The original documents are located in Box 50, folder "President - Political Affairs General" of the Philip Buchen Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Political

For file

Wednesday 10/2/74

10:25 Joanne Coe in Senator Dole's office called to say they have received information about an article in the Philadelphia Inquirer -- apparently talking about a second enemies' list, which was published routinely by the GPO -- and that it was being used by Bob Brock (Kansas State Chairman) to send letters to all the people on the enemies' list to solicit funds -- Brock is Dole's opponent. The funds were for Dr. Bill Roy (Congressman from Topeka). 225-6521

Said she had called Korologos' office and they referred her to us.

11:50 Called Mort Allen's old office -- (it is now Phil Warden's office) and talked with Linda Durfee.

Mr. Warden is now handling the News Summaries. She said she would check and call me back.

Wednesday 10/2/74

5:30 Talked with Fred Buzhardt and asked him about the call from Senator Dole's office.

He said there was a longer list of people they wanted an IRS check on. Dean didn't have a copy. It was delivered to Johnnie McWaters, then Commissioner of IRS. He (McWaters) kept it and Mr. Buzhardt believes it was turned over to the Joint Committee on IRS Tax Information for their information. Said he doesn't know if they published it. They published the hearing -- or a staff report.

It was not a report on the President's taxes but prior to that concerning abuses on Internal Revenue Services. They may have published that list. It had approximately 300 names on the list -- according to Mr. Buzhardt's recollection. That was the only thing besides Dean's list and that would have come out after the hearings.

Wednesday 10/2/74

5:40 Called Phil Warden's office again and talked with Linda Durfee ---- she mentioned it to Phil Warden; he told her he would handle it -- would call Sen. Dole's office.

I talked with him. He said he called Mr. Katz in Sen. Dole's office, who is a friend of his. He said he (Warden) had started the whole thing last week when he saw the article and called his friend in Dole's office -- but it turned out that Mr. Katz was not in his office. ((So we're assuming that's how the inquiry was started))) Mr. Warden said he put it in his news summaries last week but couldn't find it when he looked through them -- for Saturday, Friday, and Thursday. But indicated that Bill Baroody would have it for sure. Said the article said Roy is soliciting everyone on the Nixon's enemies list for contributions -- and that it quotes parts of the letters.

I called Bill Baroody's office and talked with Lorraine; / she didn't remember it. (Spoke with Lorraine) /

Wednesday 10/2/74

6:10 Called Joanne Coe in Senator Dole's office to say that I hadn't called her back because I couldn't find out the information she needed -- but that it was my understanding that Mr. Warden had called and gave the information to Mr. Katz, who is a friend of his.

She said Katz had gone home, and that he hadn't given her the information she needed. I told her that Mr. Warden thought he started the whole thing with his phone call last Friday.

She indicated that wasn't it -- that she had a call from the Republican National Committee about the matter. I gave her the information about where they might possibly find the list ---- and she was most appreciative and said she would get a copy of the material put out by the Joint Committee on IRS Tax Information and see if she could find the list.

Policy
Political

10/8/74

To: Ken
From: Jay

Please draft a response
for Phil. Thanks.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 4, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR: PHIL BUCHEN

FROM: DEAN BURCH

SUBJECT: Attached Inquiry

Assuming this letter should be answered at all -- and to forestall a public stench I believe it should be -- obviously I cannot nor can Gwen (and both of us have received copies). The President should not in my judgment; that would escalate the matter unduly.

I nominate your office to respond in behalf of the President.

It seems to me that the answer is not terribly difficult. (1) Both Burch and Anderson have a multiplicity of assignments, one of which is political coordination. (2) Although it is assuredly never mentioned in Constitution or statute, the President by longstanding and widely-recognized tradition serves as leader of his political party; this leadership function relates directly to his legislative function, and to his role as chief of the Executive Branch; and, among all his staff aides, it is well for him to centralize his political counsel and assistance in one person or one office.

I'm not suggesting anything evasive or apologetic or "well, they all do it". I am suggesting that the institutionalization of the President's political role is both legitimate and necessary.

Attachment

HELEN SOMMERS
THIRTY-SIXTH DISTRICT
2516 14TH AVE. W.
SEATTLE 98119
TELEPHONE 283-6388

Beverly Splain

FORTY-THIRD LEGISLATURE
1973-78

COMMITTEES
JUDICIARY
LOCAL GOVERNMENT
WAYS AND MEANS--REVENUE,
VICE CHAIRWOMAN

House of Representatives

STATE OF WASHINGTON
OLYMPIA

September 9, 1974

DW

The Honorable Gerald Ford
President, United States
White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I learned from newspaper reports today that Mrs. Gwen Anderson of Kennewick, Washington was named to the White House Staff as an election campaign coordinator for the President. I am happy to see women appointed to office and I commend your efforts in this direction.

Nevertheless, I am deeply concerned about tax dollars being utilized for compensating persons assigned to partisan political activity at the direction of the Chief Executive. (I do support legislation providing for partial public financing of individual campaigns.)

I would very much appreciate your advising me if Mrs. Anderson and her supervisor, Dean Burch, are compensated from public monies. I would also appreciate your position on this specific use of tax money. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Helen Sommers

HELEN SOMMERS
State Representative

HS:mek

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 24, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR: PHIL BUCHEN

FROM: KEN LAZARUS KL

SUBJECT: Offer of a Gift

Attached is a reply for your signature declining an offer to provide the President with pipes embossed with the Presidential seal for use as gifts by the President.

As a matter of policy, I strongly recommend that we avoid any actions that appear to suggest Presidential endorsement of a particular commercial product or that involve the acceptance of items from private industry.

