polish Americans have been working hard to build a better life for themselves and for their children. You have been soldiers and settlers, teachers and clergymen, scientists, craftsmen and artists. You have earned a distinguished place in the new world as your ancestors did in the old.

Yet today, you are troubled. You look abroad and see friends and relatives who do not fully share your freedom in America. You look at home and see too many of your neighborhoods deteriorating. I share your deep concern and I am also troubled.

But there is much we can do, as much as we have been doing, both at home and abroad. In the first two years of this Administration, I have worked hard to build a positive and expanding relationship with the people and the Government of Poland. A powerful motivation for that policy has been the knowledge that for many, many Americans, Poland is the home of their ancestors and their relatives.

I have sought to tie our countries closer together economically and culturally. In the last two years, trade between our countries has almost doubled. For America, that means more jobs and more production. For Poland, that means a higher standard of living and greater exposure to the American way of life.

A valuable worker in this important task has been the head of the Small Business Administration, Mitch Kobelinski. Last week in Washington, I met with Mitch. He told me personally how badly he wanted to be here this weekend, but this week, he is in Poland discussing how and by what means we can expand trade between our two peoples. My own meetings with Polish officials in Washington in 1974 and in Warsaw and Krakow in 1975 have led to a better understanding between our two countries.

In 1974, we signed a Joint Statement of Principles of Polish-American relations. In that statement, I reaffirmed for the United States the importance we attach to a sovereign and independent Poland. That statement was a part of a broader policy I have advocated throughout my entire life. The United States must continue to support by every peaceful and proper means the aspirations for freedom and national independence of peoples of Eastern Europe. As I have said many times before, as I told a group of Polish-American leaders at the White House just two weeks ago, the so-called Sonnenfeldt Doctrine never did exist and does not exist. The United States is totally opposed to spheres of influence belonging to any power. That policy is fundamental to our relationship with Poland and that policy will continue as long as I am President of the United States.



In my several meetings with Polish leaders, I also stress the importance that all Americans attach to humanitarian issues. People everywhere should have the right to express themselves freely. People everywhere should have the right to emigrate and travel freely. People everywhere should have the right to be united with their families.

I will continue to see that humanitarian matters are treated with the highest priority, not only in our relationships with Poland, but with the rest of the world. If we are to keep the respect throughout the world that the United States has today and must maintain, we must keep America strong. We must make sure that America not only has strong defenses but a strong heart.

Polish Americans know what it means to be strong. Many of your families came here without material wealth. In the countryside you cleared the land and made productive farms. In the cities you built neighborhoods you could be proud of. You built and paid for your own churches. You built your own schools and financial institutions. You built orphanages for the young and hospitals for the aged. You built your own institutions, the great fraternal organizations represented here today.

We must insure that what you have done, what you have earned, what you have built, will be here for your children to enjoy -- these wonderful young people here on this podium and in this hall. We must insure that your families will have the neighborhoods they need to build a decent life of their own.

A family needs a neighborhood that is safe. A family needs a neighborhood that is stable. A family needs a neighborhood with local churches, local shops and local schools.

Some of the healthiest neighborhoods in our cities are Polish American neighborhoods, but today too many neighborhoods are threatened by urban decay. You are paying a terrible price in lost property values -- property you worked hard to buy and maintain and that you love.

In cities like Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago, too many young men and women are finding it impossible to remain in the neighborhoods where they were raised. Too many parents are forced to watch helplessly as all they have worked and saved to build up is eaten away.

MORE



This does not have to happen. I will continue to do everything in my power to see to it that it does not happen.

On the first day of this year I signed into law the Mortgage Disclosure Act to prevent redlining and neighborhood decline. Last month I met with the ethnic leaders to see what more we could do. As a result of that meeting, I created the President's Committee on Urban Development and Neighborhood Revitalization. I charged that committee with developing a sound Federal policy to help preserve our neighborhoods. That policy will be based on local initiative and local control.

Revitalizing our neighborhoods will help preserve your investments in your homes, your churches and your community facilities; it will help keep families together; it will help keep America together. America itself is a wonderful family. We must keep that family close -- closer in the future than it has been in the past.

As a young boy in Grand Rapids, Michigan, I was very fortunate to have as close friends Americans from many backgrounds. In high school I was lucky. I worked as a part-time waiter and a dishwasher in a restaurant owned by a man named Bill Skougis, who was of Greek descent. That was in 1929 and 1930, when jobs and money were not easy to come by. I earned \$2 a week and my lunches, and Bill Skougis earned my admiration and affection and respect.

As a young Congressman, my first administrative assistant was my long and dear friend John Milanowski, who is incidentally running for probate judge out there, and let's get him elected. John and I worked together for many, many years, and on my recommendation he became our United States District Attorney in the Western District of Michigan. I was proud of the job he did, and it earns him the opportunity to be one of our three probate judges in the City of Grand Rapids.

But, as President of all of the people, I am determined that every voice in the American family must be heard. The voice of American Polonia will be listened to because all of us are proud of the red, white and blue. We should be proud of the great heritage of the red and white.

Thank you very, very much.

END

(AT 10:50 A.M. EDT)





October 8, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JIM BAKER  
BILL GREENER

FROM:

CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *CLJr.*

SUBJECT:


Presidential Campaign

Andrew J. Gleason of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, one of the respected GOP leaders in Pennsylvania, called to offer some thoughts on the Presidential campaign. Mr. Gleason suggests that "the President should repeatedly stress in his talks and remarks that Jimmy Carter's panacea for everything is government, more and bigger government, and everything the government does costs money, that money must come from the taxpayer, and the American taxpayers are sick and tired of more and more government which results from the laws passed by a Democrat-controlled Congress."

Mr. Gleason states that his comment is prompted by the response of a 17-year-old high school student in a government class at Westmont High School in Johnstown, Miss Patti Burns, who stated in response to a question of what she thought of Jimmy Carter that, "The answer to everything Mr. Carter has been asked is government and that government can or should do this or that for the American people. This worries me because if the federal government does or has to do everything for us then the people will stop doing things for themselves. So Mr. Carter makes me wonder if we are going to enter into some type of socialistic government."



October 11, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER   
SUBJECT: Conversation with Rep. Joe  
Waggonner -- For your Information

On Friday afternoon Joe called from California. He was concerned about the attacks on the President as a result of the Butz and the Eastern European problems.

He stated that neither Connolly nor Reagan were getting the publicity in the South or California that is necessary to be of assistance to the President. He therefore recommended that something be done in order that national attention might be gained by Connolly and Reagan on behalf of the President.

