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[April 1976?]

DELEGATES

To date, the President has an approximate 570 to 135 delegate lead over Ronald Reagan.

Here's the breakdown:

	<u>Ford</u>	<u>Reagan</u>
New Hampshire	18	3
Massachusetts	28	15
Vermont	18	3
Florida	43	33
Illinois	90	11
North Carolina	25	28
Puerto Rico	8	0
District of Columbia	14	0
Wisconsin	45	0
Pennsylvania (projected)	90	13
Ohio (projected)	52	0
New York (projected)	140	14
South Carolina	1	17



PRIMARY STATES

Primaries Behind Us

New Hampshire	21D
Massachusetts	43D
Vermont	18D
Florida	66D
Illinois	101D
North Carolina	54D
Wisconsin	45D
New York	<u>154D</u>

8 primaries 502

Remaining Primaries

April 27	Pennsylvania	103D
		<u>103</u>

May 1	Texas	100D
		<u>100</u>

May 4	Georgia	48D
	Alabama	37D
	Indiana	54D
		<u>139</u>

May 11	Nebraska	25D
	W. Virginia	28D
		<u>53</u>

May 18	Michigan	84D
	Maryland	43D
		<u>127</u>

May 25	Kentucky	37D
	Idaho	21D
	Oregon	30D
	Nevada	18D
	Tennessee	43D
		<u>149</u>

June 1	Montana	20D
	Rhode Island	19D
	South Dakota	20D
		<u>89</u>

June 8	California	167D
	Ohio	97D
	New Jersey	67D
	Arkansas	27D
		<u>358</u>

21 primaries 1,088



STATE CONVENTION DATES

April	24	Arizona	29D
		South Carolina	36D
	30	Maine	20D
May	8	Wyoming	17D
	15	Hawaii	19D
		Oklahoma	36D
	21	Alaska	19D
	22	Kansas	34D
June	4	Virginia	51D
	5	Louisiana	41D
	12	Missouri	49D
	18	Iowa	36D
		Washington	38D
	19	Delaware	17D
	24	Minnesota	42D
	26	New Mexico	21D
July	8	North Dakota	18D
	10	Colorado	31D
	16	Utah	20D
		Connecticut	35D
Other		Virgin Islands	4D
		Guam	4D
		Puerto Rico	8D
		D. C.	14D
		TOTAL	639



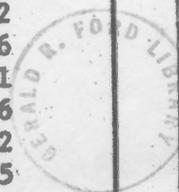
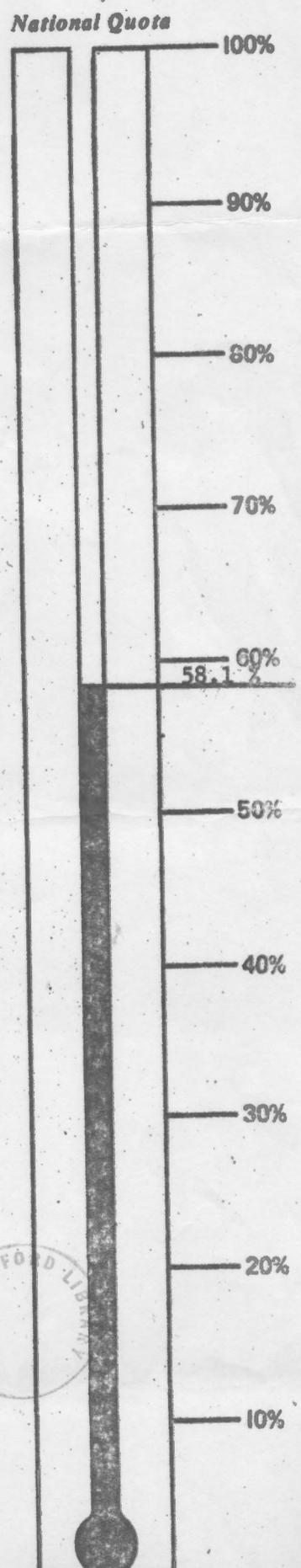
OFFICE OF THE FINANCE CHAIRMAN

RECEIPTS THROUGH APRIL 6, 1976

* PERCENTAGRS REFLECT NINE MATCHING ALLOCATIONS

Private and Confidential

RANK	STATE	CHAIRMEN	% of QUOTA
* 1.	* ALABAMA	* Bill Acker & *Hall Thompson	139.1
* 2.	* NEW HAMPSHIRE	* Kimon Zachos	119.7
* 3.	* ALASKA	* Ed Rasmuson	116.9
* 4.	* LOUISIANA	* Ken McWilliams	116.2
* 5.	* OREGON	* Ira Keller & * Alan Green	113.5
* 6.	* ARKANSAS	* Chesley Pruet	110.5
* 7.	* FLORIDA	* Bill Staten & * Tom Weistead	107.9
* 8.	* GEORGIA	* Julian LeCraw	105.5
* 9.	* NORTH CAROLINA	* Hugh McColl	102.6
* 10.	* NEVADA	* Charlie Glover & * R. Schouweiler	100.9
11.	Kansas	Howard Wilkins	96.7
12.	Michigan	Harold McClure	80.6
13.	Oklahoma	Jack Black	77.7
14.	Texas	Trammell Crow	76.9
15.	Wyoming	John Wold & Stanley Hathaway	75.7
16.	Puerto Rico	Jaime Pieras	73.9
17.	Rhode Island	Elwood Leonard	71.7
18.	Idaho	Robert Hansberger	65.9
19.	Illinois	Gaylord Freeman	64.4
20.	New Jersey	Dick Sellars	62.9
21.	Colorado	Bill Blackburn	60.6
22.	Massachusetts	Ted Beal & Anne Witherby	58.8
23.	Tennessee	Guilford Dudley	58.7
24.	Virginia	FitzGerald Bemiss	58.4
25.	New Mexico	Tom Bolack	57.9
26.	California	Ed Carter	57.4
27.	Wisconsin	Bill Messenger	57.2
28.	Missouri	Don Wolfsberger	54.7
29.	Arizona	Wayne Legg	53.9
30.	Connecticut	Archie McCardell	52.6
31.	Maryland	Lyn Meyerhoff	51.1
32.	Nebraska	David Tews	48.7
33.	Vermont	-	47.1
34.	Hawaii	Hung Wai Ching	46.8
35.	Minnesota	Don Dayton	43.2
36.	North Dakota	Marilyn Westlie	42.9
37.	District of Columbia	Bill FitzGerald	40.3
38.	Kentucky	Joe Johnson	38.7
39.	Pennsylvania	H. Haskell, E. Hillman, & J. Ware	37.6
40.	Ohio	Bill Keating	36.3
41.	Iowa	Crawford Hubbell	36.2
42.	New York	-	36.2
43.	Washington	H. Halvorson & Henry Bacon	34.6
44.	West Virginia	-	34.1
45.	Mississippi	Charles Sewell	32.6
46.	Indiana	John Fisher & Louis Weil	32.2
47.	Delaware	-	29.5
48.	South Carolina	-	28.1
49.	Maine	-	27.1
50.	Utah	Gilbert Shelton	26.2
51.	Montana	-	26.1
52.	South Dakota	Vi Stola	21.8



GERALD R. FORD

WASHINGTON

April 23, 1976

Mrs. Philip Buchen
1200 16th St Nw
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mrs. Buchen:

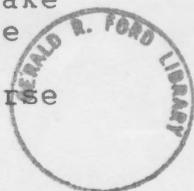
In the past, you have generously supported the Republican Party and its candidates for office. Today, I am writing to ask for your support for my own campaign.

Let me try to set forth what I believe can be accomplished with your help and that of other concerned Americans. As I see it, our country 20 months ago began an experience that was unique in the history of our democracy: we transferred the reins of the highest office in the land to a man chosen for that office under the 25th Amendment to the Constitution.

The country was facing one of its sternest tests. Bitterness, rancor and distrust festered in the body politic. The longest, most divisive war in our history was winding toward an unhappy conclusion, and many feared that the end of an external war would mean the beginning of an internal war of recriminations. And finally, our economy was afflicted with the disease of inflation -- inflation so serious that it would ultimately drive us into the worst recession in a generation. Clearly, there were great challenges both for me and for the Nation.

I have tried during these months to give my very best to the American people and to the causes which we hold dear as a Nation. I lay no claim to perfection; much remains to be done. But the hemorrhaging has been stopped, and the process of healing has begun. Our spiritual and economic health is returning.

The moment has now come, I believe, when we can begin to look ahead once again -- to envision the America we would like to see during our third century as a Nation and to formulate concrete programs that will make our dreams come true. Our Bicentennial should be more than a year of brass bands and birthday banners; it should be a year when we choose a fresh, positive course for ourselves and for our children.



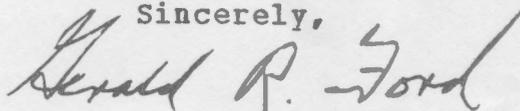
As President, I want to build upon the progress of the past by charting and guiding the Nation toward a brighter future. I am pledged first and foremost to bringing a renaissance of the individual in our society. I want to reverse the flow of power to centralized government and to give people more power over their own lives. I am convinced that personal satisfaction and happiness can only be achieved in America when individual citizens have the freedom and the ability to determine their own destinies. I am also pledged to strengthening the spiritual and moral values in our country. We have to restore a greater sense of meaning to our lives. Finally, I am pledged to keeping America strong in the world -- strong in its economy, strong in its military power, strong in its commitment to liberty. Freedom is endangered across the globe; now, even more than in Lincoln's day, America is truly "the last, best hope of earth."