* For your information, such gifts are normally paid for by the Republican National Committee. The only exception to that policy that I have been able to determine is with respect to cigarettes, beer and soft drinks served on the Presidential planes, yacht, etc. These are accepted by DOD on the basis of long-standing precedent. While the cigarettes are considered to be manufacturers' samples, they carry the Presidential seal and other indicia of the White House.

cc: Phil Areeda
Bill Casselman

* Dudley:
Do you see any problem with this practice? I understand it relates to such items as cuff-links, tie clasps etc. which are available here for distribution by the President.
You might want to talk to Ken on the subject, based on the points you raised with me on other uses of RNC funds. P.

November 25, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR: Roland Elliott

FROM: Philip Buchen

Attached is a memorandum from Ken Lazarus suggesting a change in language of letters returning moneys sent to the President.

Attachment

PWBuchen:ed

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 22, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR: PHIL BUCHEN

FROM: KEN LAZARUS

You asked for my judgment on the policy reflected in the attached news clipping.

You are correct in the view that no specific statutory authority is necessary to accept unconditional contributions on behalf of the United States. However, it has been the White House policy for some time that such contributions should not be accepted. This policy is based on the fact that we lack the facilities to handle cash and checks, and also because it is virtually impossible to reasonably distinguish between which donations should be forwarded to the appropriate recipient and which should be returned. For example, money is regularly sent (and presently returned) for the President personally, for political contributions, for UNICEF and other charities, for the United States and, at the moment, for a swimming pool.

In the reported case, the check was made payable to "America". While I agree that the President should not accept such checks on behalf of the United States, I would suggest that the standard letters be revised to suggest that would-be donors consider sending their donations directly to the appropriate agencies -- in this instance, the Department of the Treasury.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Ken Lazarus:

In your judgment was the situation as reported on the attached properly handled.

I thought gifts to the Fed. Gov't ~~were~~ are permissible. Is it only that they cannot be accepted through the White House?

P.

THE NEW YORK TIMES
NOVEMBER 19, 1974

'Inflation Fighter' Perturbed as Ford Rejects a $25 Gift

Special to The New York Times

NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y., Nov. 18—Boris Feinman, a local businessman and city booster, decided one day last month to fight inflation his own way. He sat down and wrote $25 checks to the city, county, state and Federal governments. All but the Federal Government accepted the money.

President Ford, whose plea for assistance in the fight against inflation had inspired Mr. Feinman's gesture, returned the money through an aide, Roland L. Elliott, who said Mr Ford "appreciates your desire to help" but cannot accept the check.

Another letter, this one over Mr. Ford's signature, arrived a week later. It thanked Mr. Feinman for his "suggestions to stop inflation" and contained a WIN button.

Mr. Feinman expressed some consternation in a interview. "The President puts me on his inflation-fighters list, but he can't find a way to accept the money," he noted.

The White House confirmed the exchange. Although Mr. Elliott, a special assistant, was out of the office, another official explained that "the White House is just not authorized to accept gifts."

"We suggested that perhaps Mr. Feinman would like to consider buying a United States Savings Bond," the official said. Mr. Feinman, asked whether he intended to follow this advice, said in frustration.

"Absolutely not. Then the Government will be owing me. I just want to give them the money. When our temples, churches and charities are in trouble, we give. So why not when the Government is in trouble."

He then added more softly: "I'll bet if the President himself saw the letter he would have said, 'Say, that's nice. Thank you very much.'"

WTTW Channel 11 WXXW Channel 20

5400 North St.Louis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60625
(312) 583-5000

Chicago Public Television

June 16, 1975

The President
The White House
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Our nightly news broadcast, the PublicNewsCenter, is about to report on political corruption in Northwest Indiana. Our report covers criminal activity covered up by a few democratic federal judges in the 7th circuit.

In researching the story, we found some letters that you wrote to Owen Crumpacker of Hammond and Joe Griswold of Grand Rapids concerning the judicial conduct of Federal Judges Robert Tehan and Luther Swygert.

We plan to air our story in a few weeks and would like to discuss our findings with someone on your staff before our air date.

The activity of these few judges, in our opinion, has tainted the machinery of justice for the last 35 years in Northwest Indiana and deserves some special attention by the White House. Those who have chosen to fight the corruption have undergone political and social persecution, particularly, Owen Crumpacker.

Very truly yours,

Chuck Collins
Investigative Reporter

CC: Philip Buchen
Will. Seidman
Joseph Griswold

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE W

W.

If copies are to be sent to someone, please do not send originals.

Ruth Kilmer

June 27, 1975

FOR MR. BUCHEN

THRU MILDRED LEONARD

FROM RUTH M. KILMER

REGARDING: Request for background information on bill introduced by Mr. Ford in 1967 on federal election law revision

Agnes Waldron in Writing and Research (x6506) yesterday called for a copy of H.R. 5419 on the above subject. Upon my inquiry, it was indicated that background materials would be very helpful, that Mr. Cannon has asked to see the bill to learn Mr. Ford's past position, for his area is working on some proposal concerning the voting rights act to be presented to the President.

An extra copy of H.R. 5419 was supplied to Agnes Waldron today. We would appreciate your guidance on the release of the attached ~~copies of~~ background materials from the Congressional papers.

Campaign funds

July 15, 1975

To: Jim Wilderotter

From: Phil Buchen

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 11, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: PHIL BUCHEN

FROM: JACK MARSH

You no doubt have been following the Ashland Oil matter. This problem of spinning off CIA funds for infusion back into the campaigns, is, I believe, a very explosive issue.

You and I have talked before about this problem, particularly as it might involve another substantial business firm that has cooperated with the Agency. I look for the Committee to pursue this rather diligently.

Many thanks.

Family Sues CIA for LSD-Induced Suicide

The family of Frank Olson, an Army Department employee who committed suicide after unknowingly taking LSD supplied by the CIA, says it wants the CIA "to be held publicly and punitively accountable" for causing his death in 1953.