It is Joe's opinion that the only southern state which is now solidly for Ford is Louisiana. He believes that Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina are undecided, but leaning to Carter. Therefore, in looking at the six key states -- Florida, Texas, California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Ohio -- the President must win in at least five if he loses Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina.



October 11, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK CHENEY  
THROUGH: MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *AL*  
SUBJECT: Recent Poll Indicating Ford  
ahead of Carter in Louisiana

Attached is a Shreveport Times article indicating  
the President is ahead of Carter in Louisiana.

Attach.



# Poll says Ford leading Carter across Louisiana

BATON ROUGE (AP) — A statewide poll taken for Gov. Edwin Edwards shows President Ford ahead of Democrat Jimmy Carter in Louisiana by a 41-38 margin.

However, the poll found an undecided vote of 20 per cent and interpreted the results as giving Ford "about a fifty-fifty chance to win the presidential race" in the heavily Democratic state.

The poll also says more people approve of the performance of Edwards as governor than approve of Bennett Johnston's performance in the U.S. Senate.

However, when asked which man they would vote for if Edwards and Johnston went head-on in a Senate race, 41 per cent favored the incumbent while 37 per cent favored Edwards and 22 per cent were undecided.

Louis, Bowles and Grove, Inc., of Dallas conducted the telephone poll. The firm, experienced in Louisiana polling, contacted 650 registered voters between Sept. 24 and 25.

Of those polled, 62 per cent said they were Democrats, 20 per cent Republicans and the rest indicated they were independents.

Edwards said eight other persons whom he wouldn't identify picked up the

\$1,500 tab for the poll and those eight "insisted on the question about the U. S. Senate race."

The governor indicated that a few state legislators may jump into the race next year. He declined to name them.

He insisted that his often repeated stand still goes: He will not run against Johnston.

"But, I think an incumbent is in trouble when he can't draw 50 per cent of the vote in a poll which includes an announced non-candidate," Edwards said.

The governor added, however, that Johnston's problems aren't "insurmountable."

The poll also showed that 73 per cent approve of Edwards' performance as governor while 57 per cent approve of Johnston's performance and 40 per cent approve of the legislature's performance.

As to Edwards and Johnston, the polling firm said that "obviously, most voters are satisfied to keep both men in their present positions."

On another topic, a majority of the voters indicated they would favor a one-cent sales tax hike to fund pay raises for school personnel and other state employees.

The question was phrased, "As you may know, state civil service employees and public school employees, including teachers, bus drivers and lunch room workers, are seeking pay raises. Would you favor or oppose the legislature passing a one-cent sales tax, excluding food and drugs, to provide for such pay raises?"

The results statewide: 56 per cent favored a tax hike while 33 per cent opposed and 11 per cent said they were undecided.



# Statewide poll results

Times Capital Bureau

SHREVEPORT, LA.

BATON ROUGE — Here are the results of a statewide poll, with regional breakdowns, of the poll released Tuesday by Gov. Edwin Edwards:

Question: Do you mostly approve or disapprove of the way Gerald Ford is handling his job as president?

	Statewide	North	Southwest	Southeast	New Orleans
Approve	52	54	47	55	55
Disapprove	26	28	33	27	25
Undecided	22	18	20	18	20

Question: Do you mostly approve or disapprove of the way U.S. Sen. J. Bennett Johnston is handling his job in Washington?

Approve	57	57	56	57	54
Disapprove	12	13	12	11	15
Undecided	31	30	32	32	31

Question: Do you mostly approve or disapprove of the way the Louisiana state legislature has been doing its job

Shreveport  
Times

Wed. Oct. 6  
1976

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSEREMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
TO ETHNIC LEADERS

I appreciate this opportunity to meet with you today because I want to set the record straight on an issue that has received prominent attention in the past week -- the question of Soviet domination of Eastern Europe.

Let me be blunt: I did not express myself clearly when this question came up in the debate last Wednesday night. So that there can be no doubt about where I stand, let me spell out precisely what I believe:

- First, the countries of Eastern Europe are, of course, dominated by the Soviet Union. Were it not for the presence of more than 30 Russian divisions there now, the countries of Eastern Europe would long since have achieved their freedom.
- Second, the United States never has, does not now, and never will recognize, accept or acquiesce in this Soviet domination of Eastern Europe.
- Third, the peoples of Eastern Europe yearn for freedom; while their countries may be physically dominated, their spirit is not. Their spirit has never been broken and never will be. And some day they will be free.

That, ladies and gentlemen, is the essence of my position. It is what my commitment to the dignity of man and his inalienable right to freedom compels me to believe. It is what my whole record of public service has demonstrated I believe. And any man who seeks to persuade you that I think otherwise is engaging in deceit and distortion.

The original mistake was mine. I did not express myself clearly; I admit it. But in the last analysis, my record of 30 years of service in the Congress, as Vice President, and as President must speak for itself. More than a year ago, in July of 1975, I said that, "It has always been my policy ever since I entered public life, to support the aspirations for freedom and national independence of the peoples of Eastern Europe -- with whom we have close ties of culture and blood -- by every proper and peaceful means." I stand by that record today, and I am proud of it. I welcome making it an issue in this campaign.

But another critical issue -- one which you with particularly close ties to Eastern Europe, as well as the American people as a whole, should consider -- is whether a man who shows so little appreciation of America's strength, America's respect, and America's needs -- as my opponent has done in this campaign -- should be allowed to guide the fortunes of the most powerful nation on earth.

The American people have a right to ask whether a political candidate who has variously called for a \$15 billion cut, or a \$7 or 8 billion cut, or a \$5 to 7 billion cut in the defense budget, and who then complains that we are "not strong anymore," as Governor Carter has done, is truly the man to govern the only country in the world that can assure the defense of freedom and give hope to the millions of oppressed in Eastern Europe and throughout the world.

(MORE)



Finally, let me address the critical question of leadership, which Governor Carter has rightly raised. Do we want to entrust the leadership of this great Nation to a man who seeks to lift himself up to the White House by running down the reputation of the United States? Is the leadership we want that which claims that America "is not respected anymore" when it is the United States -- and the United States alone -- that is trusted by all sides in the Middle East, and by both black and white in Southern Africa?

America is the leader of the free world, and the American people are proud of it. But the kind of leadership America seeks for itself, the kind of leadership America offers the world, the kind of leadership we need for the future is the leadership of example, compassion and common sense. And if that is what we are, if that is what we want to be, then phrases such as "a disgrace to our country" -- phrases that demonstrate moral conceit rather than example, compassion, or common sense -- have no place.

I want the American people to understand the profound differences between us in areas of policy as well as philosophy. Therefore, I intend to fight Mr. Carter on the issues with all the ability I can command.