Since the beginning of the year, I have set forth many concrete proposals to start us down this road. I have asked that we cut both taxes and Federal spending. I have pressed once again for stronger legislation to promote energy independence. I have advocated reductions in governmental regulation. I have sought to create new jobs and reduce inflation through a variety of steps, including greater capital formation. I have sought changes in the structure of government so that the government is more effective, more honest, and more responsive to the needs of the American people.

This is a positive, substantive agenda, but let us always recognize a singular truth: policy pronouncements can only be translated into reality when they have the active support of the American people. That is why I am turning to you for help -- financial help that is needed to make my campaign a success and to set the country on a better course for the future. I hope that you will join me.

I believe in America and I believe that when Americans work together, there is almost nothing we cannot accomplish. Let this be the year when we rekindle the Spirit of '76, and let us work together to make the Bicentennial a fitting celebration for America.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Gerald R. Ford". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, stylized "G" and "F".

Gerald R. Ford

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 6, 1976

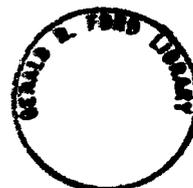
MEMORANDUM FOR: PHILIP W. BUCHEN

FROM: DOUGLAS P. BENNETT

DPB

Per our earlier conversation, the following is a list (resumes attached) of full-time Presidential appointees from Nebraska. In the case of Robert Barnett, Chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, his legal address is no longer Nebraska but he comes from an old-time Republican family in that State and was strongly advocated for this position by Senator Curtis. If you need more information, just call me.

- (1) Robert E. Barnett - Chairman, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation
- (2) Virginia Y. Trotter - Assistant Secretary for Education, HEW
- (3) Clayton Yeutter - Deputy Special Trade Representative
- (4) Norbert T. Tiemann - Administrator of Federal Highway Administration, Department of Transportation
- (5) Maurice H. Sigler - Chairman of Board of Parole, Department of Justice
- (6) Warren C. Wood, Jr. - Federal Co-Chairman of the Old West Regional Commission



March 8, 1976

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

The President today announced his intention to nominate Robert E. Barnett, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation for a term of six years. He will succeed Frank Wille whose term is expiring. Mr. Barnett has been Deputy to the Chairman of the Corporation since December, 1970.

Born on December 4, 1935, in Lincoln, Nebraska, Mr. Barnett received his B.A. degree from Harvard College in 1957. He received his LL.B. from Harvard Law School in 1962.

In 1962, Mr. Barnett joined the law firm of Sullivan & Cromwell, in New York. During 1966-67, he was Counsel for Bankers Life Insurance Company of Nebraska. He was appointed Counsel to the Governor of the State of Nebraska in January, 1967. He was Executive Director of the Nebraska Constitutional Revision Commission from December, 1969, to December, 1970.

Mr. Barnett is married to the former Joanne Peabody of Morristown, New Jersey and they have three children.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Virginia Y. Trotter, Ph.D.
Assistant Secretary for Education

Dr. Virginia Y. Trotter was appointed Assistant Secretary for Education in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in June 1974.

As the principal spokesman for Education in the Executive Branch of the Federal Government, Dr. Trotter provides leadership and policy guidance to the Education Division which encompasses the Office of Education, the National Institute of Education, the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education, and the National Center for Education Statistics.

Dr. Trotter is the first woman appointed to the highest education post in the Nation. All her professional career has been in education, as a scholar, teacher, and administrator. She came to Washington from the University of Nebraska where she served as Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, a post she assumed in 1972. Dr. Trotter earned her Bachelor and Master of Science degrees in Home Economics from Kansas State University and her Ph.D. in Family Economics and Higher Education from the Ohio State University. She has held teaching and administrative positions at the universities of Vermont, Utah and Nebraska, including those of Instructor, Assistant Professor, Professor, Department Chairman, Director of Research, and College Dean.

In her role as Assistant Secretary, Dr. Trotter has given leadership to many Federal programs which encourage and support efforts nationwide to research, develop and implement programs of innovation in education. She has a strong interest in higher education and, particularly, in assuring that disadvantaged students, as well as those from middle-income families, have the opportunity to pursue a high-quality postsecondary education program.

Dr. Trotter has served as the official delegate to the UNESCO conference in Paris, the CULCON (Cultural Conference) in Tokyo, and has been designated by the Secretary of DHEW as the representative for International Women's Year. She also has participated actively with the National Council on Education Research, the presidentially appointed policy council for the National Institute of Education, on setting goals and objectives for the Institute.

Prior to her appointment as Assistant Secretary, Dr. Trotter served on many National and State organizations and committees. She was a member of the President's Committee on the Employment of the Handicapped, the Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services, the National Advertising Review Board, and the Board of Directors of the National Center for Higher Education Management Systems (NCHEMS). At the State level she has worked closely with many volunteer agencies, served as a member of the Nebraska's Commission on the Status of Women and as Chairman of the Nebraska Heart Association.



Additional Biographical Data

BIRTHPLACE : Boise, Idaho

EDUCATION : Ph.D., Ohio State University, 1959; Master and Bachelor degrees, Kansas State University, 1947, and 1943 respectively

EXPERIENCE

- Present : Assistant Secretary for Education, DHEW
- 1972-6/74 : Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska
- 1970-1973 : Dean of the College of Home Economics and Professor of Education and Family Resources, University of Nebraska-Lincoln
- 1963-1970 : Associate Dean of the College of Agriculture and Home Economics, University of Nebraska-Lincoln
- 1955-1963 : Assistant to the Dean of the College of Agriculture for Home Economics, Chairman of the Home Economics Department, University of Vermont
- 1950-1955 : Assistant Professor and Head of the Family Economics and Management Division, Department of Home Economics; University of Nebraska-Lincoln
- 1948-1950 : Instructor and Director of the Home Management Laboratory, University of Utah

THE WHITE HOUSE

The President today announced his intention to nominate Clayton Yeutter, of Lincoln, Nebraska, to be Deputy Special Trade Representative (Domestic). This is a new position created by Public Law 93-618 of January 3, 1975.

Mr. Yeutter has been Assistant Secretary of Agriculture for International Affairs and Commodity Programs since 1973. He joined the Department of Agriculture on August 12, 1970, as head of the Consumer and Marketing Service (now Agricultural Marketing Service).

Mr. Yeutter was Executive Assistant to the Governor of Nebraska from 1966 to 1968, when he became Director of the University of Nebraska's mission in Bogota, Colombia. He remained with the Bogota program, which is directed by six midwestern universities to upgrade agricultural teaching, research and extension efforts in Colombia, until he joined the Department of Agriculture in 1970.

He was born in Eustis, Nebraska, on December 10, 1930. He received his B.S. from the University of Nebraska in 1952 and was named the outstanding animal husbandry graduate in the nation. He received his J.D., cum laude, in 1963 and his Ph.D. in agricultural economics in 1966, also from the University of Nebraska. From 1960 to 1966, he taught agricultural economics at Nebraska. In 1972, he received a distinguished alumni award from his alma mater. He served in the U.S. Air Force from 1952 to 1957.

Mr. Yeutter is married and has four children. They reside in Arlington, Virginia.

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April 13, 1973

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

The President today announced his intention to nominate Norbert T. Tiemann, of Lincoln, Nebraska, to be Administrator of the Federal Highway Administration. He will succeed Francis C. Turner, who held the Department of Transportation position until June 30, 1972.

Since 1971, Governor Tiemann has been Vice President for Corporate Finance of First Mid-America, Inc., an investment banking firm in Lincoln, Nebraska. From 1967 to 1971 he served as Governor of Nebraska and his accomplishments included a number of milestones in transportation in the state.

From 1957 until he became Governor, he was President of the Commercial State Bank in Wausa, Nebraska, and is a Past President of the Nebraska Bankers Association. He was Mayor of Wausa from 1956 to 1962. From 1949 to 1954 he was Assistant County Agent in Lexington, Nebraska; Assistant Manager of the Nebraska Hereford Association in Central City, Nebraska; Executive Secretary of the National Livestock Feeders Association in Omaha, Nebraska; and Director of Industry Relations for the National Livestock and Meat Board in Chicago, Illinois.

He was born in Minden, Nebraska, on July 18, 1924. Governor Tiemann attended the University of Nebraska from 1942 to 1943 and from 1946 to 1949. He served in the U. S. Army from 1943 to 1946 and from 1950 to 1952.

Governor Tiemann is married to the former Lorna Lou Bornholdt. They have three daughters and one son.

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MAURICE H. SIGLER

Born: 7-3-1909 Missouri Valley, Iowa

Legal Residence: Nebraska

Marital Status: Married (wife-Francys)

Education: 1927-graduated Kodale High School, Kodale, Iowa
1929-attended South Dakota College, Brookings, S. Dak.
2 terms

Military Service: 11-43--11-45 U. S. Navy - Shore Patrolman, 2nd Class

Employment: 1931--39 Operator-owner of Onawa Laundry; U Cash & Carry Grocery Store; service station - Uta, Iowa

1939--45 U. S. Penitentiary, Dept. of Justice, Leavenworth, Kansas
Correctional Officer

1945--52 Federal Correctional Institution, Seagoville, Texas
Instructor and Correctional Supervisor

1952--58 Louisiana State Penitentiary, Angola, La.
Warden

1958--59 Glades Correctional Institution, Div. of Corrections, Belle Glade, Fla.
Chief Custodial Officer

1959--63 Nebraska State Penitentiary, Lincoln, Nebr.
Warden

1963--67 Nebraska Penal and Correctional Complex, Lincoln, Nebr.
Warden

1967--71 Director, Division of Corrections, Dept. of Public Institutions, Lincoln, Nebr.

7-22-71-pres. Appointed Member of the Board of Parole - Currently serving as Chairman of the Board of Parole U. S. Department of Justice Washington, D. C. 20530

March 1976



WARREN C. WOOD JR.