The family said in a press conference Thursday, it plans to file a suit against the CIA. -- UPI, CBS Morning News (7/10/75)

Church Commends White House on CIA Cooperation

Sen. Frank Church said Thursday his committee investigating the CIA was getting "excellent cooperation" from the White House but the FBI had not turned over material requested nearly two months ago. Church also said he would look into charges of CIA agents in the White House.-- UPI, NBC (7/10/75).

House Votes to Abolish Intelligence Committee

The House Rules Committee Thursday recommended abolishing the House Select Committee on Intelligence and replacing it with a new committee. The new committee would have 13 members, three more than the existing committee. -- UPI, AP, ABC (7/10/75)

Castro Says Reported 1960 CIA Assassination Attempt Worst One of Many

Fidel Castro said Thursday that during the past fifteen years, there have been from 50 to 80 plots on his life, 12 to 15 of them serious plots, reported Tom Streithorst (NBC). Castro told Streithorst that the plot which came closest to success was the planned CIA plot in 1960 to put poison in a milkshake, which he said was later confessed to him by the would-be assassin.

Castro is also reported as saying the CIA had a varying degree of responsibility in a number of other plots, either working directly or loosely with secret organizations planning to assassinate the Cuban Prime Minister, Streithorst reported. -- NBC (7/10/75).

Ashland Oil Corp. Admits to Giving CIA Money to Politicians

Ashland Oil Company conceded that some of the $99 thousand CIA money was given by Ashland Oil to American politicians. A company spokesman said some CIA money was "co-mingled" with the company's political fund, reported NBC Thursday.-- AP, NBC (7/10/75)

THE WHITE HOUSE

[July 1975?]

I hope no
pocket veto

3.2 million jobs needed now
1.6 " new each year to 1980

Thursday 7/17/75

7:35 Ruth Kilmer:

Mr. Buchen had tried to reach you about this package of papers but you were on vacation.

Material comes from Congressional papers.

It is not to be distributed.

As I see it -- has nothing to do with Voting Rights Act.

Has nothing to do with subject matter Cannon's interested in.

If it did, I would suggest she make copies. (She could make copies and get them back? ? ? ? ?)

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE W

W

If copies are to be sent to someone, please do not send originals.

June 27, 1975

Ruth Kilmer

FOR MR. BUCHEN

THRU MILDRED LEONARD

FROM RUTH M. KILMER

REGARDING: Request for background information on bill introduced by Mr. Ford in 1967 on federal election law revision

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 15, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DOUG BENNETT

FROM: ROD HILLS RH

SUBJECT: The Privacy Act and Information Concerning Political Affiliation

Interior is correct in its opinion that the Privacy Act prohibits agencies from maintaining any records describing the exercise of an individual's First Amendment rights, unless expressly authorized by statute or pertinent to and within the scope of an authorized law enforcement activity. Information concerning an individual's party affiliation, even if taken from the public record, does fall in this proscribed category of materials. For the purpose of this statute, maintaining files includes collecting, using or disseminating such information, as well as retaining it in the files.

The White House is not an agency for the purpose of the Privacy Act, and, therefore, you may continue to maintain files which include information indicating the party affiliation of candidates for, or incumbents of, the various "political" positions in the non-career service. Similarly, your files are not subject to mandatory disclosure under either the Privacy Act of the Freedom of Information Act.

In dealing with agencies after September 27, the effective date of the Act, your staff should be aware that the consent of the individual is generally required before an agency can acquire such information, whether from the public record or the White House. Either actual consent to maintain such information, i.e., given directly to the White House or the agency, preferably in writing, or implied consent, e.g., listing an individual's political affiliation in his resume, inclusion in Who's Who, etc., is sufficient for this purpose.

In response to your request, we do not view as a legal problem resubmission by the agencies of the various "clearance" sheets necessary to bring your files up to date with respect to the pre-August 9, 1974 political appointees, provided this is accomplished prior to September 27.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

FOR: Rod Hills

FROM: PETER McPHERSON P.M.

For your information.

I have sent Barry Roth a copy of this.

Attachments

IN REPLY REFER TO:

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
OFFICE OF THE SOLICITOR

JUL 7 1975

Memorandum

To: Hugh M. Duncan, Office of the Secretary

From: Solicitor

Subject: Privacy Act Restrictions on Records Concerning Political Affiliation

A question has been raised as to what effect if any the Privacy Act will have on records concerning incumbents of and candidates for positions which are essentially political in nature. We have considered three types of such non-career positions: Presidential appointees, non-career executive assignments (supergrades) and Schedule Cs. The comments below apply equally to these positions as well as to incumbents of and candidates for various boards and committees which advise Interior. Also, in our opinion the restrictions of the Statute apply equally to incumbents and candidates although the means of processing them may be different, due to the difference in relationship of the individual to the Department.

The Privacy Act, which takes effect on September 27, 1975, provides that agencies maintaining systems of records shall "maintain no record describing how any individual exercises rights guaranteed by the First Amendment unless expressly authorized by statute or by the individual about whom the record is maintained or unless pertinent to and within the scope of an authorized law enforcement activity." 5 U.S.C. § 552a(e)(7).

We have reviewed this provision and are of the opinion that, if faced with the matter, the courts would hold that it precludes the Department from maintaining records concerning the political affiliation or political activity of persons holding the above-named positions, except with the concurrence of these individuals.

The crux of the matter is whether affiliation with a political party is a right guaranteed by the First Amendment. In determining what is and what is not guaranteed by the First

Amendment, OMB's draft guidelines on the Privacy Act state, "agencies will apply the broadest reasonable interpretation."