The challenges before us are immense if we are to successfully defend the principles of freedom and independence we celebrate this Bicentennial year. The free world looks to us as the last best hope for preserving this heritage. To be successful we must be strong. The fact is we are, and I intend to assure that in this critical hour America remains the strong, steady defender of freedom for all humanity.

# # #



October 13, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *AL.*  
SUBJECT: Rep. Chuck Grassley (R.-Iowa)

Chuck called to give us the results of a recent poll taken in his district, the Third Congressional District of Iowa. The results indicated that Grassley was leading two to one to his opponent and that the President had 48% support as opposed to 37% for Carter.

In addition, Chuck indicated that the Waterloo Courier recently ran a poll which showed 37% for the President -- 34% for Carter. It was Chuck's impression that the Courier poll was directed at persons located within his district and four other counties in Northeastern Iowa.





October 13, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *T.L.*  
SUBJECT: Rep. Joe Waggoner (D.-La.)

Joe wanted us to be sure and have copies of the editorial endorsements of the President by The Shreveport Times and The Shreveport Journal.

Attachments



# The Times Endorses President Ford

The Shreveport Times today endorses Gerald R. Ford for President of the United States in this 1976 election year — an action that might seem surprising to observers in other parts of the nation who have assumed that the South would go solidly for Jimmy Carter, a Southerner.

We have enjoyed — and have often been amused by — the sudden national rediscovery of the South since Mr. Carter gained the Democratic nomination for president, and we would be proud one day to have a Southerner in the White House, provided that Southerner were capable of lead-

ple, truthful terms: "The State of the Union," said the new President, "is not good."

Indeed it was not. But what a relief to have a national leader who would face that fact, so openly and so directly!

Mr. Ford has, since that time, presided over a national recovery that is nothing short of phenomenal — a fact that has been amply noted by foreign observers, though we here at home are often too close to realize it.

The American dollar, only recently a failing currency in international markets, is back to a position of respect in world trades

*"Two years of healing,  
two years of growing  
confidence in the nation  
have shown that  
Gerald Ford was the  
right man at the  
right time, and  
there is no question  
he is right for  
America today."*



An Editorial

# Gerald Ford for President

## An Editorial

# Gerald Ford for Pre

America teetered at the brink of calamity on that last day of Richard Nixon's presidency. It was Aug. 8, 1974, and the people of this nation, indeed all of the people of the world, had to wonder if the United States would ever know normality again.

The great personal tragedy of Watergate had grown into national crisis and the final agonizing months of that crisis had produced a condition of historical ebb in the country.

Inflation and unemployment had staggered us and the energy crisis seemingly had left America powerless.

Into that hopeless vacuum stepped Gerald R. Ford, a quiet, strong-willed son of the Midwest. A man who didn't will to be president; a man whose ambition had never

2. Over three million persons have obtained jobs.

A year ago, total employment stood at 84.3 million and today there are 87.7 million Americans at work, an increase of 3.4 million.

3. The unemployment rate has been significantly reduced.

In early 1975, unemployment had reached 8.9 per cent but today has dipped to 7.5 per cent, and the President's economic advisers believe it will fall below 7 per cent by the end of the year.

October 14, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF-  
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *AL*  
SUBJECT: Congressional Reactions to  
Notification Calls

I visited personally with approximately half of the Members I attempted to contact. The remainder received the information via appropriate staff.

Generally the Members expressed their confidence that the Special Prosecutor would find no evidence which would support alleged violations of the law. They were relieved that Ruff made the announcement prior to the end of the election.

Lou Frey strongly expressed his desire that the President be very Presidential and aggressive during the press conference this evening. He stated that the Ruff announcement today coupled with ~~a~~ confident appearance by the President this evening would certainly enhance the President's campaign in Florida and might well be the key element for a Florida victory in November.



OCTOBER 14, 1976

## Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

## Statement by the President

When I was chosen to be Vice President, I underwent the most intensive scrutiny of any man who has ever been selected for public office in the United States. My past life, my qualifications, my beliefs--all were put under a microscope and in full public view.

Nonetheless, all of you here tonight and many in our listening audience are aware of allegations in recent weeks involving my past campaigns.

As I have said on several occasions, those rumors were false. And I am very pleased that this morning the Special Prosecutor has finally put this matter to rest, once and for all.

I have told you before that I am deeply privileged to serve as the President of this great nation. But one thing that means more to me than my desire for public office is my personal reputation for integrity.

Today's announcement by the Special Prosecutor reaffirms the original findings of my vice presidential confirmation hearings.

I hope that today's announcement will also accomplish one other major task: that it will elevate the Presidential campaign to a level befitting the American people and the American political tradition.

For too many days, this campaign has been mired in questions that have little bearing upon the future of the nation. The people of this country deserve better than that. They deserve a campaign that focuses on the most serious issues of our time--on the purposes of government, on the heavy burdens of taxation, on the cost of living, on the quality of our lives, and on ways to keep American strong and at peace. Governor Carter and I have profound differences of opinion on these matters. I hope that in the 20 days remaining in this campaign, we can talk seriously and honestly about these differences so that on November 2nd, the American people can make a clear choice and give one of us a mandate to govern wisely and well during the next four years.

# # #



November 27, 1973

MEMORANDUM

To: Peter W. Rodino, Jr., Chairman  
From: Bob Trainor  
Re: Request to Reopen Ford Confirmation Hearings

I have carefully reviewed the correspondence forwarded to you by Representative Elizabeth Holtzman requesting that the Ford confirmation hearing be reopened to permit clarification of what she believes to be contradictory statements uttered by Mr. Ford concerning his involvement in the Watergate cover-up. In support of her request she references three allegedly inconsistent statements: (1) Mr. Ford's testimony before the Senate Rules Committee on November 5, 1973; (2) Mr. Ford's testimony before this Committee on November 26, 1973, and; (3) an affidavit submitted to this Committee on November 26, 1973, by Mr. William Timmons of the White House staff.

An analysis of these three alleged inconsistent statements discloses that, in fact, they are not inconsistent at all. First, Ms. Holtzman cites Senator Robert Byrd's inquiry of Mr. Ford appearing on pages 128-29 of the printed Senate hearings. In pertinent part the inquiry and response are as follows:

Senator Byrd: Were you in contact with anyone at the White House during the period of August Through October 1972 concerning the Patman Committee's possible investigation of the Watergate breakin?

Mr. Ford: Not to my best recollection. The best and, I think most authoritative answer to this question is one that Representative Jorry (sic) Brown...submitted to the Ervin Committee.

