

President Ford Committee

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BO CALLAWAY 

SUBJECT: GENERAL CAMPAIGN EVALUATION

I have prepared the following staff evaluation and general comments in the hope that it will be helpful to you and to Rog in planning for the next few months. These comments are based on the assumption that your nomination will be assured prior to the Convention. Should this not happen, many of these points are still valid, as I am confident that you will receive the nomination and that plans must begin in the near future for the general election.

STAFF EVALUATION - I have seen my role as administrative, as the visible campaign committee spokesman, knowledgeable in practical politics. I have not from the beginning presumed to be the political strategist for the campaign, nor the nuts and bolts director. Rather, I have concentrated on long-range planning and on pulling a team together, making sure that all areas were working together toward the same goals. I have basically left the state strategies and organization to Stu.

I believe I have pulled an excellent team together, and although I can recommend a few changes, these are minor.

When at my request last September, Stu Spencer returned with me from California, we saw immediate results in the political organization, which until that time was definitely weak. Contrary to some beliefs, finding qualified and experienced people wanting to work on a campaign is not a simple task, particularly when it is for a relatively long period of time, when there is a need to be selective and when you want only the best.

Stu is one of the best and has done an excellent job in the political area. His instincts are extremely accurate. He is a valuable asset to the campaign committee. His weakness is administrative. He tolerates incredible sloppiness, which must be compensated for by a good assistant and close coordination with a strong Deputy for Administration.

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Bob Marik, who holds the title of Deputy for Administration, is weak and as a result, this entire area needs reorganizing. Although highly recommended to me last fall, Bob has no political sensitivity and does not mesh with the political organization. I am sure his administrative talents are good, but he simply is not suited for a campaign.

To correct this inadequacy, I retained Ed DeBolt several weeks ago, and in reality Ed is fulfilling the deputy's role with Marik reporting to him. A change should be made here soon, but I decided to keep Bob through the early primaries to avoid a major staff change prior to New Hampshire.

Ed DeBolt, on the other hand, is an excellent administrator, has good political judgment and is very knowledgeable about campaign organizations. Stu has objected to some of Ed's attempts, at my direction, to tighten overall discipline, but I believe they can work together so long as they both understand the ground rules.

I cannot overemphasize the importance of Ed's role. The campaign badly needs to tighten up in the administrative area, and if the Chairman is travelling to any extent, it is imperative that a strong administrator is in charge with the Chairman's full support. Without Ed, or someone with a similar background to insure daily accountability, things can quickly fall apart.

Peter Kaye was recommended to me by Stu, and although he has a volatile personality, his credibility and rapport with the news media is excellent. His judgment on media matters is superb.

One of the first individual's I hired was Bob Visser, who as our General Counsel, has become one of the most competent lawyers in the nation with regard to the campaign law. He has been invaluable to the campaign, not only for his legal ability, but also for his political judgment in helping to interpret the law.

Dick Mastrangelo, first as the Northeast Coordinator, and now as Scheduling Director, has a good campaign sense, particularly on the timing of issues and scheduling matters. I moved him into scheduling for personal reasons, but he is actually better suited for this position, and through his years as assistant to Elliot Richardson, has excellent contacts around Washington.

Fred Slight has developed into an extremely competent researcher and although he needed guidance at the beginning, he is now quite capable of running that area as it expands for the general election. He is undoubtedly one of the hardest working

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and dedicated people we have at the Committee.

Fred's dedication and hard-work might only be challenged by Mimi Austin, who has been with the campaign from the beginning, serving as my Executive Assistant. During the early months, she fulfilled numerous responsibilities and is especially good at overall planning and organization.

Leo Thorsness also served as an Assistant to me, but his duties were not directly related to my office. He has been responsible for maintaining contact with Members of Congress and for working with other elected Republican officials. Leo, however, was recently elected Chairman of the South Dakota Party and left the campaign on Friday. I do not think it is necessary to fill this position, although the duties are extremely important, but believe they can be absorbed by others on the staff.

Stan Anderson, although working at present on a part-time basis, is very knowledgeable in convention planning, having held similar positions in '68 and '72. He does not presume to have the political expertise which will be necessary for convention strategies, but should do an excellent job with the mechanics.