Our review of the cases indicates that affiliation with a political party is a protected right. In the recent case of Kusper v. Pontikes, the Supreme Court stated, "There can no longer be any doubt that freedom to associate with others for the common advancement of political beliefs and ideas is a form of 'orderly group activity' protected by the First Amendment . . . The right to associate with the political party of one's choice is an integral part of this basic constitutional freedom." 414 U.S. 51, 56-57 (1973). See also, Williams v. Rhodes, 393 U.S. 23, 30 (1968); Cousins v. Wigoda, 42 L.Ed.2d 595 (1975).

While it is true that employees in the Federal service have been held to have forfeited some of their rights to take active part in political affairs, e.g., U.S. Civil Service Commission v. National Association of Letter Carriers, 413 U.S. 548 (1973), no decision has held that Federal employees forfeit the right to be a member of a political party. We think it unlikely that such a decision would be reached.

That Congress intended section 552a(e)(7) to include party affiliation as a matter not suitable for recordkeeping is also made clear by the legislative history. The House version of the section prohibited the keeping of records concerning "the political or religious belief of any individual," H. Rept. 93-1416, p. 30 (1974), a formulation which we would take to clearly include party affiliation. When the final version of the legislation was prepared by representatives of the House and Senate (in a complicated procedure not involving use of a conference committee), their report stated that the final formulation of the section was designed to expand the House formulation. 120 Cong. Rec. S21816 (daily ed. Dec. 17, 1974).

We believe that there is no express statutory authority which would take records of political affiliation or activity by incumbents to or candidates for the so-called political positions out of the purview of the Privacy Act. 5 U.S.C. § 3301 is the basic authority for appointment into the Civil Service. Under E.O. 10577, Nov. 22, 1954, 19 F.R. 7521, as amended (see note to 5 U.S.C. § 3301), the President has set up basic Civil Service Rules and charged the Civil Service Commission with the responsibility for administering them. Rule VI governs

positions excepted from the competitive service. This includes Schedule C - Positions of a confidential or policy determining character. Rule 9.20 concerns non-career executives who must 1) be involved in advocacy of administrative programs, 2) participate significantly in determining major political policies, or 3) serve as personal assistant to a key political figure. While gathering information on political affiliation may be inferred from rules VI and IX, we do not believe it has the level of express statutory authority.

Recognizing the need to collect information on a person's political convictions in determining suitability for a political appointment, such a record can be maintained provided Interior has the person's consent. Obtaining an incumbent's consent can be accomplished merely by asking, and preferably by having the incumbent sign an appropriate form.

The candidates present a different and much more sensitive problem: there are larger numbers of persons involved and, occasionally, they may not know they are under consideration. Depending on whether or not they know, several alternatives are possible:

1) If an individual voluntarily includes such information on a resume', we can assume that such act constitutes a waiver of the prohibition.

2) Use a form method of obtaining a waiver. A statement such as failure to check a block or requiring one to check a block is sufficient to grant consent to maintain a record of a person's political background.

3) A letter to the person requesting consent and receipt of such consent.

4) Ask the individual only at the time a decision is imminent and he or she should know they are being considered. If the individual refuses to consent, he or she may

be dropped from consideration. If consent is given, at that time we may begin to maintain the desired record.

5) In some cases it may not be necessary to maintain a written record.

There are other methods which will accomplish the result which may require further dicussion. Being realistic, however, the requirements of the Act clearly will complicate the legitimate process of recruitment and staffing for non-career positions, regardless of method.

In summary, then, it is necessary to obtain an individual's permission in order to maintain records on the individual which reflect political activity or affiliation, absent statutory authorization or the required nexus with law enforcement activity. Securing the necessary permission can be done by any number of methods which allow an individual the opportunity to indicate a willingness to have such records maintained or a desire not to have them.

Solicitor

Pol. Activities

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 15, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

VIA: ROBERT T. HARTMANN

FROM: GWEN ANDERSON

SUBJECT: Presidential Participation in Fundraisers for the Republican Party

The following is an update of information concerning state party finances. Indicated below are the financial conditions of state parties and amounts raised by Republican fundraising events at which you have appeared. These figures are approximate. At the request of the state parties, we do not disclose individual figures. We only disclose accumulated net total.

	State	Before	Gross	Net
1.	New York February 13, 1975	no financial difficulty	$ 300,000	$ 240,000
2.	RNC Senate-House Dinner April 15, 1975		665,000	516,000
3.	Virginia April 26, 1975	$28,000 debt	32,000	9,000
4.	Ohio July 3, 1975	no financial difficulty	110,000	75,000
5.	Iowa August 18, 1975	$100,000 debt	93,000	75,000
6.	Minnesota August 19, 1975	$200,000 debt	165,000	158,000 *

	State	Before	Gross	Net
7.	Maine August 30, 1975	$30,000 debt	25,000	17,000
8.	Rhode Island August 30, 1975	$5,000-$10,000 debt	120,000	103,000
9.	Washington September 4, 1975	$60,000 debt	176,000	115,000
10.	Oregon September 4, 1975	debt	100,000	85,000
11.	Missouri September 12, 1975	deeply in debt	100,000	85,000
12.	Kansas September 12, 1975	$75,000 good	35,000	25,000
13.	Texas September 13, 1975	$165,000 debt	123,000	100,000
14.	Oklahoma September 19, 1975	barely in black	11,400	1,000
15.	Chicago, Illinois September 30, 1975	$20,000 debt	150,000	120,000
16.	New Jersey October 4, 1975	$140,000 debt	103,000	83,000
17.	Detroit, Michigan Key Man Reception October 10, 1975	$315,000 debt	350,000 100,000	300,000 100,000 *
18.	Connecticut October 14, 1975	$2,000 good	175,000	130,000
		TOTAL	$2,933,400	$2,337,000

* This event was not a fundraiser but promoted this amount in contributions and pledges.

cc: Mr. Buchen
Mr. Rumsfeld

Congressional — see Congressional Legislative Prog

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 3, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: JIM CONNOR

THROUGH: PHIL BUCHEN P.W.B.