(Congressman Brown's statement was then submitted for the record)



I believe that Mr. Ford's response to Senator Byrd's question was predicated on Mr. Ford's belief that Senator Byrd wished to determine if any contact was made with the White House for the specific purpose of receiving instructions or information relating to the possible Banking and Currency Committee investigation. While Mr. Ford's answer indicates that he could not recall any contact with the White House for the specific purpose of receiving instructions, he expresses an awareness of Mr. Brown's contacts with the members of the Administration during this period.

Furthermore, I believe that Ms. Holtzman's account of Mr. Ford's testimony before the Senate is misleading in the way in which it is presented. Ms. Holtzman recounts in the text of her letter Mr. Ford's answer to Senator Byrd's inquiry in the following manner:

Mr. Ford: Not to my best recollection. (At 284.) Almost daily...I talked to Mr. Timmons, or someone in the Legislative Liaison Office of the White House but even in this case I do not recall any conversations concerning this particular matter. (At 286.)

In truth, all matter appearing after the first sentence "Not to my best recollection (At 284.)" was in response to a second question offered by Senator Byrd appearing on pages 134-35 of the printed Senate hearings. Specifically, Senator Byrd's question and Mr. Ford's response is as follows:

Senator Byrd: Mr. Ford, you undoubtedly would recall any conversation you might have during that period of August-October with the President, with Mr. Haldeman, Mr. Ehrlichman, Mr. Dean, or anyone at the White House, in connection with the proposed investigation by the Patman Committee. Do you recall any such conversations that would indicate that the White House wanted you to lend your efforts as a leader, to blocking such an investigation? (emphasis added)

Mr. Ford: I can say categorically, Senator Byrd, I never talked with the President about it, or with Mr. Haldeman, Mr. Ehrlichman, Mr. Dean. I know I had no conversation with them now.

Almost daily, during my period as Republican leader in the House, I talked with Mr. Timmons, or someone in the Legislative Liaison Office of the White House, but even in this case I do not recall any conversations concerning this particular matter.





It is my interpretation that Mr. Ford's answer was strictly in response to the question of whether he had received instructions from the White House to lead the effort to block the Patman investigation rather than, as Ms. Holtzman would have you believe, in response to the question of whether he had ever, under any circumstances, discussed the Patman matter with Timmons.

In light of the above, Mr. Ford's testimony before the Committee on November 26, 1973, stating that while he never contacted the White House or Timmons specifically for the purpose of discussing the possible Banking and Currency investigation, he may have briefly and generally mentioned the proposed investigation, does not in any way seem inconsistent with his earlier Senate testimony.

An examination of the affidavit submitted by Mr. Timmons does present some question as to the total accuracy of Mr. Ford's statements relating to the Patman investigation. On the one hand, Ford admits that he may have generally discussed the matter with Timmons, while Timmons categorically denies ever having communicated with Ford on the issue. The severity of this inconsistency is slight when viewed in terms of the inability of Ford to recall specific instances where he may have spoken with Timmons about the matter. Ford spoke in terms of his conversations with Timmons on this issue as possible occurrences, stating "we might have discussed very generally the situation there," and "H/e may have asked me that status of..."

Ms. Holtzman suggests on page 3 of her letter that Mr. Timmons' affidavit is deficient in that it covers only the period from September 21 through October, rather than the entire period beginning in August. It appears that Mr. Timmons did not intentionally omit the month of August from his sworn statement but was asked only to consider the "Fall" of 1972. The significance of this one month omission is, at best, slight, since the vote taken by the Banking and Currency Committee considering the authorization of subpoena power did not take place until October 3, 1972. Any concerted effort, it could be argued, to obstruct the investigation certainly would have occurred just prior to the vote.

Of further note is the fact that the Banking and Currency Committee refused to authorize the subpoena power by a vote of 20 to 15. While all of the Republicans present for the vote (14) cast their ballot in opposition to the resolution, they were joined by six Democrats to defeat the resolution. It is apparent therefore, that it took a bipartisan effort to defeat Mr. Reuss' resolution and was not purely a Republican effort.



Ms. Holtzman refers in her letter to John Dean's testimony before the Ervin Committee and urges that he be called to testify before this Committee. John Dean, in his testimony, never referred to Mr. Ford by name as a target of White House pressure to obstruct the Banking and Currency investigation. Moreover, Congressman Garry Brown submitted to the Watergate Committee a lengthy statement detailing the Administration's involvement in the matter. He did not indicate that Ford was involved in any way nor was he ever called to appear before the Committee to explain his statement.

In this regard, it is important to remember that this Committee is in receipt of a letter from Senator Ervin stating that his Committee has uncovered no information that in any way bears on the qualifications of Mr. Ford to be Vice President of the United States.



WATERGATE SPECIAL PROSECUTION FORCE  
United States Department of Justice  
315 9th Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20530

October 13, 1976

Philip W. Buchen, Esq.  
Counsel to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Buchen:

As you requested, this is to advise you concerning the status of the investigation by this Office into an allegation that certain contributions made to political committees in Michigan were improperly diverted to the personal use of President Ford.

The investigation of that allegation is now complete, and the evidence developed has disclosed no violation of law on the part of President Ford. The matter has therefore been closed.

Sincerely,



CHARLES F. C. RUFF  
Special Prosecutor



United States Department of Justice

315 9th Street, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20530

OCTOBER 14, 1976

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

ATTACHED IS A STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE WATERGATE  
SPECIAL PROSECUTION FORCE IN WASHINGTON, D.C.,  
TODAY.\*

\*When informed of the intent of this Office to  
issue a statement which would discuss the nature  
of the investigation and the underlying allega-  
tion, Counsel to the President indicated that  
there was no objection to such a disclosure.



By memorandum dated July 13, 1976, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation brought to the attention of the Attorney General information concerning alleged misuse of political contributions by President Gerald Ford during the period from 1964 to early 1974. The Attorney General requested that the Watergate Special Prosecution Force assume jurisdiction over this matter, and the Special Prosecutor agreed to do so, pursuant to the regulations governing his office which permit the assignment to him of matters which do not fall within his primary jurisdiction. <sup>\*/</sup> Formal assignment was accomplished by a memorandum from the Attorney General to the Special Prosecutor dated July 16, 1976

The information furnished to the Attorney General by the FBI concerned a previously unreported allegation that political contributions from certain named unions had been transmitted to political committees in Kent County, Michigan with the understanding that they would be passed on to Mr. Ford for his personal use. This allegation was made to an agent of the FBI by an individual who had recently become aware of the underlying information. Investigation has revealed no apparent motive on the part of this individual to fabricate.