FEDERAL COCHAIRMAN, OLD WEST REGIONAL COMMISSION

Home address:

15016 Whitegate Road
Silver Spring, Maryland 20904
Tele. 384-4582

Warren Clay (Chip) Wood Jr., 35, was nominated to be Federal Cochairman of the Old West Regional Commission by President Nixon on October 10, 1973. At the time of his nomination, he was Special Assistant to the Federal Cochairman.

The Commission, authorized by the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, is a Federal-State partnership designed to stimulate economic progress in the states of Montana, Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota and Wyoming. Wood shares direction of the Commission with a State Cochairman, selected on a rotating basis for a one-year term from among the Governors of the five states.

During Wood's tenure, the Commission has undertaken a comprehensive program of assisting the five Old West States in meeting the environmental and socio-economic impacts of extensive coal development in the northern plains states.

Prior to joining the Old West Commission, Wood served in the Office of Intergovernmental Programs and the Office of Congressional Affairs for the Environmental Protection Agency. He specialized in model state environmental legislation and the Administration's environmental legislative proposals.

From 1964 to 1971 he was Legislative Assistant to United States Senator Roman L. Hruska, dealing principally with public works, economic and natural resource issues.

Wood received a B.A. degree from the University of Nebraska in 1967. He was honorably discharged from the National Guard in 1969. Born in Gering, Nebraska, January 27, 1941, he is married to Linda Wood, officially designated by President Ford to be a delegate candidate from Maryland to the GOP National Convention.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 6, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MIKE DUVAL

FROM:

PHILIP BUCHEN

SUBJECT:

Activities by the President

As the President goes into each State starting with Nebraska, I suggest that he be briefed about the appointments he has made during his Administration who come from that State. This information will enable the President to identify these individuals in his remarks to different audiences, giving the city in the State from which they come and their previous principal positions with that State.

Also, I would suggest that on each trip the President should take with him certain of the appointees he has made from the State where he is to appear. He would then be in a position to introduce these appointees to his audiences, and their presence with the President would lead to photographs and publicity which reach people throughout the State.

One unique asset the President has is the bright and capable executive team which he has in place and to which he can point with pride. Moreover, the pride he has in his appointees, when expressed within the States from which they come, will generate a feeling of pride among the citizens of that State. Attention has been called to new appointments made from particular States but we have so far not sufficiently publicized previous appointments made from the States in which the President is appearing.

Even though the appointed individuals from a particular State may not have had great prominence there, the President by mentioning them or introducing them



will give them prominence and will evoke interest that they do serve in his Administration. The result will also help counteract the growing feeling that Washington and the people there are separate from, and heedless of, the interests and concerns of people in the rest of the country. The more the President can emphasize that he has qualified people in the Administration who are not old-time Washington bureaucrats but who have recently come to Government from private life in the various States, the more people will feel a sense of identification with the Ford Administration.

As a starter for implementing this proposal, I have attached at TAB A from Douglas Bennett material dealing with appointees from Nebraska. It may be desirable, even within the short time left, to invite one or more of these people to accompany the President on his Nebraska trip.

Douglas should be asked to provide similar information for all the States which the President will be visiting and plans should be made to select and invite those who should accompany him. In addition, for West Virginia, we may want to get out before next Tuesday publicity about people from there whom the President has appointed.

Attachment



Friday 5/7/76

Friday 5/14/76

5:15 Dorothy Downton talked with Ed Frey.

He wants to get together with a group of businessmen in the area and put an ad in the paper supporting

4:30 **Called Dorothy Downton and advised that** be sure it's

Mr. Buchen talked with Ed Frey concerning the ad some businessmen wanted to put in the paper in support of the President in the primary.

or he can be reached at (616) 949-1705 (Saturday) (5/10).

He referred Mr. Frey to Benton Becker or Gordon Strauss.

but I would have the ad or you if you might have the opportunity of the ad on Saturday (Saturday).

other organization. Each whatever it would cost for to keep the Republicans secret.



Friday 5/7/76

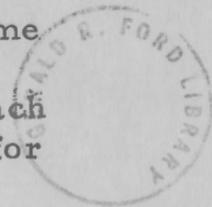
5:15 Dorothy Downton talked with Ed Frey. He wants to get together with a group of businessmen in the area and put an ad in the paper supporting the President in the primary. Wants to be sure it's legal.

This weekend he will be at home in the Monday (Saturday) (616)949-1705 or he can be reached Monday afternoon (5/10).

7:10 I called him to let him know that you had to leave early but I would have the note on your desk if you might have the opportunity to call tomorrow morning (Saturday).

He has been thinking it would be a good idea to do the same thing in other areas of Michigan.

This would be independent of any other organization. Each person would put in \$5 or \$10 or whatever it would cost for the ad. He said "we've got to keep the Republicans from crossing over to the Democrats."



President Ford Committee

1828 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 457-6400

Copy to Barry

July 1, 1976

MEMORANDUM

TO: Rog Morton
Stu Spencer
Jim Baker

FROM: Bob Visser *BV*
Tim Ryan

RE: Carter Campaign

Reference is made to our memorandum dated June 29, 1976 regarding the possibility of a violation by the Carter campaign of the Federal election campaign laws. As set forth more specifically in the above-referenced memorandum, the General Counsel to the Federal Election Commission has indicated that it may be contrary to the Act and proposed regulations for a Presidential candidate to expend primary matching monies or privately raised contributions during the primary period for General Election expenditures.

Following our conversation today, I discussed this matter with Bill Cramer, who in turn discussed it with Mary Louise Smith regarding the RNC's filing of such a complaint. In general, their feeling was that they would like us to prepare a factual memorandum regarding the specific manner in which the Carter campaign may have violated the campaign laws and a brief legal analysis supporting such a conclusion. I shall keep you advised of all material developments in this matter.



President Ford Committee

1828 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 457-6400

June 29, 1976

MEMORANDUM

TO: Rog Morton
Stu Spencer
Jim Baker

FROM: Bob Visser *BV*
Tim Ryan *TR*

RE: Carter Campaign

If you will remember, some time ago when we were considering the PFC preparations for the General Election, we noted that the Federal election campaign laws restrict us from spending money, which includes matching funds received from the Government for General Election purposes. The law requires that all presidential candidates certify to the Secretary of the Treasury that they have not spent any Primary Election funds for General Election purposes. In particular, Section 9003(b) of the Presidential Election Campaign Fund chapter of the Internal Revenue Code provides:

(b) Major parties. In order to be eligible to receive any payments under section 9006, the candidates of a major party in a presidential election shall certify to the Commission, under penalty of perjury, that —

(1) such candidates and their authorized committees will not incur qualified campaign expenses in excess of the aggregate payments to which they will be entitled under section 9004; and

(2) no contributions to defray qualified campaign expenses have been or will be accepted by such candidates or any of their authorized committees except to the extent necessary to make up any deficiency in payments received out of the fund on account of the application of section 9006(d), and no contributions to defray expenses which would be qualified campaign expenses but for subparagraph (C) of section 9002(11) have been or will be accepted by such candidates or any of their authorized committees.



Such certification shall be made within such time prior to the day of the presidential election as the Commission shall prescribe by rules or regulations.

The Commission has informally expressed concern that the statutory language, as well as the legislative history of the Act, preclude the expenditure of any primary matching account monies as well as privately raised contributions, during the primary period for General Election purposes. The rationale, of course, is that otherwise it is difficult to distinguish such expenditures from primary expenditures and the net result is to expend monies in excess of the General Election statutory limitation of 21.8 million dollars.

This hard and fast rule has been modified somewhat, based on an opinion from Jack Murphy, General Counsel of the Federal Election Commission. Recognizing the necessity of certain advance planning functions and expenditures in anticipation of the General Election, Jack has determined and intends to recommend to the Commission that a presidential campaign committee may utilize commercial bank loans (but not primary contributions or primary matching funds) for General Election purposes at this time. Such expenditures must be charged to the General Election ceiling and repaid from the Treasury monies which will be received after the nomination.

However, it appears that at this juncture the Carter campaign is spending primary funds solely for General Election purposes, for example, polling for the selection of the vice president and special interest programs. Notwithstanding the fact that we are involved in some of the same processes, we suggest that the Republican National Committee or some other disinterested party review with their attorneys the objections regarding a specific charge against the Carter campaign for using primary funds for General Election purposes. Such a complaint would at least slow down their activity and keep them a little off kilter. Jack Murphy has already stated to us that he views such activity with some concern and will be bringing the problem to the attention of Carter's lawyers.

A direct complaint by the PFC should also be considered as it may have considerable political advantage in publicly appearing to be running against Carter at this time. The downside of this approach is twofold. First, section 437(g) provides, inter alia, that any notification of such a complaint or



Carter Campaign Memo
June 29, 1976
Page Three

investigation shall not be made public by the Commission or by any person without the written consent of the person receiving such notification or the person with respect to whom such investigation is made. Secondly, section 437(g)(3)(A) provides, inter alia, that any such investigation shall include an investigation of the reports and statements filed by the complainant if such complainant is also a candidate. Although we have consistently alerted the PFC to this problem, it must be assumed that it is possible to make an argument that the PFC has engaged, albeit to an extremely limited extent, in General Election planning and possible expenditures. The practical result would not be, in our opinion, the loss of the 21.8 million dollar Federal financing but rather the Carter argument that the law is ambiguous, they have acted in good faith, and in any event, that both committees are guilty of the same activities. Nonetheless, Tim and I believe that this is viable and positive action that may be initiated by the PFC against Carter at this time with some likelihood of positive results, both publicly and to internally slow down Carter's General Election activity in violation of the General Election expenditure ceiling.





Gasthof
Gramshammer, Inc.