FROM: KEN LAZARUS

SUBJECT: Republican Legislative Agenda: "A Program for Progress"

We have made a cursory review of the program submitted by the Republican Congressional leadership and do not perceive any substantial initiatives which merit consideration by the President. However, it might be appropriate to request an OMB analysis of the agenda for our further review.

THE WHITE HOUSE

ACTION MEMORANDUM WASHINGTON LOG NO.:

Date: September 25, 1975 Time:

FOR ACTION: cc (for information):

Phil Buchen
Jim Cannon
Max Friedersdorf
Jim Lynn
Jack Marsh
Bill Seidman
Brent Scowcroft
Frank Zarb

FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY

DUE: Date: Wednesday, October 1 Time: 12 Noon

SUBJECT:

Republican Legislative Agenda
"A Program for Progress"
9/8/75

ACTION REQUESTED:

____ For Necessary Action
X For Your Recommendations
____ Prepare Agenda and Brief
____ Draft Reply
X For Your Comments
____ Draft Remarks

REMARKS:

We have been requested to prepare a report for the President on the Republican Legislative Agenda presented to him by the Republican Leadership. This report should cover:

1) What is being proposed.
2) What are we doing in the areas mentioned in report.
3) What are we not doing that we should be looking into In other words, any initiatives in the report we should consider undertaking?

PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.

If you have any questions or if you anticipate a delay in submitting the required material, please telephone the Staff Secretary immediately.

Jim Connor
For the President

REPUBLICAN LEGISLATIVE AGENDA:

A PROGRAM FOR PROGRESS

SEPTEMBER 8, 1975

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TO: Mr. Buchen

FROM: MILDRED LEONARD

FOR: Information _____

Appropriate Handling _____

The President has seen and asked that I send a copy to you.

DATE: Oct. 13, 75

File 7

Alvin Shapiro
ECONOMIC CONSULTANT
1949 SHIVER DRIVE
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA 22307
(703) 768-755

October 7, 1975

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

Dear Mr. President:

I regret that after all these years our friendship may be strained because of the proclivity of the New York Times, particularly in the October 1 article, repeating and expanding on the raving allegations of a totally irresponsible party.

Never did you solicit funds for election purposes from me, and what relatively minor contribution I made was on behalf of myself and Ruth. We try to help, to the extent we can, to perpetuate in public service, some of those we think merit our support. Moreover, I am sure you know the whole specific matter is a fantasy, for, like you, I have no recollection of having ever received such money and it was as impossible, as it would be uncharacteristic of me, to usurp for myself what was not mine.

My apologies for any, even momentary, embarassment that may have befallen you because a "madman" seeks some sort of revenge.

Yours very truly,

Alvin Shapiro

Alvin Shapiro

as/rwp

DESTROY EARLIER MEMORANDA

PFC

BUCHEN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 3, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

VIA: ROBERT T. HARTMANN

FROM: GWEN ANDERSON

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17.	Detroit, Michigan Key Man Reception October 10, 1975	$315,000 debt	350,000 100,000	300,000 100,000 *
18.	Connecticut October 14, 1975	$2,000 good	175,000	130,000

	State	Before	Gross	Net
19.	California San Francisco & Los Angeles October 29-30, 1975		500,000	400,000
20.	Wisconsin	175,000	200,000	150,000
		TOTAL	$ 3,633,400	$ 2,887,000

*Event was not a fundraiser but promoted this amount in contributions and pledges.

cc: Mr. Buchen
Mr. Rumsfeld
Mr. Nessen
Mr. Calkins

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 20, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: JACK CALKINS

FROM: PHIL BUCHEN P.W.B.

SUBJECT: The Official 1975 Republican Party Medal

In response to your inquiry on the above referenced matter, attached is a draft response to Rod Smith for either Bob Hartmann or yourself to send. Benton Becker has advised that the plastic cover is being changed to read "support to the RNC in 1975."

Please call me or Barry Roth if you have any questions.

Attachment

DRAFT -- November 19, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROD SMITH

FROM:

SUBJECT: The Official 1975 Republican Party Medal

In response to your request concerning the above referenced matter, the RNFC may use the President's likeness and facsimile signature on the Official 1975 Republican Party Medal. We understand that this is to be offered as a premium to contributors to the Republican Party. We have also been advised that the inscription on the plastic case will be changed to read " . . . support to the Republican Party in 1975." However, this approval is not in any way to be considered as authorizing the RNC, the RNFC, or any other political committee or person to undertake any activities or expenditures on behalf of the President's candidacy.

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

cc: Benton L. Becker, Esq.
Robert Visser

bcc: Phil Buchen

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 14, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: PHILIP BUCHEN

FROM: JACK CALKINS

Attached is a self-explanatory file concerning "The Official 1975 Republican Party Medal" which is planned for use as a fundraising premium by the Republican National Finance Committee. You will note that the Presentation Stand which is planned for this medal bears the President's facsimile signature. I am informed by Rod Smith that this package was put together out of town by the same firm which did the 1972 similar item and that there was a misunderstanding with regard to the obtaining of permission to use the President's facsimile signature. Therefore, these have already been manufactured with the signature thereon, but obviously the RNFC does not wish to start sending them to recipients until they have been properly cleared by the White House.

Given the 1972 Nixon precedent for this type of item and the other more recent permission granted by President Ford for the use of his signature in fundraising activities by entities of the Republican Party, I do not see that there should be any problem in giving permission for this item, but in accordance with standard practice, I am forwarding it to your office for further action.