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<sup>\*/</sup> The relevant portion of the Attorney General's Order 551-73, dated November 2, 1973, setting out the jurisdiction of the Watergate Special Prosecution Force, is as follows:

The Special Prosecutor shall have full authority for investigating and prosecuting offenses against the United States arising out of the unauthorized entry into Democratic National Committee Headquarters at the Watergate, all offenses arising out of the 1972 Presidential Election for which the Special Prosecutor deems it necessary and appropriate to assume responsibility, allegations involving the President, members of the White House staff, or Presidential appointees, and any other matters which he consents to have assigned to him by the Attorney General.



Upon receipt of the referral from the Attorney General, the Special Prosecution Force, with the assistance of agents of the FBI, examined various public documents reflecting contributions made by the unions as well as those received by Mr. Ford or committees acting on his behalf. FBI agents then undertook an examination of the books and records both of the unions' political arms and of the Michigan committees. Persons who might have relevant information were interviewed either by the FBI or by attorneys on the staff of the Special Prosecution Force, or both. In addition, on September 30 the Special Prosecutor contacted counsel for President Ford and requested that he furnish certain information relating to the President's personal finances. Counsel for the President complied with this request and, also at the Special Prosecutor's request, authorized the Internal Revenue Service to make available the work product of its 1973 audit of President Ford's income tax returns for the years 1967-1972.

The evidence developed during this investigation was not corroborative of the allegation on which it was predicated. Nor did evidence disclosed during the inquiry into that allegation give reason to believe that any other violations of law had occurred. Accordingly, the matter has now been closed, and counsel for the President has been so advised.



October 20, 1976

REPORT TO:

BILL KENDALL

FROM:

CHARLES LEPPERT, JR.

James Stein, field coordinator, PFC, central area, Pennsylvania.

Jim Stein reports the following. Representative Bud Shuster is conducting a President Ford caravan throughout the State of Pennsylvania which is causing problems. The problems arise because the Shuster caravan is not coordinating with the State PFC and is becoming disruptive and burdensome to local PFC activities in various counties because of the lack of coordination.

Stein's analysis of the situation in his central area by counties is as follows:

Bedford County - Strong Republican organization. They are getting out their slates and canvassing materials. A big rally is planned for Thursday, October 21, in Everett, Pennsylvania. Stein says the GOP should win this county by 1500 to 2000 majority.

Blair County - Real problems because the Republican county committee will not cooperate with elected officials and vice versa. Reports that the county chairman is not doing anything and that the county committee has not backed a winner in some time. The President Ford campaign is going slow; there are not many people to work with or volunteers. The phone bank has been manned only 40 to 50 percent until recently. In addition, there is no Heinz support for the President in Blair County which could be helpful to the President because Heinz is running very strong. Stein says that the Republicans should win Blair County with a 5000 to 7000 majority despite the slowness of the Ford campaign.



Leppert met with Cal Griffin, the county chairman, who was much more interested in discussing philosophical issues rather than the Ford campaign. However, he felt that they would get out the vote and that the President should carry Blair County. Griffin asked for a name figure to come in to Blair County for their dinner rally October 28th and stressed that the President should come into Blair County since Dole went to Johnstown and Governor Carter had been to both Altoona and Johnstown.

One of the disturbing points that Leppert found in Blair County is the lack of a visible Ford-Dole headquarters. The Ford-Dole headquarters is on the fourth floor of the Central Trust Building with only a Ford-Dole Neighborhood Headquarters sign on a hidden door where you enter the building. Otherwise, there are no visible signs in Altoona of a Ford-Dole headquarters.

Centre County - There is a new PFC chairman, Beecher Charmbury. The county chairman, Gene Fullmer, has been keeping the Ford campaign very close to his vest. The phone banks have been slow during the afternoon hours but doing well in the evenings. Stein had no feel for how the Ford-Dole ticket would do in Centre County.

Cumberland County - Highly organized Republican organization; volunteers are out door-to-door. Stein says that Ford-Dole ticket should win by 5000 majority.

Dauphin County - Lacks strong party leadership; volunteers are lacking; Republican organization in disarray and decaying. Has the worst phone bank in the state. Stein has no feel for the Ford-Dole ticket in Dauphin County.

Clinton County - Is just getting organized; using students from Lockhaven College; needs help and a lot of work. Jim Stein has been working on this and feels that the Ford-Dole ticket can win here in a squeaker.

Snyder County - No problems; strong Republican organization. Working on canvassing and getting out the GOP vote and the Ford-Dole ticket should win by 1500 votes.

Franklin County - Is not organized very well and is waiting to do things at the last minute. Stein feels that the Ford-Carter race here will be very close and does not predict a winner.





Fulton County - Not organized at all. There is nothing to work with. There are only 2000 people in the county. No Republican organization at all, but Stein feels the Ford-Dole ticket should win, but very close.

Juniata County - The county chairman is new and needs help. Stein is pushing him. They are not canvassing like they should be. The elected officials here say that the President will win; Stein says its a toss-up.

Clearfield County - County is organized very well. They are conducting telephone polls and canvassing is going very well. It looks good for the President here and Clearfield County should go for the President, Heinz, and Ammerman against Albert Johnson. Stein says the President will win Clearfield County; the county chairman says the President is well ahead.

Huntingdon County - No strong county organization and the county chairman has to be leaned on quite a bit. Both Newton Taylor and Dr. Nagley, Reagan supporters, have been working for the President. The local PFC man, Harry Stewart, has been tied up in his business; cannot devote the time from his business to work for the President. Stein feels the Ford-Dole ticket should win by a small margin.

Mifflin County - The county's organization has not done a thing in two years. Stein is devoting as much time as possible to organizing the county. The PFC man is doing nothing unless it's OK'ed by the county chairman. Stein feels the Ford-Dole ticket will lose in Mifflin County.

Perry County - Is organized very well with a strong county chairman. Getting materials out and Stein expects the Ford-Dole ticket to win but it will be close.

Cambria County - County committee not well organized but is doing an adequate job in organizing precincts for the election. Stein says the Ford-Dole ticket will lose in Cambria County but will hold the Democratic majority to 5000 or less. Phone banks are manned 40 to 50 percent of the time but have picked up recently.

Somerset County - Strong county chairman doing a very good job. All materials are out to the precincts and the people. Planning a door-to-door blitz the weekend before the election. Stein says the Ford-Dole ticket should win the county by 2000 votes.



Union County - Very good county organization. Canvassing is being coordinated with all other candidates and targeted by precincts. Stein feels Union is a pivotal county and the Ford-Dole ticket should win, but under 2000 votes.

In all, Stein expects to win 15 of his 17 counties and still feels a need to have something set the grass roots on fire for this election in central Pennsylvania.