P. O. BOX 506
VAIL, COLORADO 81657

Telephone: 303/476-562

Pepi Gramshammer
Sheika Gramshammer

July 19, 1976

The President of the
United States of America
Mr. Gerald Ford

The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

Before anything else I would like to thank you whole heartedly for your decision regarding the Eagles Nest Wilderness Bill. You made many people very, very happy! Thank you once again.

At the same time I want to tell you how very sorry I am that Colorado let you down to such an extent. Only because of Eagle County's vote, all delegates voting 10:1, we could at least gain the 4th congressional district.

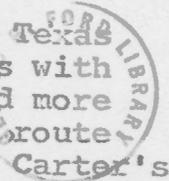
The Republican Convention in Fort Collins was a fascinating experience. I know now what it means when it is said that "politics get into your blood" - it is certainly in mine!

It was very hard for me to sit still and watch your opponent get so many votes, I wanted so very much to go to everyone and wake them up to the truth - YOU!

Reagan had a good speech - well written and the presentation could be rated as moderate to good acting. But I definitely want to congratulate you on your son Jack. His speech was outstanding! It portrayed warmth, sincerity and unlimited belief and trust in you. I heard from several Reagan people the comment "What a boy - I am jaleous!" Therefore, it is very hard for me to understand why not more uncommitted delegates were more aware of the difference between just a good performance and reality.

I must admit though that the Reagan forces were incredibly organized and well informed. It seemed they had just left a training camp! I was utterly frustrated to see how weak your Colorado office seemed to be.

Friends of mine in Wisconsin, Michigan, Missouri and Texas are very active on Reagan's behalf. I discussed this with them at several occasions and doing so I got more and more hopeful that you may consider changing your campaign route after Kansas City. Again, I have friends who are on Carter's executive committee for Texas and I must say it is incredible to see how well run their "show" is.





Gasthof
Gramshammer, Inc.

P. O. BOX 506
VAIL, COLORADO 81657
Page 2

Telephone: 303/476-562

Pepi Gramshammer
Sheika Gramshammer
July 19, 1976

I really want to go out and tell "the world" why we need you! Pepi and I, among so many others, believe in you with all our hearts and minds. You need to win for this country and I want to do everything I can to be of help.

I would like to head a women's committee here in Colorado for your support. It would be a doorbell to doorbell campaign as previously proven effective during the Goldwater campaign. I know I can do so much more for you if my energies are channelled into the proper direction. I would appreciate it very much if I could sit in during one of the meeting of the National Committee for Ford 1976 to learn about strategy and immediate objectives.

So far I have not had any help or seen any initiative from your Denver headquarters, except that they were opposed to my heading the Eagle County Committee.

Mr. President, could you please direct me to the proper channels so that I may be more useful to your campaign.

This county needs you - please let me know how I can offer my small share to make people realize that there is only one true leader: YOU. I would like to apply myself totally to your election and our future.

Sincerely,

Sheika Gramshammer



/wej

p.s. how is your tennis? I may just be ready for you in August - with the help of a big Racquet! ☺ Sheika

QUESTION:

Ron, Governor Carter has contacted Speaker Albert and requested that he seek expeditious passage of H. R. 11552, the Voter Registration Act. What is the President's position?

ANSWER:

The President has opposed the Voter Registration Act (authorizing citizens to register for Federal elections by post card). There is little assurance that increased registration will increase voter participation in elections, when great numbers who are already registered do not show up at the polls to vote. Also, the Act will be an administrative nightmare for State and local governments and it will increase the potential and likelihood for fraud. This legislation would create additional financial burdens on the Federal government when the President is trying to curb Federal spending, and it would establish a further large Federal administration within the Federal Election Commission.



ES/BNR 7/27/76

Wednesday 8/4/76

Wednesday 8/4/76

4:20 Bobbie said she has three supporters ---
Gergen, Rhatigan and Bill Greener.



Wednesday 8/4/76

2:55 Attached is the material Bobbie said you would need to discuss with Dick Cheney.

I checked with Cheney's office to ask if they had found a time for you to see him -- per our request of yesterday.

Barbara said you had gone into Cheney's office this morning so she assumed you had had the requested appointment.

 Do you still need to see him?



July 15, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK CHENEY
FROM: BOBBIE GREENE KILBERG

Thank you for taking the time to talk with me yesterday. I think we had an open and honest discussion, and I appreciated it.

The following is a summary of why I feel strongly that I could be an important asset to the political operation at the Convention and thus would like to be included in the White House list of individuals who are to attend the Convention with specific responsibilities, normal convention hall access, etc.:

- (1) I am a key element in a network of Republican National Committeewomen (and some Committeemen), women delegates and Republican women activists, most of whom will be present in Kansas City and could be effectively used to aid the President's nomination. Elly Peterson will be conducting such an effort, and I believe I could be very useful to her.
- (2) This same network will be important to the President's election effort, and it is my understanding that Elly intends to do considerable election planning work at the Convention since everyone will be assembled there and another such opportunity will not present itself.
- (3) Attention should be paid at the Convention to committed Ford delegates in order to maintain and reinforce that commitment. I could be of assistance with women delegates in that regard.
- (4) Given the importance of the women's vote, I think it is essential that the Administration show both the delegates at the Convention and the public through the media that we have active and participating women appointees. It is my understanding that the Republican National Committee Convention booklet will have an emphasis on the role of women appointees as the RNC requested my picture for inclusion in the official booklet.



(5) I have a good understanding of Convention procedures from my participation in the '68 and '72 Conventions.

(6) A lot of people expect me to be at the Convention, have called me about the Convention, and would be concerned if I was not present. These are the same people who will be important for the general election, as well as for the nomination. For example, Carla Coray, Vice Chairman of RNC Committee on Rules and National Committeewoman from Hawaii; John McDonald, National Committeeman from Iowa, Chairman of RNC Committee on Contests, and expected to be Chairman of Credentials Committee; Gerridee Wheeler, National Committeewoman from North Dakota; Pat Goldman, Chairperson, Republican Women's Task Force, etc.

The female members of the press would also, as a matter of course, expect me to be present as I was very active in the '72 Convention and would be looking for a story if I was absent.

July 24, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MIKE DUVAL

FROM: BOBBIE GREENE KILBERG

Below is a listing of the information I have on a number of the women delegates on the platform committee. I will have more in-depth information on a larger number of the delegates on Monday. Please also note one addition and one change: the Connecticut woman delegate on the platform committee is Joan Rader of Greenwich; Ginny Dinkins from Florida may be Reagan rather than Ford.

Ford Delegates

D. C.: Marjorie Parker

Ph.D. in English and education
Strong on women's rights: pro ERA
Uncertain about abortion
Head of platform committee for D.C.
Low-key but effective
Member of or good relationship with Republican
Women's Task Force
Black
Wife of Judge Barrington Parker

Hawaii: Mary George

State Senator
Former city council member
In 50's
Good relationship with Republican Women's
Task Force
May emerge as a leader of women delegates on
platform
Strong personality

Indiana: Betty Rendel

Vice-chairman of state party
Very conservative on all issues
~~Anti-ERA~~
Strong member of Republican Women's Federation

Iowa: Joan Lipsky

6-term member of state senate
On appropriations committee in Senate; strong on
environment, consumers; author of rape reform act
A leader of Republican Women's Task Force
May emerge as a leader of women delegates on
platform committee
Progressive
Close to Governor Ray

Maine: Henrietta Page Crane

National committeewoman
Marginal on ERA
Conservative
Somewhat suspicious of the "modern woman."
Long-time party pro

Maryland: Marjorie Holt

Congresswoman from Prince George's County
Strongly opposed to busing
In continual fights with HEW over integration
plans
Opposed to quotas
Privately comfortable with ERA but will not take
public position in favor because would hurt
her politically in her district

Minnesota: Mary Forsythe

State legislator (House)
Strong personality
Moderate
Husband: Bob Forsythe - Ford strategist in Minnesota

N. D.: GeriDee Wheeler

National committeewoman
Leader of ERA ratification effort in state; strong
on all women's issues including support of Supreme
Court's decision on abortion
Former President of national community mental health
organization
A leader of Republican Women's Task Force
Member of Common Cause
Progressive.

N. H.:

Ruth Griffin

State legislator (House)

N.J.:

Millicent Fenwick

Congresswoman

Strong interest in foreign affairs (visited Vietnam since end of war, visited China), in government reform, in women's rights (ERA, Day care, etc.)

Member of Republican Women's Task Force

Pa.:

Martha Schoeninger

Assistant state party chairman

Uncertain on women's issues

In 50's or 60's

Close to Sally Stauffer -- former national committee

N.Y.:

Leslie A. Maebly

Age 21

Progressive

Articulate

W. Va.:

Louise Leonard (LF)

Had been member of state senate

Ran for U.S. Senate and lost

Led fight for ratification of ERA in state

Strong interest in penal reform

Has stated cannot commit herself to Ford because rules of W.Va. Republican Women's Federation require no commitment before convention; I think she is state President of Federation

Wisconsin:

Ann Peckham

Former Vice Chairman of party -- ousted by right wing fringe

Good on women's issues

Generally progressive/moderate

Strong personality

Will work with Republican Women's Task Force

S.D.:

Barbara Gunderson

Former Commissioner of U.S. Civil Service Commission
under Eisenhower

Progressive

Strong on women's rights (ERA, etc.)

Ran in '74 in Republican U.S. Senate primary but lost

Will work closely with Republican Women's Task Force

July 27, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MIKE DUVAL
FROM: BOBBIE GREENE KILBERG

Bobbi

Below is a listing of additional information on women delegates who are on the Platform Committee:

Alaska: Yvonne Alford (F)

Executive Director, Anchorage Bicentennial Commission
former Vice President of Alaska Young Republicans
President of Anchorage Republican Women's Club
Member, Republican State Central Committee
Chairman of District and State Convention Platform Committees

Officer of Alaska Press Women
completed 3 years of college
not been a national delegate before
Southern lower middle class background
age: 40
single
religion: Pentecostal

Delaware: Lavinia Hodgden (UNCOMMITTED?)