Please advise me of any further action taken on this request.

JTC:rg
cc: RTH

Republican
National
Finance
Committee.

Chairman
Jeremiah Milbank

November 11, 1975

MEMORANDUM

TO: JACK CALKINS

FROM: ROD SMITH Rod.

SUBJECT: APPROVAL TO UTILIZE FACSIMILE OF PRESIDENT FORD'S SIGNATURE

Attached is the brochure used in our Ford Medal mailing and a copy of the brochure used in 1972 for the Nixon Medal mailing. As you will note, the concept and design are almost exactly the same. As I explained to you over the phone, there was confusion on our part that approval to utilize the President's signature had already been obtained. I apologize for this error and sincerely hope there is no problem in now obtaining formal approval to utilize a facsimile of the President's signature on this project.

I would very much appreciate your assistance in this matter and hope we can resolve it as soon as possible. If there are any questions or problems, please give me a call.

Thank you.

Dwight D. Eisenhower Republican Center: 310 First Street Southeast, Washington, D.C. 20003. (202) 484-6730

The Official 1975 Medal of the Republican National Party

A priceless memento of your support of the Republican Party

This historic Medal was created by one of the world's foremost medallic sculptors—Mico Kaufman, who created the obverse of the official U.S. Ford Inaugural Medal. It is being minted by the Medallic Art Company, which also minted the Official U.S. Ford Inaugural Medal.

A special solid Bronze edition, in a desk stand bearing the President's message of appreciation and a facsimile of his signature, will be produced in limited quantity solely for contributors of $15.00 to $24.95. Contributors of $25.00 or more will receive a solid Sterling Silver medal. Both medals will be in brilliant, proof-like finish, with a mirror-bright background. These limited editions are not for sale at any price.

This distinctive Commemorative Medal, in either Silver or Bronze, makes an appropriate memento of your important participation in support of the Republican Party in 1975, and is sure to become a valuable collector's item in the years ahead.

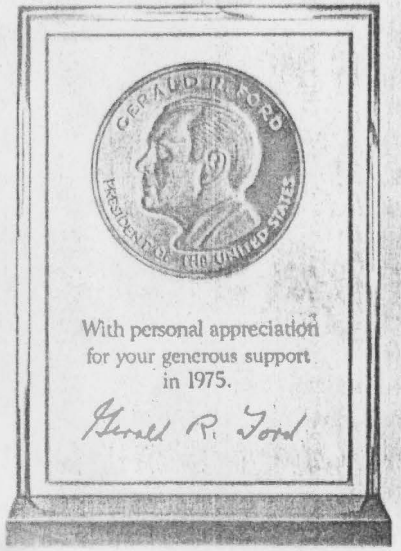
A treasured heirloom you'll proudly display

The Republican Party depends upon the loyal support of individual members for its continued existence. Without this support, the Party would quickly cease to function. Democratic candidates receive huge contributions from funds controlled by the leadership of the big Labor Unions. The Republican Party receives the bulk of its contributions in donations from individual Party members. This traditional Republican method of fund-raising is in accordance with the ideal set forth by President Eisenhower who defined the Republican Party as the Party which "promotes individual participation."

In keeping with this tradition, the Republican Party is giving as a memento and a token of appreciation this Official 1975 Medal, struck in solid Bronze and suitably presented for display, to every Republican Party member who makes a contribution at this time in the amount of $15.00 up to $24.95. (Contributors of $25.00 or more receive the beautiful Solid Sterling Silver Medal.)

Your participation in this vital support of the Party is deeply appreciated.

You are invited to accept this commemorative presentation on behalf of the Republican National Committee



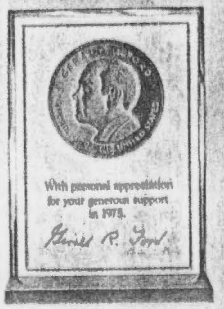
Your Presentation Stand will be inscribed:

"With personal appreciation for your generous support.
—Gerald Ford"

STRUCK FOR THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PARTY

. . . by one of the largest and foremost private mints in the world, an independent, publicly owned corporation, not affiliated with the U.S. Mint or any other governmental agency.

YOUR 1975 SUPPORT MEDAL WILL COME APPROPRIATELY MOUNTED IN A DISTINCTIVE DESK STAND



The Official 1975 Republican Party Medal

AN EXCLUSIVE KEEPSAKE FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY'S SUPPORTERS

A treasured heirloom you will proudly display as a symbol of your active participation in the Republican Party

Pol Activities
Copy sent to Barney

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 20, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: ROD SMITH

FROM: JACK CALKINS

SUBJECT: The Official 1975 Republican Party Medal

In response to your request concerning the above-referenced matter, the RNFC may use the President's likeness and facsimile signature on the Official 1975 Republican Party Medal. We understand that this is to be offered as a premium to contributors to the Republican Party. We have also been advised that the inscription on the plastic case will be changed to read ". . . support to the Republican Party in 1975." However, this approval is not in any way to be considered as authorizing the RNC, the RNFC, or any other political committee or person to undertake any activities or expenditures on behalf of the President's candidacy.

To avoid changes of this nature in future uses of the President's signature, etc., advance consultation is recommended.

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

cc: Benton L. Becker, Esq.
Robert Visser, Esq.

bc: Philip Buchen

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 26, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

VIA: ROBERT T. HARTMANN

FROM: JACK CALKINS

SUBJECT: Presidential Participation in Fundraisers for the Republican Party

The following is an update of information concerning State Party finances as well as National Party fundraising efforts in which you have participated. Indicated in the attached listing are the financial conditions of State Parties and amounts raised at Republican fundraising events. These figures are approximate. At the request of the State Parties, we do not disclose individual figures. We only disclose accumulated total.