Leppert talked with Robert A. Gleason, county chairman, Cambria County, and Robert A. Gleason, Jr., PFC coordinator in Cambria County. County chairman reports that he feels the President is doing well and looks good. With a 21,000 Democratic majority over Republicans, he feels that the Republicans will cut into the Democrat majority and hold it even or to 5000 votes. Gleason recommends that the President come to Pennsylvania and hit the areas of Erie, Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, the bedroom counties of Philadelphia. Feels like priority should be Allegheny County and Pittsburgh. Recommends if at all possible a brief fly-in to the airport in Johnstown by the President. Gleason feels the President should carry central Pennsylvania. He reported that Indiana County is putting on a good Ford-Dole campaign along with Somerset County.

Gleason reported that there have been problems getting materials such as pamphlets and buttons and materials for passing out door-to-door. Gleason also states that they need materials for two big rallies which are coming up October 21 and 28. They need hand-outs for people. Gleason also reports that the labor movement in this area is out for Carter, but not that enthusiastic. He feels that the unions no longer have the influence over the individual votes that they once had. The voter registration drive was not that successful and they registered less than the last two Presidential elections. Gleason also reports that the President was not hurt that bad in the Johnstown area by the Eastern European statement. Leppert also went and checked the phone banks and the phone banks had been running very well for the President until October 19th. The results have now indicated a large undecided response on telephoning by the phone banks.

Robert A. Gleason, Jr., PFC coordinator, says it looks good for the President in Cambria County; feels that the President's campaign is peaking at the right time. The last Ford-Carter debate will be extremely important and swing what he considers a large undecided vote. He, like his father, feels that the



Democratic majority can be held to even or 5000 votes, but the President will not carry Cambria County. Gleason Jr. stated that the phone banks were off to a slow start but things are picking up. They are now being manned morning, afternoon, and night and they are calling everybody - Democrats, Republicans, and independents. He also feels that a visit to Johnstown by the President would be an extra push and most helpful.

Leppert also talked with Cal Griffin, county chairman of Blair County, who was a strong Reagan supporter. Griffin reports that there are 35 priority precincts in Blair County which they will target and work very heavily. As reported earlier, Griffin was more interested in discussing philosophical issues and his efforts to put new blood into the county committee with tough-minded militant individuals. Griffin feels that Blair can turn out the best vote and reports the Republican National Committee has the most successful phone bank in the state but he has not been satisfied and is going to have the telephone banks manned at least until 8:00 in the evenings. Griffin was critical of the lack of maturity among State PFC people, but feels they have been getting good support. He feels, however, that the Presidential campaign in Pennsylvania has been one of surrogates and the lack of the President or Dole coming to Altoona is troublesome because it creates the feeling that the Ford-Dole ticket is not concerned about that area. Griffin feels strongly that the Ford-Dole ticket should show the flag in the third-class cities of Pennsylvania during the last ten days of the campaign. He states that the Ford-Dole ticket cannot win Pennsylvania with surrogates. Griffin stated that following the convention there was every indication that a Penn Central or ConRail plan would be implemented in the Pennsylvania campaign. No such thing has come about. Griffin then asked to have Vice Presidential candidate Dole for the GOP rally dinner on October 28.

Leppert then talked with Jeff Cox, the PFC coordinator in Blair County, who stated that in a canvas two weeks ago the President ran ahead of Heinz in an Altoona precinct of upper to upper-middle class, but an area which was famous for its ticket-splitting. Cox feels that the President should carry Blair County but feels the final Presidential debate will have a very big effect in Blair County.



October 21, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *T.L.*  
SUBJECT: REP. CHARLES THONE (R.-NEBR.)

*that*  
Charlie asked the President be made aware of a recent poll taken in a 7-county area around Lincoln, Nebraska. The counties involved are Gage, Saunders, Saline, Seward, Jefferson, Butler, and Lancaster. According to the Congressman, as a general rule these counties may be described as generally leaning Democratic.

The results are as follows:

Ford	45%
Carter	39%
McCarthy	2%
Other	1%
Undecided	13%



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 21, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MAX L. FRIEDERSDORF

FROM:

TOM LOEFFLER *T.L.*

SUBJECT:

Bernie Wonder, Minority Counsel,  
House Interstate and Foreign  
Commerce Committee

As a result of Carter's response to the President's allegation that Carter was "naive" concerning the ramifications of an Arab boycott, Bernie put together the attached information which in effect refutes Carter's rebuttal.



Attachment

October 22, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: BILL NICHOLSON  
THROUGH: MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *T.L.*  
SUBJECT: Rep. Larry Coughlin (R.-Pa.)

In addition to the Villanova University appearance in Philadelphia on October 27, Larry suggests that, if possible, the President also drop by the following Philadelphia suburban locations:

- 1) Conshohocken -- This is a suburban area largely consisting of many ethnic groups who are blue collar workers and generally considered to be conservative Democrats. Larry believes they will support the President.
- 2) Kenesset Israel Temple -- The Temple is located in the Old York Road area of Philadelphia. The area consists of a large Jewish population. Larry believes the Jewish community will be receptive to the President and that a brief rally at the Kenesset Israel Temple should be very positive for the President's campaign.



October 26, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JACK MARSH

FROM:

CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *CLP.*

SUBJECT:

Former Rep. Wayne Aspinall  
(D. - Colo.)

Former Representative Wayne Aspinall called me to inform the President that he has released a statement to the press in Colorado indicating his support and urging others to support the election of President Ford.

His statement was carried by the Denver Post and over the local and Denver TV stations.

Aspinall is sending me a copy of his statement.



RED TAG

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 27, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: JACK MARSH  
FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *TL*  
SUBJECT: Rep. Barber Conable (R-N.Y.)

Barber instructed Harry Nicholas, his A.A., to contact us and express the Congressman's feelings concerning the Presidential visit to upstate New York the end of this week.

According to Harry, Barber understands the President will make appearances in Syracuse and Buffalo and not Rochester. Conable believes it would be a serious mistake for the President not to make a stop in Rochester.

I await your instructions if I may be of further assistance in this matter.





October 28, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JACK MARSH

FROM:

PAT ROWLAND

SUBJECT:

Oregon

Craig Bergland, PFC Co-Chairman in Oregon, called on behalf of himself and former Congressman Wendall Wyatt. They are urging that a telegram from the White House be read by Dole when he is in Eastern Oregon today. The purpose of the telegram would be to help show the President's commitment to reduce the high unemployment in the area. The suggested text of the telegram is as follows:

"At the direction of the President the White House is undertaking a review of the causes of the delay in bureaucratic procedures in connection with the proposed aluminum plant in your area.

Please be assured of President Ford's deep commitment to the creation of jobs through the private business sector."

