THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 3, 1975

TO: DON RUMSFELD
FROM: PETER ROUSSEL

Here is the requested material from Dean Burch.
Before getting into the cast of characters, I'd like to develop some initial thoughts.

Timing: The first requirement is an analysis of the delegate selection process in the states and territories. Although the recent trend has been toward primary elections, many - if not a majority - of the delegates will be selected through party processes. From this analysis will come the necessary data to determine upon a policy as to what - if any - primaries should be undertaken.

The second requirement is an analysis of the current campaign financing laws which will be found to be confusing, vague, and in many instances, unprecedented. Nera Bona: The close calls must always go against The President's apparent self-interest. This analysis will serve as a basis for handling all of The President's expenditures, now and in the future, including, but not limited to: cost of A.F.I on political trips; buttons, bows and souvenirs distributed through The White House; costs of travel expenses for Hartmann, Calkins, Anderson, et al. when on political business.

* In certain states, announced candidates are automatically entered into presidential primaries.
The financial analysis should also help in arriving at a decision that must be made soon: Should The President utilize government-provided funds to operate his campaign? The answer would seem to be "yes," but I have not considered any of the pros and cons.

One final thought on timing: Recently there has been considerable attention in the press to the Reagan non-candidate the Buckley summit meeting and other evidences of unhappiness on the right. There has also been some concern to the effect that although The President has declared himself a candidate, he's done nothing overt - or perhaps even covert - to transform the announcement into a political reality. Probably little, if anything can be done to solve the starboard problem but I don't think it's too early to end the vacuum in which Reagan is operating. In other words, it's not untimely to surface with some palpable political moves, e.g., formation of an advisory committee, discussions of financing, appointment of a campaign coordinator, etc. These actions must come from The White House; Mary Louise's hand-wringing won't get the job done.
As a first step, an advisory committee could be formed to meet with you, Hartmann and The President to toss out ideas on a campaign manager (coordinator) and a finance chairman; consider a primary policy; and amelioration of the conservative rupture. Such a meeting need not be publicized will leak out.

Your transition committee is a good starting point, and I think Harlow is a member. If not, he should be. Dave Packard should be brought into the early planning stages, not only because of his obvious talents, but because he is a member of the California establishment and will be viewed as evidence that The President has real strength in Reagan's backyard.

I have carefully reviewed the names of my past associates in national politics and only a few are left unscarred. The following names haven't been checked out as to interest, but I put them on the table for your consideration:

Financing: Jerry Milbank and Bill Middendorf (The Brinks Brothers) of New York City are as good as they come in the financial area. Jerry was Treasurer of The Republican Party after 1964 and has since more or less dropped out of
the political scene. Bill is now Secretary of the Navy. They are both hardworking, capable and honest. Leonard Firestone (Ambassador to Belgium) has a 1972 hangover but is an excellent and credible man. Don Kendall of Pepsi Co. is energetic and capable. John Lewis of Combined Communications is very good - ditto Karl Eller of same firm. (Lewis was led to believe that he would be an ambassador after 1972 and is probably - and justifiably - a little disenchanted. The President knows him, however, and might be able to bring him around.) Eller is young, terribly energetic, and has never been deeply involved in a national campaign. He's a super organizer, and if he agrees to do something, he'll do it well.

Political: One survivor of the 1964 political organization who is superior is John Greiner of Birmingham, Alabama. John ran for the Senate from Alabama - was whipped and has spent the last years getting some money in the bank. John ran our entire Southern operation in 1964 - which was by far the best organized and most successful. John is conservative (not racist) and tireless. He is worth some of your time if you'd like a perspective of the South.
Frankly, the rest of 1964 is used up and I’m afraid that the same can be said of 1968 and 1972.

**Final Thought:** The President’s chief burden in the coming months is that he must run the government. It is also his greatest strength. There are bright, capable people throughout the Administration who can do a great job in 1976 if given the opportunity. Motivation is a damn good substitute for experience.

If I can help, let me know.