Please disregard earlier memoranda.

cc: Mr. Buchen
Mr. Cheney
Mr. Nessen

	State	Before	Gross	Net
1.	New York February 13, 1975	no financial difficulty	$ 300,000	$ 240,000
2.	RNC Senate-House Dinner April 15, 1975		665,000	516,000
3.	Virginia April 26, 1975	$28,000 debt	32,000	9,000
4.	Ohio July 3, 1975	no debt	110,000	75,000
5.	Iowa August 18, 1975	$100,000 debt	93,000	75,000
6.	Minnesota August 19, 1975	$200,000 debt	165,000	158,000*
7.	Maine August 30, 1975	$30,000 debt	25,000	17,000
8	Rhode Island August 30, 1975	$5,000-10,000 debt	120,000	103,000
9.	Washington September 4, 1975	$60,000 debt	176,000	115,000
10.	Oregon September 4, 1975	debt	100,000	85,000
11.	Missouri September 12, 1975	serious debt	100,000	85,000
12.	Kansas September 12, 1975	$75,000 good	35,000	25,000
13.	Texas September 13, 1975	$165,000 debt	123,000	100,000
14.	Oklahoma September 19, 1975	barely in black	11,400	1,000

*Event was not a fundraiser but promoted this amount in contributions and pledges.

	State	Before	Gross	Net
15.	Chicago, Illinois September 30, 1975	$20,000 debt	$ 150,000	$ 120,000
16.	New Jersey October 4, 1975	$140,000 debt	103,000	83,000
17.	Detroit, Michigan Key Man reception October 10, 1975	$315,000 debt	350,000 100,000	300,000 100,000*
18.	Connecticut October 14, 1975	$2,000 good	175,000	130,000
19.	California Los Angeles San Francisco Key Man meetings October 29-30, 1975		 300,000 150,000 25,000	 250,000 115,000 25,000*
20.	Wisconsin October 30, 1975	175,000 debt	200,000	150,000
21.	Republican Congressional Committee mail solicitation as of November 14, 1975		1,160,000	850,000
22.	Massachusetts November 7, 1975	small debt	90,000	60,000
23.	West Virginia November 11, 1975	$10,000 good	210,000	180,000
24.	North Carolina November 14, 1975	$71,000 debt	75,000	60,000
25.	Georgia November 14, 1975	slightly in black	80,000	60,000
		TOTAL	$ 5,223,000	$ 4,087,000

*Event was not a fundraiser but promoted this amount in contributions and pledges.

Friday 1/9/76

6:10 Benton Becker called concerning the Milbank/Rod Smith picture of the President Promotion.

He said he is exploring now with FEC Counsel the propriety and have set 5 p.m. Monday as his deadline to get you a written opinion.

MEMORANDUM

January 20, 1976

TO: Phil Buchen

FROM: Bob Visser BV

RE: James Higgins

This is to advise you that I have requested Ed Terrell, who is in charge of political activity in New Jersey for the PFC, to contact the above-referenced individual with regard to his desire to conduct independent political activity on behalf of the President.

Republican
National
Committee.

Finance Chairman
Jeremiah Milbank

Pol. Thanks Copy Bang

January 20, 1976

The Honorable Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Buchen:

Benton Becker has brought to my attention his memorandum of January 13, 1976, regarding the presentation of a personalized Presidential picture to contributors to the Republican National Committee. For the reasons stated in Mr. Becker's memorandum to you, I am withdrawing our request for this project.

Mr. Milbank joins me in expressing to you and your staff our appreciation for all your assistance in this matter. At all times your office was most helpful and cooperative. I hope we we shall have the opportunity of working together at some future date.

Sincerely yours,

Rodney A. Smith

Rodney A. Smith
Executive Director

CRAMER, HABER & BECKER
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
475 L'ENFANT PLAZA, S. W.
SUITE 4100
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20024
(202) 554-1100
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ARTHUR R. AMDUR
MICHAEL A. MILWEE

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

CRAMER & MATTHEWS
ONE BISCAYNE TOWER, SUITE 2628
TWO BISCAYNE BOULEVARD, SOUTH
MIAMI, FLORIDA 33131
(305) 358-0980

BRADHAM, LYLE, SKIPPER & CRAMER
699 FIRST AVENUE NORTH
ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA 33701
(813) 895-1991

MEMORANDUM

TO: Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

FROM: Benton L. Becker BLB

DATE: January 13, 1976

RE: Republican National Finance Committee
Presentation of Personalized Presidential Picture
to RNC Contributors

By letter of January 5, 1976, Rodney A. Smith, Executive Director, Republican National Finance Committee (RNFC), informed your office that the finance chairman of the RNC proposed offering a personalized presidential photograph to individuals either locating new sustaining members to the RNC, or to the present RNC sustaining members that contribute a sum to RNC in excess of their membership dues. Mr. Smith proposed that the photograph carry the following inscription:

"With appreciation for your support to the Republican Party. . .Gerald R. Ford".

I have considered this request in light of the New Federal Election Law, Advisory Opinions and Regulations issued to date by the Federal Election Commission (FEC). I have concluded that, while the RNFC request may be technically allowable under existing laws and FEC regulations, prudence requires your office to deny the request.

FEC Advisory Opinion 1975-72 (Federal Register, Vol. 40, Pg. 233, Dec. 3, 1975), relating to contribution and spending limits of 18 U.S.C. 608 to presidential candidates' travel for party purposes, concludes that all post-January 1, 1976 travel by President Ford will be presumed to be candidate-related and, as such, will be governed by the

relevant positions of the Federal Election Law. The thrust of that opinion is to impose upon presidential candidate Ford, after January 1, 1976, the application of the Federal Election Law for all acts done, on the candidate's behalf, for the purpose of influencing his nomination and/or election to federal office (2 U.S.C. 431(c) and (f)).