Peter Dailey, as Chairman of Campaign '76, is excellent and brings his personal campaign experience to the organization in addition to his advertising expertise. However, since his involvement is limited, the group lacks leadership and an experienced person is needed for day-to-day operations. Peter is aware of this problem and realizes the need for adjustments and possible changes. His Executive Vice President, Bruce Wagner, is young, but has thrown himself into the development of the advertising concept. What he lacks in maturity or experience, he makes up for in dedication and hard work. I believe he merely needs a more experienced individual supporting him on a daily basis.

Bob Mosbacher's results in Finance speak for themselves, and I am particularly pleased with his success, since Bob took that position only after a strong personal appeal. Bob's enthusiasm sometimes oversteps its bounds and upsets the political end, but generally there is an exceptionally good working relationship between political and finance, which is rare in a campaign.

Bob's biggest asset is Bob Odell, who is really a pro at direct mail, and a large portion of their success is certainly due to Bob's expertise. Max Fisher, of course, knows where the big contributors are, and although this is less important this year due to contribution limitations, their support is still important. Max, himself, is totally dedicated to doing whatever

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is needed to get the job done.

Bob Moot was brought into the campaign as Treasurer by Dave Packard. Although not political, and, therefore, somewhat insensitive to campaign urgencies, Bob is an outstanding accountant and maintains strict control over accounting and reporting procedures.

I am still not satisfied with our internal accounting and reporting systems, but Ed DeBolt is working on this with Bob, and we are finally seeing some progress.

There are now over 300 individuals who volunteer on a fairly regular basis, with approximately 150 of these volunteers spending at least one day a week in the office. They have been worked into almost every area of the campaign and are part of the reason we have been able to hold the paid staff to a minimum.

The paid staff in our National Headquarters now numbers approximately 115, although a number of these are part-time and working in the telephone bank. Most are extremely dedicated, hard-working and experienced people; and, there is a good comraderie among the staff.

As usual, however, there are always a few who fall below the norm. Our policy has been to dismiss those who do not live up to expectations, rather than layering new employees over them. It had been my intention to hold a complete staff review in early April to make such changes as might be necessary and recommend that this still be scheduled once Rog has a good feel of the organization and personnel.

PRESS RELATIONS AND COMMUNICATIONS - The area in which I have done a poor job is with the news media and allowed myself to get in a position where at times the media made a determined effort to attack you by attacking me. On the other hand, I consistently pushed for an open and totally honest campaign and believe the press does credit me with achieving this.

Part of my job as Chairman was being the "lightening rod," which is not always enjoyable, but necessary. It is certainly appropriate that the campaign be the target if there is bad news, with all credit for good news going to you.

However, I drew criticism for some statements which were approved and part of a strategy. The obvious example was the Rockefeller question. Although my comments were blown out of proportion to the actual statements I made, it was a conscious decision not to make early commitments for a running mate. Yet conflicting stories often were leaked to the media. My comments on the Reagan record, criticized by many, came at a time when no spokesman would bring attention to his record and helped to get the press focussing on this issue.

I cannot overemphasize how important it will be to maintain good communications between the White House and the PFC. As pressures mount, there can be no excuse for conflicting stories or for news leaks to come from either organization.

I believe there are still some at the White House who have an inordinate and exaggerated fear of any contact with the campaign committee. This could not be more ridiculous nor more potentially damaging to the campaign than if we were to go to the other extreme, which was the case in '72. Communications between an incumbent candidate's campaign and his office staff are expected, legal and necessary. We have even found it difficult to get the simplest things, such as dinner invitation lists after the invitations have been sent or even advance notification of the people whom we had recommended be invited.

Although this example is trite, it underscores the extent to which this problem goes. Rog's office was a tremendous help in offsetting this problem, and you know how long we pushed to get such a contact. Yet even during the past couple months, we would find out about meetings or decisions after the fact and even worse, find out that Rog's office also may not have been informed.

If Rog is to be the Chairman, then a gap will again exist in the communication channel, and I cannot overstate the effect of his office. The impact he has had by nature of his position was immediate and invaluable.

Rog will be a superb campaign Chairman, but it will be just as important for him to have full and complete access to the "political loop" at the White House as it was for me. I certainly hope he will continue to be part of the Senior Staff meetings and an integral part of all political decisions and discussions.

I will go even further and say that from this day on, there should be no political decisions on issues or strategy without the full and complete involvement of Rog Morton and the President Ford Committee.