Not been a national delegate before, but delegate to state conventions for many years
Chairman of her District Committee and Committeewoman
volunteer for Senator Roth's campaign
housewife with one child
age: 56
education level: 3 years of college
religion: Presbyterian

D. C.: Marjorie Parker (additional information) (F)

Member, D. C. Council 1972-75



Hawaii: Mary George (additional information) (F)

Member, League of Women Voters
 Member, National Air Quality Advisory Board
 strong on women's issues
 favors a woman as Vice President in 1976
 supports the 1973 Supreme Court decisions on abortion
 in favor of Party adopting requirements that more women
 and minorities be included in Party activities
 married
 age: 60
 education level: B. A. plus some graduate study

Illinois: Ruth Hooper (F)

Active in local politics: precinct captain
 Executive board of township Republican organization, etc.
 Regent of local DAR chapter
 Secretary of community emergency medical service
 committee
 former PTA president
 wife and mother of 3 children
 age: 51
 education level: B. A. -- Northwestern
 religion: Methodist

Indiana: Betty Rendel (Ford?) (additional information)

Treasurer, National Federation of Republican Women

Iowa: Joan Lipsky (additional information) (F)

State representatives instead of State senator
 favors woman as Vice President in 1976
 Supports 1973 Supreme Court decisions on abortion
 In favor of Party adopting requirements that more women
 and minorities be included in Party activities
 age: 57
 married
 education level: graduate study in psychology

Kansas: Neta Pollom (F)

Ran for State representative but lost
in favor of the ERA
favors woman as Vice President in 1976
Supports 1973 Supreme Court decisions on abortion
in favor of Party adopting requirements that more women
and minorities be included in Party activities
education level: 1-1/2 years of nurses training

Maine: Henrietta Crane (additional information) (F)

National delegate in 1968
not in favor of Party adopting requirements that more
women and minorities be included in Party activities
education level: B.A., Wellesley (language & history)
age: 63
divorced

N. H.: Ruth Griffin (additional information) (F)

1972 delegate to National Convention -- Platform Committee
Majority Whip of N. H. House of Representatives
pro-ERA
supports 1973 Supreme Court decisions on abortion
in favor of Party adopting requirements that more women
and minorities be included in Party activities
does not favor woman Vice President in 1976
registered nurse - not practicing
age: 51
married with 5 children
education level: 3 years of college and R. N.
religion: Methodist

N. Y.: Leslie Maeby (additional information) (F)

Not been a National delegate before
ran for county office, but defeated
pro-ERA
in favor of woman as Vice President in 1976
supports 1973 Supreme Court decisions on abortion
and minorities be included in Party activities
single
education level: B. A. SUNY at Albany



Ohio: JoAnn Davidson (F)

Executive Director of Ohio PFC

Pa.: Martha Schoeninger (additional information) (F)

Vice Chairman of Republican State Committee --
instead of Assistant Chairman
not been a National delegate before
active in county politics, e.g., executive committee
of Chester County Committee, past President
of Valley Forge Council of Republican Women
pro-ERA

favors woman as Vice President in 1976

favors 1973 Supreme Court decisions on abortion

not in favor of Party adopting requirements that more
women and minorities be included in Party activities
married with 3 children

educational level: 2 years of art school: fashion design
religion: Presbyterian

R.I.: Louise Mauran (F)

homemaker and volunteer
has not been National delegate before
State party Vice Chairman
5 children

age: 41
educational level: 2 years of college
Member, Planned Parenthood of R.I.

S.D.: Barbara Gunderson (additional information) (F)

supports 1973 Supreme Court decisions on abortion
married

education level: B.A. (English, journalism)

Vermont: Carolyn Miller (F)

has not been a delegate before
town and county party chairman and vice chairman
Member, League of Women Voters
housewife and mother of 5 children

age: 48
educational level: B.A., University of Washington
religion: United Church of Christ, deacon and elder

Wyoming: Ruth Adam (uncommitted)

has not been a National delegate before
favors woman as Vice President in 1976
does not support 1973 Supreme Court decisions on
abortion, but at same time believes abortion "up
to each individual person"

in favor of Party adopting requirements that more women
and minorities be included in Party activities
good on women's issues
pro ERA
housewife
age: 54
education level: B. A. (home economics)



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 4, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BILL RHATICAN

FROM:

BOBBIE GREENE KILBERG *Bobbie*

SUBJECT:

Alternative Programming at Kansas City

Pursuant to a request from Dave Gergen, the following is a list of women who will be at the Republican Convention in Kansas City and who would be excellent subjects for T. V., radio, and newspaper interviews. Please note that this is a list of individuals who I know will be at Kansas City. It does not include Ford women appointees who have not been asked to go to Kansas City, but who would give excellent interviews if asked.

- 1.) Carla Hills
Secretary of HUD
42
- 2.) Marjorie Lynch
Under Secretary of HEW
Late 40's
- 3.) Mary Louise Smith
Chairman of RNC
Delegate from Iowa
A founder of Republican Women's Task Force
Late 50's--early 60's
- 4.) Ellie Peterson
Deputy Chair of the PFC
Former Vice-Chairman of RNC
Late 50's--early 60's
- 5.) Pat Goldman
Chair of the Republican Women's Task Force
Staff Director of the Wednesday Group in the House of Representatives
mid 30's
- 6.) Audrey Rowe Colom
National Chairperson, National Women's Political Caucus
Alternate delegate from the District of Columbia
Staff Member of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting
Black



- 7.) Bobbie Greene Kilberg
Associate Counsel
Former National Vice-Chairperson, National Women's
Political Caucus
A founder of Republican Women's Task Force
31

- 8.) Congresswoman Peggy Heckler
Delegate from Massachusetts
Member of Convention Rules Committee
A founder of Republican Women's Task Force
Strong advocate of daycare, ERA
40's

- 9.) Congresswoman Millicent Fenwick
Delegate from New Jersey
Strong interest in foreign affairs, government reform, and
and women's rights including ERA and day care
in 60's

- 10.) Carla Coray
Delegate from Hawaii
Vice Chairman of RNC Committee on Rules
National Committeewoman from Hawaii
Former State Party Chairman from Hawaii
Former Chairman of Western Republican Chairmen
Candidate for Congress
Late 40's

- 11.) GeriDee Wheeler
Delegate from North Dakota
National Committeewoman from North Dakota
Former President of a national community mental health
organization
Leader of ERA ratification effort in North Dakota
A leader of Republican Women's Task Force
Late 40's--early 50's



- 12.) Joan Lipsky
Delegate from Iowa
Six-term member of State House of Representatives
Member of Appropriations Committee in House; strong on
environment, consumers; author of Rape Reform Act
A leader of Republican Women's Task Force
57
- 13.) Mary George
Delegate from Hawaii
Hawaii State Senator
Former City Council Member
60
- 14.) Marjorie Parker
Delegate from District of Columbia
Chairperson of Platform Subcommittee on Human Concerns
Former D. C. City Council Member
Professor of English and Education at Howard and Bowie State
Black
Mid 50's
- 15.) Pat Price Bailey
Rules Spokesperson for the Republican Women's Task Force
June graduate with highest honors from American University
Law School and mother of two children
Late 30's
- 16.) Betsy Griffith Deardorf
National Vice Chairperson, National Women's Political Caucus
Ph. D. Candidate in History
Late 20's
- 17.) Barbara Gunderson
Delegate from South Dakota
Former Commissioner of U. S. Civil Service Commission under
Eisenhower
Ran in 1974 in Republican U. S. Senate Primary but was defeated
Strong on women's rights (ERA, etc.)



- 18.) Ruth Griffin
Delegate from New Hampshire
Majority Whip of N. H. House of Representatives
51

- 19.) Betty Smith
Delegate from Wisconsin
City Councilwoman in Madison; running for State House of
Representatives from Madison
Early 50's

- 20.) Lee McAnerney
Alternate Delegate from Alaska
Commissioner of Community and Regional Affairs for the
state of Alaska: only woman cabinet member in state
Former mayor of Seward, Alaska



Some items in this folder were not digitized because it contains copyrighted materials. Please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library for access to these materials.

G.O.P. Women Irked at Party; May Not Take Part in Election

By EILEEN SHANAHAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 27—Feminists in the Republican Party are angry at the treatment they believe women are getting from their party and they fear that many of the best women workers will simply sit out the campaign if steps are not taken to improve things.

The anger of the feminists centers on the following things:

①The relatively small role

But she said she thought the problem was not with the convention arrangements but rather that "we don't have women positioned correctly."

How Leader Is Chosen

For example, she explained, the Republicans traditionally chose their leader in the House of Representatives to be chair-

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 7, 1976

*Privacy
Cante
(see
Nixon
papers)*

Dear Stan:

Enclosed is a letter written to me from Quincy Rodgers of the Domestic Council Committee on the Right of Privacy. The letter is self-explanatory and I would appreciate your agreeing to allow access to the Nixon materials for the purposes indicated.

I would appreciate your advising Barry Roth of your decision, and, if it is favorable, to work out arrangements satisfactory to you.