Although the contemplated act of the RNFC is not on behalf of the candidacy of President Ford, nor does it directly or indirectly attempt to influence third parties with respect to his candidacy, it is my opinion that it should not be undertaken.

Before undertaking this memorandum, I posed the question presented herein to Mr. John Murphy, General Counsel, FEC. On January 9, 12 and 13, 1976, I had further conversation with Mr. Murphy and Mr. David Speigel, Assistant General Counsel, FEC, regarding this matter. They advised that a "split" of opinion was prevalent within the Counsel's office of the FEC. Those opposed to the presentation of a presidential photograph maintained that, in the event of a Reagan complaint to the FEC, a pursuasive argument could be maintained that this contemplated action by the RNC could be construed to be an in-kind RNC contribution to PFC, and possibly in an amount in excess of RNC's five thousand dollar limitation to primary, presidential candidates. Counsel's office foresaw no possible implication of Democratic complaints but, rather, viewed the matter as one involving "intra-party impact". Should such a complaint be lodged and should a holding be forthcoming from FEC adverse to RNC, then Counsel advises that, "at the very least, the RNC costs and expenditures incurred on the promotion would be allocated against PFC's ten million dollar limitation".

On January 12, 1976, I telephonically conversed with Rodney A. Smith regarding this matter. I inquired of Mr. Smith his and Mr. Milbank's best judgment as to the amounts contemplated to be received by RNC which were the direct result of this promotion. Mr. Smith minimized the amount, suggesting that twenty thousand dollars would be high. Mr. Smith further suggested that a business reply envelope submitted along with the sustaining membership dues bill soliciting a gratuitous contribution in excess of the dues would accomplish much the same purpose.

For the reasons stated herein, it is my opinion that the project should be abandoned by RNFC.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 27, 1976

For file

MEMORANDUM FOR: VIRGINIA OLSON

FROM: BARRY ROTH BR

SUBJECT: Campaign Telegram for Ed Young

Per your request, I have discussed the proposed telegram for former Congressman Ed Young with Bob Visser at the PFC. There is no legal problem in the President sending this telegram or including at the bottom of the page "not printed at Government expense." In other situations, I believe we have used the alternative language "Absolutely no taxpayer funds have been used in the preparation or mailing of this correspondence."

In addition, the bottom of the telegram should contain the following legend:

> "If you are a Federal employee or have any matter pending before a Federal administrative or regulatory agency, please disregard this correspondence." Paid for by the (Young for Congress) Committee, _____, Chairman and _____, Treasurer. A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. 20463.

Please call me if you have any questions on the above. Because some mailings raise questions as to apportionment of the mailing costs with the PFC, will you please advise me in the future of similar requests for campaign messages from the President.

cc: Phil Buchen
Bob Visser

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 27, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: BARRY ROTH

FROM: VIRGINIA OLSON

As per our telecon - the background on the President's endorsement of Ed Young.

This will be distributed as a campaign piece. The original was sent to Young's campaign committee last week. They have now come back to us with the request it carry the President's signature. In addition, they wish to add at the bottom 'Not printed at government expense."

As we discussed -- may we have the proper language to be affixed. I will then have it retyped and the President's signature added.

Thanks.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 16, 1976

WHEN I SERVED AS THE MINORITY LEADER IN THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES I HAD THE PRIVILEGE OF WORKING WITH ED YOUNG OF SOUTH CAROLINA. BETTY AND I ALSO BECAME PERSONAL FRIENDS WITH ED AND HATSY.

ED YOUNG WAS AN OUTSTANDING CONGRESSMAN. HE UNDERSTOOD THE PROBLEMS OF AMERICA AND HE KNEW WHAT WAS NEEDED TO HELP TURN THIS ECONOMY AROUND. IN THE LAST FEW MONTHS WE HAVE BEEN VERY SUCCESSFUL IN TURNING THE AMERICAN ECONOMY AROUND AND ONLY BY ELECTING MEN TO CONGRESS WHO CAN UNDERSTAND AND COPE WITH THE CHANGING INTERNATIONAL MARKETPLACE CAN WE HOPE TO CONTINUE OUR BATTLE TO REDUCE INFLATION AND STIMULATE THE PRIVATE SECTOR TO CREATE MORE JOBS AND HIGHER WAGES.

IN 1974 ED LOST HIS RACE FOR RE-ELECTION. THE POLLS I HAVE SEEN INDICATE THAT HE IS GOING TO BE SUCCESSFUL THIS YEAR IN WINNING BACK THAT HOUSE SEAT.

UNFORTUNATELY, SPECIAL INTERESTS OUTSIDE OF THAT DISTRICT HAVE MADE CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS AND WILL MAKE MORE TO INSURE THAT THE INCUMBENT RETURNS TO CONGRESS. IT IS ONLY WITH YOUR HELP THAT ED CAN OFFSET THE OUT-OF-STATE FUNDS THAT ARE BEING USED AGAINST HIM.

ED YOUNG'S INTEGRITY, HONESTY, AND ABILITIES ARE NEEDED IN THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES. I URGE YOU TO DO WHATEVER YOU CAN TO SUPPORT HIM IN THIS CRITICAL ELECTION YEAR.

GERALD R. FORD

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 13, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK CHENEY

FROM: MAX FRIEDERSDORF M. G.

Former Congressman Ed Young of South Carolina phoned yesterday and requested that the President approve the text of the attached FORDGRAM which Young wants the President to send him.

Can you please check this with the President and give me guidance so that I can get back to Young as soon as possible.

Young is the Republican Congressional candidate in the Sixth District of South Carolina opposing Rep. John W. Jenrette, Jr. (D.S.C.).

APPROVE ✓

DISAPPROVE