TRANSITION TO THE GENERAL ELECTION - There are still legal ambiguities in paying for general election planning expenses prior to the nomination. These are brought about by the requirement to certify that no money has been spent for the general election as a condition to receive federal funding. The FEC is aware of the problem, but under their present uncertain status, an early resolution may be difficult.

The logical way to expend funds now would be to identify early general election expenditures, keep them in a separate account, and reimburse these funds from the general election monies when received. The money reimbursed, which might be substantial, could legally be distributed as you deem appropriate - possibly to the RNC or to Republican candidates.

The problem here is that you might not feel totally comfortable

distributing funds actually contributed during the nomination period in a manner different from what the donor expected.

I have suggested what might be a better way to achieve the same end and have discussed this with Bob Visser, but to date we do not have clearance from the FEC. My suggestion is that you form a special sub-committee under the RNC finance committee and solicit funds with the clear understanding that the funds will be expended for general election planning by the PFC and upon nomination will be reimbursed by federal funding. This is clean, and should help both the RNC and your election effort.

SPECIAL RECOGNITION - There are many people whom I could single out for special thanks and who have been a tremendous help during the past few months. To name just a few:

Jim Holshouser's support has been extraordinary, and I hope the events of last week will not overshadow his help. Of all the Republican Governor's, Jim stands out not only for his early and unequivocal endorsement, but also for his repeated and valuable assistance. His support has not been just "lip service," as has been the case with some other Governors and Members of Congress. Rather, he has worked unselfishly on your behalf in North Carolina, throughout the South and with the other Governors.

John Tower, during the weeks following the signing of the energy legislation, travelled throughout Texas explaining this legislation and its alternatives, although he had been equally outspoken against it prior to signing. This has certainly helped to keep the potential political damage to a minimum. John, also, was one of the first to openly endorse you during a time when many "conservatives" were playing games and became PFC Chairman for Texas in early September.

Other Members who have been extremely helpful include Bob Griffin, Howard Baker, Bob Michel, Ron Sarasin, Joel Pritchard and Pete McCloskey. Many, of course, have offered to help, but these turned offers into action, often times without being specifically asked.

Others who fall in this same category include Pete Wilson, Ralph Perk, Dan Kuykendall and Ev Younger, all of whom were early and very active supporters.

Paul Haerle and Lynn Lowe are two GOP Chairmen who deserve special recognition, as it took a special kind of loyalty for them to actively endorse you early in the campaign when many were still being "neutral," and other GOP members in their States criticized them for their actions.

Bryce Harlow, as always, proved to be a great help, being available whenever asked for advice or for meetings, often

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times on weekends or after work; and, as usual, his advice was practical and sound.

Bill Timmons was extremely helpful, especially during the early months when we were first putting the staff together. Bill has the rare combination of administrative skills, hard-nosed business acumen and political experience which is difficult to find. I accepted Bill's reasons for not being able to play an active role early in the campaign (as you may recall, I asked him to be Deputy Chairman), but did receive a commitment from Bill to give four months to the general election. His commitment may not hold now, since it was given to me, but I cannot overemphasize how important it would be to have Bill in a major and substantive position during the election.

Lewis Dale, who is completing studies for his MBA at Harvard, also promised to help after his graduation in May. Lewis is a politically shrewd young man, who would be a tremendous asset to the campaign committee.

Obviously, many others helped during the last 10 months. These few, however, stick out in my mind as being particularly unselfish in their desire to be of help, even though at times it might now suit personal plans or be in their own best interest.

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS - The next few weeks offer a rare opportunity to evaluate the campaign's structure and state organizations, as it is not often that you can test strategies during a primary period and still have time prior to the election to capitalize on strengths and compensate for weaknesses.

I strongly recommend that the entire organization, including individual responsibilities, be reviewed; that the budget be redirected to meet present needs; and, that a full campaign plan be developed now for the general election.

It is equally important that plans be made now for coordinating general election activities with the RNC and that their capabilities be evaluated in conjunction with their weaknesses. I think it would be disastrous, as well as impractical, to physically merge the two Committees but close communication is imperative. The "alumni group" met on various occasions with Mary Louise and RNC staff members and have good recommendations for coordination.

In summary, let me say that you have an exceptional staff at the PFC and the basis for an excellent general election organization. I am available to help to any extent possible during the next few days and as you might have need during the election.