Sincerely,



Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Mr. R. Stan Mortenson
Miller, Cassidy, Larroca & Lewin
2555 M Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20037

cc: Barry Roth



RECEIVED
OCT 8 1976
CENTRAL FILES

Privacy

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 10, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MIKE DUVAL
FROM: PHIL BUCHEN *P.*

The attached memorandum deals with a subject on which you are working. It came to me from Quincy Rodgers, who is the Executive Director of the Domestic Council Committee on the Right of Privacy. You may want to pass on copies to other people concerned with this subject.

cc: Bobbie Kilberg (with enclosure)



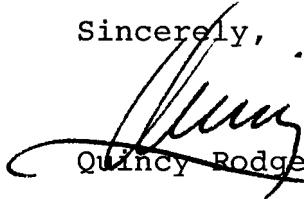
June 9, 1976

Phil --

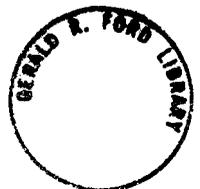
Attached is a memo prepared after discussion among a number of persons who were active at the 1972 Republican National Convention. I thought that you might be interested in seeing it.

Please feel free to pass copies along to others who might also be interested.

Sincerely,



Quincy Rodgers



MEMORANDUM

FROM: Friends of President Ford

RE: The Republican Convention

The following memorandum has been prepared by participants in recent Republican national conventions to suggest those areas related to the President's campaign at the convention which our experience indicates are potentially most critical.

Our motivation for preparing this memorandum was provided by two facts of overwhelming importance:

1. In a close nomination contest, the nomination can be won--or lost-- by events which occur, or fail to occur, during the convention. (e.g. the 1952 Republican convention).

2. A nominee's chances of winning the general election can be seriously--or fatally--affected by hostility created within the Party or the country by activities which occur during the convention. (e.g. Goldwater and the 1964 convention; Humphrey and the 1968 Democratic convention; McGovern and the 1972 Democratic convention).

I. Areas of Potential Floor Fights During the Convention:

While the most important decision which the convention will make is its choice of the Party's Presidential candidate, the convention must also decide a multitude of other matters. Most of these decisions will be made routinely, but major floor fights may possibly occur in several areas. These floor fights are important for at least four reasons:

(a) they may be regarded by delegates or the media as "test votes" on the candidates for the nomination, and the result accordingly regarded as indicating the outcome of the nomination contest. (Accordingly, the first floor fight is particularly important);

(b) they may involve matters of special importance to some individual delegates, and may thereby affect the votes cast by these delegates in the nomination contest;

(c) they may affect the unity of the Party or the image presented by the Party to the country, and thereby affect the nominee's chances of winning the general election.

(d) they may concern issues of substantial political or programmatic importance, even apart from their immediate effect on the nomination or general election.

Areas, other than the selection of the Presidential nominee, in which floor fights are likely are:

1. Credentials:

A credential challenge is likely to be the first possible floor fight at the convention. A close fight for the nomination fosters serious credential challenges (e.g. the fight over Texas at the 1952 GOP Convention). The current Rule 32 provides several bases for possible challenges (e.g. "positive action"; "endeavor to have equal representation").

Someone must be assigned responsibility now to answer such questions as : Which Ford delegates are most likely to be challenged? Which Reagan delegates are most vulnerable to a challenge? How would uncommitted delegates react to such credential challenges? What rules, state laws, court decisions, and past convention precedents are applicable to such challenges? Resources available to assist in a credentials effort would include former participants in major credential fights (from the 1952 convention experience: William Rogers, Jack Wells, Max Rabb, Herb Brownell), the Annals of Republican Conventions (available from the RNC), volunteer lawyers and so forth.

2. Rules:

A floor fight over the adoption of Party Rules is most likely on these three issues:

(a) Rule 30, which governs the allocation of delegates among states. In 1972, this fight tended to pit small states against big states.

(b) Rule 32, which is particularly important to women, and minorities. A fight over this rule is most likely to arise in the context of the adoption, or rejection, of the recommendations of the Committee established in 1972 by Rule 29 (the "Steiger Committee"). The next opportunity to try to affect such a fight will be when the RNC meets on June 24 to consider, among other matters, the report of the Steiger Committee.

(c) Voting: There appears to be no clear rule as to what remedy is available to prevent a delegate, who is bound

by state law to vote for President Ford, from voting for Reagan in violation of the state law.

Critical questions to answer now include: How would uncommitted delegates view such fights? What should be the President's reaction to such fights? and so forth.

Available resources to aid in a Rules effort would include the Republican Women's Task Force, and participants in the 1972 Rules Committee deliberations.

3. Platform:

These questions must now be considered.

How would uncommitted delegates respond to a contest over platform planks on the issues listed below? What should the President's position on each such plank be? What should the PFC's operatives be doing? On what planks could Ford's supporters win? On which planks can they secure lasting support from uncommitted delegates? Which planks are important to the fall campaign?

- (a) abortion
- (b) ERA
- (c) busing
- (d) Panama
- (e) troops for Rhodesia
- (f) detente
- (g) social security
- (h) capital punishment.

The search for resources for a platform effort should start with Mel Laird and Charles Goodell, who served as officials of the 1964 Platform Committee.

II. Pre-Convention Decisions of GOP Organizations:

In order to use President Ford's assets to maximum advantage at critical points during the Convention, it is imperative that his supporters take an active role in the pre-convention activities of official decision-making organizations. These organizations, and their influence on the Convention, include:

A. State delegations: (Choose Chairperson, members of Convention committees, national committeeman and committee-woman)



B. Republican National Committee's committees on credentials platform, etc. (may develop recommendations for consideration by the Convention Committees on credentials, platform, etc.)

C. Convention committees: (do they meet prior to convention? do they choose chairperson, parliamentarian? Will they have subcommittees?)

D. Republican National Committee: (Selection of Convention officers, keynoter, etc. Will meet next on June 24.)

E. Informal Groups: e.g. Congressional caucuses, Governors, Women delegates, etc. (Will they take stands on possible floor fights? Will they recommend persons for Convention offices?)

III. Organizational Tasks to be Assigned Now:

Our experience at prior conventions has taught us that detailed planning, organization and intelligence are critical elements for any successful operation at a convention. In addition to assigning specific responsibility for each of the areas of possible floor fights listed in Part (I) above and each of the GOP organizations listed in Part (II) above, our experience indicates that responsibility for the following areas must also be assigned forthwith:

1. Information about Delegates and Alternates:

Since delegates and alternates cast the votes at a convention, it is critical to know as much about each delegate and alternate as possible. Knowledge about uncommitted delegates is especially important. Names, addresses, alliances with other delegates, disputes on credentials, circumstances of loyalty and selection, Kansas City hotel accommodations, and other information must be assembled in a form (possibly on computers) which can be easily updated and will be readily accessible to the key operatives in the PFC's convention organization.

Two examples should suffice to illustrate the importance of such intelligence.

(a) Pennsylvania is sending 8th District Congressman Bud Shuster and Blair County Republican Chariman Cal G. Griffith, III as delegates to the National Convention. Without regard to Ford/Reagan or any great issues of the day, Shuster and Griffith are most uneasy with one another.



It is likely that their differences will have an effect on delegates from Central Pennsylvania since their differences have already had an impact on Blair County and 8th District Republican politics, and it is naive to think that they can be sublimated at the Convention. Both Shuster and Griffith are now Ford delegates, but one could easily be captured by Reagan if the PFC acts in a manner insensitive to the rivalry between the two. A good source of information relative to handling the Shuster/Griffith situation is State Senator Robert Jubilerer, a Ford supporter who, for reasons of his own, must steer the rocky waters between Shuster and Griffith.

Certainly there are other similar circumstances in other states that require attention. They must be ferreted out before the Convention meets.

(b) Delegates from Virginia's 10th Congressional District may be challenged--by the PFC or other delegates or outside groups. Two issues have been raised by the manner in which these delegates--who support Reagan--were selected: first, whether or not a local meeting of Republicans can require their representatives at county and district meetings to vote as a unit, and second, whether or not the failure of Party officials to provide, in the call of a local Party meeting, notice that the "unit rule" would be voted on invalidates the result of such a vote at that meeting. Both Party Rules and the laws of Virginia appear to be involved in resolving these issues. Mr. Richard Jones of Arlington is the Ford supporter with detailed knowledge of the circumstances.

If credential fights are to be successful--either in challenging Reagan delegates or defending Ford delegates--the type of research indicated earlier must be done now. Party Rules, for example, require that notice of credential challenges be filed 30 days before the Convention convenes (Rule 35).

Resources available to aid in gathering information about delegates, particularly uncommitted delegates, include delegates already committed to Ford, Congressmen and party officials committed to Ford, information books assembled on delegates to previous Conventions, and groups who are already collecting information about 1976 delegates for their own purposes, such as the Chamber of Commerce, Federation of Republican Women, Unions, NEA, NAM, Republican Women's Task Force, Ripon, and so forth.

2. Logistics:

Logistics involve the timely provision of personnel, material, and information required for a Convention operation. Logistical problems which arise at a convention are legion, and therefore, it is important to have experienced personnel in charge of preparations for overcoming these problems. Among the most important logistical problems which can be anticipated are:

- (a) recruiting and supervising volunteers or salaried personnel for the Convention organization;
- (b) developing and outfitting a "control center";
- (c) developing and maintaining a secure, rapid two-way communications system;
- (d) providing transportation throughout the Kansas City area;
- (e) providing a tracking system designed to keep the control center informed as to the whereabouts of important PFC operatives;
- (f) working with convention officials to assure proper access to the Convention floor, favorable convention seating arrangements, access to the microphones and so forth.

(Note: floor passes are available for selected persons other than delegates and alternates; e.g. Governors' bodyguards, pages, etc.)

3. Liaison:

It is important to name reliable liaison persons between the PFC's Convention organization and other key groups, including Convention officials, President Ford, the RNC, each state delegation, convention committees, formal GOP organizations, informal GOP organizations (e.g., governors, women), Reagan, and so forth. Such liaison will not only be helpful in gathering information on delegates and other matters, but also will be essential for conveying messages from the PFC Convention organization to these groups, for squelching false rumors and so forth.