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

Bergland tells me that the construction of the aluminum plant is being held up by red tape procedures at the Bonneville Power Plant. The President would not be committing himself in the telegram to any more than looking into the delay. Bergland's telephone number is 503-220-0700.



# TELEGRAM

DAY LETTER ☐  
NIGHT LETTER ☐  
RADIOGRAM ☐  
CABLEGRAM ☐

## The White House Washington

MAILGRAM

OCTOBER 30, 1976

See attached list

Congratulations for a fine campaign and best wishes for your election on November 2. I would appreciate a report from you on Election Night. Call A.C. 202-456-1414 and ask for the House Liaison Office. I will be receiving reports from them. With warm regards.

/s/ GERALD R. FORD



## ALABAMA

1. Jack Edwards  
8011 Federal Office Building  
109 St. Joseph Street  
Mobile, Alabama 36602
2. William Dickinson  
401 Post Office Building  
Montgomery, Alabama 36104
6. John Buchanan  
1800 Fifth Avenue, North  
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

## ALASKA

- A.L. Don Young  
115 Federal Building  
Anchorage, Alaska 99501

## ARIZONA

1. John Rhodes  
6040 Federal Building  
Phoenix, Arizona 85025

## ARKANSAS

3. John Paul Hammerschmidt  
Federal Building  
Fayetteville, Arkansas 72701

## CALIFORNIA

2. Don H. Clausen  
475 H Street  
Crescent City, Calif. 95531
12. Pete McCloskey  
305 Grant Road  
Palo Alto, Calif. 94306
16. Burt Talcott  
Post Office Building  
Salinas, Calif. 93901

## CALIFORNIA (Cont'd.)

18. William M. Ketchum  
800 Truxtun Ave., Rm. 302  
Bakersfield, Calif. 93301
19. Robert Lagomarsino  
5740 Ralston-Room 101  
Ventura, Calif. 93003
20. Barry Goldwater, Jr.  
23241 Ventura Blvd.  
Woodland Hills, Calif. 91364
22. Carlos Moorhead  
420 N. Brand Blvd.  
Glendale, Calif. 91203
26. John Rousselot  
735 W. Duarte Road  
Arcadia, Calif. 91006
33. Del Clawson  
11600 S. Paramount Blvd.  
Downey, Calif. 90240
37. Shirley Pettis  
942 E. Highland Avenue  
San Bernardino, Calif. 92404
39. Charles Wiggins  
1400 N. Harbor Blvd.  
Fullerton, Calif. 92635
41. Bob Wilson  
123 Camino de la Reina-E285  
San Diego, Calif. 92108
42. Clair Burgener  
7860 Mission Ctr. Court  
San Diego, Calif. 92108



COLORADO

4. James Johnson  
Box 21203  
Denver, Colorado 80221
5. Bill Armstrong  
1450 S. Havana - Suite 736  
Aurora, Colorado 80012

CONNECTICUT

4. Stewart McKinney  
Federal Building  
Bridgeport, Conn. 06603
5. Ronald Sarasin  
135 Grand Street  
Waterbury, Conn. 06701

FLORIDA

5. Richard Kelly  
608 E. Semoran Blvd.  
Altamonte Springs, Fla. 32701
6. Bill Young  
627 Federal Building  
St. Petersburg, Fla. 33701
9. Lou Frey  
1040 Woodcock Rd. #222  
Orlando, Fla. 32803
10. Skip Bafalis  
106 Federal Building  
Ft. Myers, Fla. 33901
12. J. Herbert Burke  
440 S. Andrews Ave.  
Ft. Lauderdale, Fla. 33301

IDAHO

1. Steve Symms  
304 N. 8th Street - Rm. 134  
Boise, Idaho 83701
2. George Hansen  
Federal Building  
Pocatello, Idaho 83201

ILLINOIS

4. Edward Derwinski  
9838 S. Roberts Road  
Palos Hills, Ill. 60465
9. Henry J. Hyde  
901 Lake Street, #220  
Oak Park, Ill. 60301
12. Philip Crane  
1450 S. New Wilke Road  
Arlington Heights, Ill. 60005
13. Robert McClory  
326 N. Genese Street  
Waukegan, Ill. 60085
14. John Erlenborn  
421 N. County Farm Rd.  
Wheaton, Ill. 60187
16. John Anderson  
Rock River Savings Bldg.  
Rockford, Ill. 61101
17. George O'Brien  
57 N. Ottawa St.  
Joliet, Ill. 60431



ILLINOIS (Cont'd)

18. Robert Michel

1007 First Natl. Bank Bldg.  
Peoria, Ill. 61602

19. Thomas Railsback

228 Federal Building  
Rock Island, Ill. 61201

20. Paul Findley

205 Fed. Court Bldg.  
Springfield, Ill. 62701

21. Edward Madigan

200 W. Church Street  
Champaign, Ill. 61820

INDIANA

5. Elwood Hillis

504 Union Bank Bldg.  
Kokomo, Indiana 46901

7. John T. Myers

Federal Office Bldg.  
Terre Haute, Indiana 47808

IOWA

3. Charles Grassley

210 Waterloo Bldg.  
Waterloo, Iowa 50701

KANSAS

1. Keith Sebelius

P.O. Box 550  
Dodge City, Kansas 67801

3. Larry Winn

204 Federal Bldg.  
Kansas City, Kansas 66101

4. Garner Shriver

311 Post Office Bldg.  
Box 1974  
Wichita, Kansas 67201

KANSAS (Cont'd)

5. Joe Skubitz

P.O. Box 1102  
Emporia, Kansas 66801

KENTUCKY

4. Gene Snyder

310 Federal Bldg.  
Covington, Ky. 41011

5. Tim Lee Carter

203 S. Main Street  
Somerset, Ky. 42501

LOUISIANA

3. David Treen

107 Fed. Bldg.  
423 Lafayette Street  
Houma, La. 70360

6. Henson Moore

236 Federal Bldg.  
750 Fla.  
Baton Rouge, La. 70801

MAINE

1. David Emery

46 Sewall Street  
Augusta, Maine 04330

2. William Cohen

Federal Building  
Bangor, Maine 04401

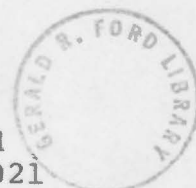
MARYLAND

1. Robert Bauman

Loyola Fed. Bldg. - 2nd Floor  
Easton, Md. 21601

4. Marjorie Holt

5418 Oxon Hill Road  
Oxon Hill, Md. 20021





MASSACHUSETTS

1. Silvio Conte  
100 North Street  
Pittsfield, Mass. 01201
10. Margaret Heckler  
217 Post Office Bldg.  
Fall River, Mass. 02722