4. Convention Organization:

The organization of the PFC to date has been designed to win delegates in primaries and state conventions. A new emphasis or structure may now be required to develop and execute plans for the convention. For example, it may be advisable to appoint a convention chief (or whatever the title may be). It may also be advisable to establish

a field staff of floor managers and operatives, (who may, in many cases, be the liaison personnel described in paragraph 3 above).

5. Budget and Media:

New priorities must also be assessed now for media efforts and the campaign budget.

BY WESLEY G. PIPPERT

PLAINS, GA. (UPI) -- JIMMY CARTER SAYS THE ALLEGED PRACTICE OF SOME BLACK PREACHERS POKETING CAMPAIGN FUNDS -- AS SOME OF HIS APPARENTLY WERE POKETED -- GREW HISTORICALLY OUT OF THE BLACK EXCLUSION FROM THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

CARTER WAS TO FLY TO WASHINGTON TODAY ON A ONE-DAY TRIP, TO SPEAK AT RALPH NADER'S PUBLIC CITIZEN FORUM AND TO MEET AT THE CAPITOL WITH CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN AND GROUPS OF DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES.

NADER, THE CONSUMER ADVOCATE, VISITED CARTER IN PLAINS DURING THE WEEKEND AND PRAISED THE DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE'S POSITION ON HEALTH, CONSUMER PROTECTION, ENVIRONMENT, ENERGY AND THE NEED TO DEVELOP NEW WAYS TO MAKE THE GOVERNMENT MORE RESPONSIVE.

NADER SAID CARTER HAD THE BEST STANDS ON CONSUMER MATTERS OF ANY MAJOR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE "IN RECENT DECADES."

CARTER, IN TURN, CRITICIZED PRESIDENT FORD FOR NOMINATING MEMBERS OF THE NIXON-FORD WHITE HOUSE STAFF TO CONSUMER POSTS. CARTER SAID HIS APPOINTMENTS TO MAJOR REGULATORY AND CONSUMER PROTECTION AGENCIES WOULD BE "THE KIND OF PERSONS WHO HAVE AS THEIR PRIMARY INTEREST CONSUMERS THEMSELVES."

CARTER TALKED TO REPORTERS IN HIS FRONT YARD SUNDAY AFTER CHURCH ABOUT ALLEGATIONS THAT HIS ORGANIZATION PAID CAMPAIGN FUNDS THAT WOUND UP IN THE POCKETS OF BLACK PREACHERS.

THE LOS ANGELES TIMES REPORTED THAT CARTER STAFFERS HAD PAID OUT \$5,000 IN STREET MONEY TO FOUR BLACK PREACHERS IN THE SAN FRANCISCO AREA BEFORE THE JUNE 8 CALIFORNIA PRIMARY.

THE TIMES ALSO SAID IT HAD DISCOVERED INSTANCES IN THE FINAL CALIFORNIA, OHIO AND NEW JERSEY PRIMARIES WHERE CARTER CAMPAIGN FUNDS WERE SPENT IN BLACK COMMUNITIES WITHOUT THE REQUIRED RECEIPTS.

CARTER SAID HIS CAMPAIGN HAD HELD RALLIES IN 15 TO 20 CHURCHES, ALMOST ALL IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY, AND HAD PAID SALARIES OF \$25 TO \$50 A WEEK, PLUS OTHER EXPENSES FOR HEATING, DISTRIBUTING LITERATURE AND CLEANUP.

"THAT'S A COMPLETELY LEGITIMATE THING," HE SAID.

"I DON'T HAVE ANY DOUBT," HE SAID, "THERE ARE THOSE WHO KEEP PART OF THAT MONEY, BOTH BLACK PEOPLE AND WHITE PEOPLE. THAT'S SOMETHING THAT'S ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO PREVENT."

CARTER SAID HE DID NOT BELIEVE ANY OF HIS STAFF KNEW IN ADVANCE THAT ANY MINISTER WOULD KEEP THE MONEY. HE SAID HE HAD ISSUED STRICT ORDERS THAT HE DID NOT APPROVE OF THAT KIND OF ACTIVITY, AND THAT HE HAS ASKED CAMPAIGN TREASURER ROBERT LIPSHUTZ TO SEE IF THERE WAS ANY EVIDENCE OF WRONGDOING BY HIS STAFF.

CARTER SAID THE DISCLOSURES HURT HIM FINANCIALLY BECAUSE HE CANNOT RECEIVE FEDERAL MATCHING FUNDS FOR UNSUBSTANTIATED EXPENDITURES. HE SAID THAT ONLY 4 TO 5 PER CENT, OR ABOUT \$150,000 OF HIS TOTAL SPENDING IN THE PRIMARIES, LACKED THE REQUIRED RECEIPTS.

CARTER SAID THE CHURCH IS "A CENTER OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN BLACK COMMUNITIES.

"THAT IS THE ORIGIN OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING'S INFLUENCE, WITHIN THE CHURCH STRUCTURE ITSELF. ALMOST BY DEFAULT, HISTORICALLY, WHEN BLACK PEOPLE WERE EXCLUDED TO PARTICIPATE IN WHITE PRIMARIES AND THE VOTING HABITS OF OUR SOUTHERN REGION, THEY'VE HAD TO TURN TO THE CHURCH FOR A CENTER FOR POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

"AMONG AGGRESSIVE AND ENLIGHTENED LEADERS OF THE PRESENT DAY, PARTICULARLY AMONG BLACK LEADERS, THEY'VE TRIED TO BREAK AWAY FROM THE OLD HABITS AND WE'VE TRIED TO COOPERATE WITH THEM AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE.

"BUT I'M SURE THERE ARE CASES WHERE THIS HAS HAPPENED."



d a czcvyxbyl

PM-Carter, 350

Wirephoto, PAX1

By LYNN OLSON

Associated Press Writer

PLAINS, Ga. A - Jimmy Carter says his campaign cannot provide documentation to say how it has spent about \$150,000.

He made the statement Sunday after the Los Angeles Times published a story in which Carter's national administrator, Paul Henmann, was quoted as saying the Carter campaign may have to return \$150,000 of the \$3 million in federal matching funds it has received because of financial reporting irregularities.

Carter also said he was not personally aware of an incident cited by the Times, in which an Oakland, Calif., minister claimed the Carter campaign had given a total of \$5,000 to four black ministers in the Oakland-San Francisco Bay area for their support of Carter.

But Carter said he believes some persons who had received campaign funds for legitimate purposes had occasionally pocketed the money.

"I don't have any doubts that somewhere in a massive campaign that's nationwide in scope, there are those who keep part of the money, both black and white people," Carter said. "That's something that's almost impossible to prevent."

"Obviously, it hurts me politically."

"We've tried to minimize this kind of campaign abuse in every way possible. All our leaders, both black and white, are thoroughly indoctrinated on the question of avoiding any source of abuse."

Carter said he has asked campaign treasurer Robert Lipshutz to investigate the allegations, and he promised he would release Lipschutz's findings to the press.

Today, Carter embarks on a week of speech-making, with a major consumer address in Washington to a group organized by Ralph Nader.

After his speech to the Public Citizens Forum, the Democratic presidential candidate was scheduled to spend most of the afternoon meeting with congressional leaders and freshmen congressmen. He returns to Plains tonight.

Nader traveled to Plains Saturday for a discussion of consumer issues with Carter. He said the consumer-related positions of the nominee were the best of any presidential candidate in recent decades. Carter said today's speech would largely consist of subjects which he and Nader discussed.

0752aED 08-09

Political Cash Sometimes Rocketed, Carter Admits

He Denies Knowing About Abuses, Confirms That \$150,000 in Campaign Funds Is Unaccounted for

BY KENNETH REICH

Times Political Writer

PLAINS, Ga.—Jimmy Carter said here Sunday that he had no doubt that "on occasion" black ministers and other persons paid by the Carter campaign to organize political rallies and distribute pamphlets had pocketed some of the money.

Commenting on a Los Angeles Times story Sunday that cited such possible occurrences in the San Francisco Bay Area, the Democratic presidential nominee said:

Robert Lipshutz, Carter campaign treasurer, said Sunday that the campaign had spent a little more than \$9 million in the primaries and received about \$3 million in federal matching funds.

Carter's press secretary, Jody Powell, said that a major effort was under way, with the accounting firm of Arthur Young & Co. retained to help in it, to reduce the amount of expenditures that were unaccounted

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Carter Campaign

Los Angeles Times (8/9/76)

There are always expenses to be taken care of. Also, quite often, money is allocated to black and white leaders not only for those purposes but to distribute literature, to pay people for it.

"I don't have any doubt that somewhere in a massive campaign, nationwide in scope, that there are others who keep part of the money, both black and white people, and that's something that is almost impossible to prevent.

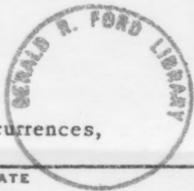
"We do suffer because of it, when there is money spent and when there's no substantiation afterwards on how it is spent, then we don't get matching funds for that purpose. . . . Sometimes the money's spent legitimately, but no records are kept and no forms filed with . . ."

ROUTING AND TRANSMITTAL SLIP		ACTION	
1 TO (Name, office symbol or location) Philip W. Buchen, Esq. Counsel to the President The White House	INITIALS	CIRCULATE	
	DATE	COORDINATION	
2 (Via Messenger)	INITIALS	FILE	
	DATE	INFORMATION	
3	INITIALS	NOTE AND RETURN	
	DATE	PER CONVERSATION	
4	INITIALS	SEE ME	
	DATE	SIGNATURE	

REMARKS

Forwarded herewith are memoranda prepared in the Criminal Division concerning 18 U.S.C. § 602.

9/2 copy sent. *Make copies for Barry & then return original to me.*



Do NOT use this form as a RECORD of approvals, concurrences, disapprovals, clearances, and similar actions.