MICHIGAN

3. Gary Brown  
74 N. Washington Street  
Battle Creek, Mich. 49017
9. Guy Vander Jagt  
1611 Oak Avenue  
Muskegon, Mich. 49442
10. Elford Cederberg  
624 E. Superior  
Alma, Mich. 48801
11. Philip Ruppe  
102 Federal Bldg.  
Alpena, Mich. 49707
19. William Broomfield  
430 N. Woodward  
Birmingham, Mich. 48011

MINNESOTA

1. Albert H. Quie  
436 First Natl. Bank Bldg.  
Rochester, Minn. 55901



Minnesota (con't)

- 2 Tom Hagedorn  
Box 3148  
Mankato 56001
- 3 Bill Frenzel  
120 Federal Bldg.  
Minneapolis 55401

Mississippi

- 4 Thad Cochran  
P. O. Box 22581  
Jackson 39205
- 5 Trent Lott  
Box 1557  
Gulfport 39501

Missouri

- 7 Gene Taylor  
Federal Bldg.  
Joplin 64862

Nebraska

- 1 Charles Thone  
211 Anderson Bldg.  
Lincoln 68508
- 3 Virginia Smith  
Post Office Bldg.  
Main Floor  
Grand Island 68801

New Hampshire

- 2 James Cleveland  
Federal Bldg.  
Concord 03301

New Jersey

- 5 Millicent Fenwick  
1 Morris St.  
Morristown 07960
- 6 Edwin Forsythe  
Third & Mill Sts.  
Moorestown 08057
- 12 Matthew J. Rinaldo  
1961 Morris Ave.  
Union 07083

New Mexico

- 1 Manuel J. Lujan, Jr.  
10001 Federal Bldg.  
Albuquerque 87103

New York

- 4 Norman F. Lent  
2280 Grand Ave.  
Baldwin 11510
- 5 John W. Wydler  
150 Old Country Rd.  
Mineola, L.I. 11501
- 25 Hamilton Fish, Jr.  
62 Market St.  
Poughkeepsie 12601
- 26 Benjamin A. Gilman  
P. O. Bldg.  
217 Liberty St.  
Newburgh 12550
- 30 Robert C. McEwen  
307 Federal Bldg.  
Watertown 13601
- 31 Donald J. Mitchell  
6 Steuben Park  
Utica 13501



New York (continued)

- 33 William F. Walsh  
302 Post Office Bldg.  
Auburn 13021
- 34 Frank Horton  
314 Federal Bldg.  
Rochester 14614
- 35 Barber B. Conable, Jr.  
311 Federal Bldg.  
Rochester 14614
- 38 Jack Kemp  
1101 Federal Bldg.  
Buffalo 14202

North Carolina

- 9 James G. Martin  
1214 American Bldg.  
Charlotte 28286
- 10 James T. Broyhill  
116-D Pennton Ave., SW  
Lenoir 28645

North Dakota

- AL Mark Andrews  
Federal Bldg.  
Fargo 58102

Ohio

- 1 Willis D. Gradison, Jr.  
8008 Federal Bldg.  
Cincinnati 45202
- 2 Donald D. Clancy  
430 Post Office Bldg.  
Cincinnati 45202
- 3 Charles W. Whalen, Jr.  
200 W. Second St.  
Suite 501  
Dayton 45402

Ohio (continued)

- 4 Tennyson Guyer  
658 W. Market St.  
Lima 45801
- 5 Delbert Latta  
100 Federal Bldg.  
280 S. Main  
Bowling Green 43402
- 6 William Harsha  
285 Main St.  
Batavia 45103
- 7 Clarence J. Brown  
Room 220  
U. S. Post Office  
Springfield 45501
- 8 Thomas Kindness  
801 High St.  
Hamilton 45011
- 10 Clarence Miller  
212 S. Broad St.  
Lancaster 43130
- 11 J. William Stanton  
170 N. St. Clair St.  
Painesville 44077
- 12 Samuel Devine  
231 New Federal Bldg.  
Columbus 43216
- 15 Chalmers Wylie  
85 Marconi Blvd.  
Columbus 43215
- 16 Ralph Regula  
717 30th St. NE  
Canton 44714
- 17 John Ashbrook  
53 S. Main St.  
Johnstown 43031





Pennsylvania

- 5 Richard Schulze  
1106 N. Providence Rd.  
Media 19063
- 9 E. G. "Bud" Shuster  
Penn Alto Hotel  
Altoona 16603
- 10 Joseph McDade  
1223 N. E. Natl. Bank Bldg.  
Scranton 18503
- 13 Lawrence Coughlin  
700 One Montgomery Plaza  
Norristown 19401
- 19 William Goodling  
Federal Building  
200 S. George St.  
York 17403
- 23 Albert Johnson  
205 Hamlin Bank Bldg.  
Smethport 16749
- 25 Gary Myers  
P. O. Bldg.  
345 S. Main  
Butler 16001

South Carolina

- 2 Floyd Spence  
2001 Assembly St.  
Room 104  
Columbia 29201

South Dakota

- 1 Larry Pressler  
317 S. Phillips Ave.  
Sioux Falls 57102

South Dakota (continued)

- 2 James Abdnor  
307 N. Main  
Box 151  
Mitchell 57301

Tennessee

- 1 James Quillen  
157 Federal Bldg.  
Kingsport 37662
- 2 John J. Duncan  
McMinn County Courthouse  
Athens 37303
- 6 Robin L. Beard  
1st Amer. Bank Bldg.  
Suite 401  
Memphis 38117

Texas

- 3 James M. Collins  
5C48  
1100 Commerce  
Dallas 75202
- 7 Bill Archer  
5108 Fed. Ofc. Bldg.  
515 Rusk  
Houston 77002

- 22 Ron Paul  
135 Oyster Creek Dr.  
Lake Jackson 77566

Vermont

- AL Jim Jeffords  
Federal Bldg.  
Box 676  
Montpelier 05602



Virginia

- 2 G. William Whitehurst  
201 Federal Bldg.  
Norfolk 23510
- 4 Robert W. Daniel, Jr.  
215 Federal Bldg.  
Portsmouth 23704
- 6 M. Caldwell Butler  
Poff Federal Bldg.  
Roanoke 24005
- 7 J. Kenneth Robinson  
212 Post Ofc. Bldg.  
Charlottesville 22902
- 9 William Wampler  
524 Cumberland St.  
Bristol 24201

Washington

- 1 Joel Pritchard  
2888 Federal Bldg.  
915 2nd Ave.  
Seattle 98174

Wisconsin

- 6 William Steiger  
105 Washington Ave.  
Oshkosh 54901
- 9 Robert Kasten  
333 Bishop's Way  
Brookfield 53005