FROM (Name, office symbol or location) Leon Ulman <i>LU</i>	DATE	9/1/76
	PHONE	

John C. Keeney
Chief, Fraud Section
Criminal Division

May 1, 1972
CCD:lmc

Craig C. Donsante
Attorney, Election Unit
Criminal Division

18 U.S.C. 602

The purpose of this memo is to review the legislative and case history of the above statute to ascertain whether it prohibits a candidate for Federal office from receiving a totally voluntary contribution from a person who is employed by the Federal Government which is sent to him personally rather than to his political committee. This review is necessitated by receipt of a letter from Congressman William Scott of Virginia in which Congressman Scott informed that he has personally received a letter from a lady living in Fairfax County in which she states that she would like to work for Senator Scott's campaign for the Senate but is precluded from doing so because she works for the Federal Government and that, therefore, she is enclosing a \$10 contribution to show how much she thinks of him.

18 U.S.C. 602 reads as follows:

"Whoever, being a Senator or Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, or a candidate for Congress, or an individual elected as, Senator, Representative, Delegate, or Resident Commissioner, or an officer or employee of the United States or any department or agency thereof, or a person receiving any salary or compensation for services from money derived of the Treasury of the United States, directly or indirectly solicits, receives, or is in any manner concerned in soliciting or receiving, any assessment, subscription, or contribution for any political purpose whatever, from any other such officer, employee, or person, shall be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned not more than three years or both."

A literal reading of this statute seems to indicate that it would in fact prohibit candidates for Federal office from receiving a totally voluntary contribution from a Federal employee, and at least one early District Court case seems to support this construction United States v. Curtis, 12 F. 824

(2d Cir. 1882). Although the Curtis case contains no precise statement of the facts involved, it does appear that the defendant moved to dismiss an indictment under a predecessor of Section 602 on the grounds that the statute was ultra viros the constitutionally granted powers of Congress. His argument in support of this contention was that under Article 1, Section 8 of the Constitution, Congress lacked the power to legislate into the private lives of citizens even though they be Federal employees, and that, therefore, this statute was overreaching since on its face it purported to prevent a candidate from receiving political contributions from Federal employees even though the contributions were made voluntarily. Addressing itself to this issue, the court held that Congress did have the power to enact this statute, and the court issued the following pronouncement on the power of Congress to prohibit voluntary contributions:

"It is insisted for the defendant that it is not within the Constitutional power of Congress to make the giving or requesting or receiving of a voluntary contribution for political purposes by subordinate Government officials a criminal offense. It will be observed, however, that the prohibition applies only when there is concerted action between between the officials in this behalf.--- We cannot affirm that Congress transcended its discretion in prohibiting transactions between officials which create the relation of donor and donee, and introduce party interests into the public service; nor that Congress erred in assuming that the influence springing from this relationship and these interests should be discouraged as liable to defect the independence and impartiality which must rule official intercourse..... If it is suggested that it is the right and duty of every good citizen to aid in promoting such political objects as he deems to be wise and beneficial, and that Congress has no Constitutional power to abridge that right, the answer is that no citizen is required to hold a public office...."

In short, what the court is saying here is that if Section 602 should be construed to apply to voluntary funds, Congress could constitutionally enact such legislation for the purpose of preventing the maintenance of an illicit relationship between donor and donee which would be detrimental to a politically independent civil service.

Be this as it may, it is my conclusion that it was the intention of Congress in enacting this statute that it apply only to prohibit the receipt of political contributions which had been obtained from Federal employees through the use of some form of coercion, and that in exercising prosecutive discretion in these matters we ought to read coercion into this statute as a necessary element of the offense.

This recommendation is predicated principally upon two factors: 1) the rather clear language in several cases decided after Curtis which indicate that the statute was intended by Congress to apply only to coerced contributions, and 2) the fact that every reported case litigated under this section appears to have involved fairly aggravated situations of coercing subordinate employees to contribute to political causes.

With respect to the first of these points, in the case of United States v. Wurzbach, 280 U. S. 296 (1929), the United States Supreme Court held that Section 602 was within the power of Congress to enact. In so doing the court strongly indicated that should be construed to apply only to the solicitation and receipt of coerced contributions:

"It hardly needs argument to show that Congress may provide that its officers and employees neither shall exercise nor should be subjected to pressure for money for political purposes, or by others of their kind while they retain their office of employment." supra at 398-399. Emphasis added.

Wurzbach is the only case that the Supreme Court has ever decided construing this section, and I submit that its use of the word "pressure" in that part of the decision dealing with the statute's purpose strongly indicates judicial recognition of the fact that some aspect of coercion is necessary before a case may be brought within the terms of the Statute. So also in the case of United States v. Burleson, 127 F. Supp. 400 (D. Tenn. 1954), a District Court stated in passing upon the sufficiency of an indictment under Section 602:

"Section 602 is part of more comprehensive legislation (the Civil Service Act of 1902). In reference to prior law on a portion of that legislation (18 U.S.C. 603), the Supreme Court has declared it as having for its purpose the checking of a political abuse.--- In every day language the abuse is called a shake down system --- Section 602 does not undertake to protect every citizen who works on a Government

construction job from the abuse of political squeeze. It does, however, intend to protect those who are employees or quasi employees of the Government and those in classes easily exposed to the abuse of coerced political contributions."

In the case of United States v. Riley, 74 F. Supp 210 (D.C. Ken. 1895), the court, in discussing the type of transaction which this statute reaches continually refers to the statute as prohibiting the solicitation or receipt of "assessments". The ordinary meaning of the term "assessments" is a contribution which is given as a matter of duty, and which the person making has no discretion to refuse. Finally, I think it is noteworthy that even in the case of United States v. Curtis the District Court for the Southern District of New York indicated in very precise language that the principal purpose of Congress in enacting what is now Section 602 was to prohibit the practice of extracting political contributions from Federal employees by the use of job pressure and moral coercion:

"We cannot profess to be ignorant that this law was enacted in order to interdict practices which had become a topic of extended animadversion. But, although it may have been aimed at the suppression of the practice which has prevailed among party organizations of soliciting contributions for party purposes from among their office holding members, or extracting them by moral coercion; and although its provisions may be well calculated to effect this object, it does not follow that it can be sustained as a legislative means to that end." 12 F. 833. 1/

As for the second consideration, it is noteworthy that every case ever decided under this Section where the facts are disclosed by the court involved the application of some coercive force in order to induce the Federal employee in question to part with his money.

In this regard, United States v. Riley, supra, and a related case arising out of the same facts, United States v. Scott, 74 F. Supp. 214 (D. Tenn. 1895), both involved a fund raising scheme in which supervisors in the Federal Revenue Service coerced political contributions to the Republican Party from their subordinates by threatening their jobs.

1/ As indicated previously, the court then went on to hold that the statute was not ultra vires the power of Congress even if it should be construed to prohibit the solicitation or receipt of voluntary contributions from Federal employees.

In Brehm v. United States, 196 F. 2d 769 (D. C. Cir. 1952), a United States Congressman was charged with receiving contributions from a clerk in his office to help finance his campaign for re-election. As described in the decision, the contributions amounted to nothing more than a kickback since the Congressman had made it a condition of his clerk's employment that she return to him a designated portion of her salary for political purposes. In United States v. Burleson, supra, a Government subcontractor was charged with soliciting contributions from his employees by threatening them with dismissal if they did not give.^{2/} United States v. Cason, 39 F. Supp. 730 (W.D. La 1940), involved the solicitation of subscriptions to a party newspaper by a commissioner of Labor from subordinate employees of the Labor Department.

As can be clearly seen, the above cases all involve some aspect of coercion, usually in the form of job pressure, by a superior employee upon a subordinate employee in order to induce the subordinate to contribute.^{3/}

Based on the above considerations, it is my opinion that Section 602 applies only to the solicitation or receipt of contributions where some form of coercion is applied to the Federal employee contributing or being asked to contribute.

Accordingly, in my opinion this Department should not recommend a case for prosecution under this Section where there is no indication that the contribution in question has been involuntarily given by the Federal employee through the application of some form of coercive pressure. Of course, whether such coercion is or is not present is a question of fact which must be determined on a case by case basis. However, I believe that it can be said with a degree of certainty that in the situation posited by Congressman Scott of the receipt of a contribution from a Federal employee who is in no way associated with the Congressman's office, and is not directly or indirectly subject to his supervisory control in her

^{2/} In this case the court eventually held that a Government subcontractor was not a person receiving a salary from the Treasury, and was thus not subject to the prohibitions of Section 602.

^{3/} The cases of U. S. v. Wurzbach, U.S. v. Curtis, cited elsewhere in this memo, contain no statement indicating what facts they arose from. These account for all of the cases reported under Section 602, 18 U.S.C.

Federal job, and which was accompanied by a statement from the contributing employee that the contribution was being made out of admiration for the Congressman's political record, is not a coerced contribution as would warrant prosecution of the donee under Section 602.4/

2

In conclusion, it is noted that Section 602 limits the persons to whom its prohibition applies to a certain class, namely those who hold Federal office, are candidates for Federal office or who receive their salaries from the Treasury. In this regard, this section does not reach the activities of members of a candidate's campaign committee who do not themselves belong to this class, and the requirement that the solicitation or receipt in question have been a "knowing" one^{5/} would seem to protect a candidate from being personally liable for any coercive activities of his campaign staff where he has isolated himself from their fund raising activities to a sufficient degree that knowledge of their activities can not be imputed to him. However, it must be emphasized that Section 602 expressly prohibits those persons within its scope from soliciting or receiving "indirectly"

4/ However, in view of the fact that the contribution was made to the candidate personally rather than to one of his campaign committees, it should be noted that this Federal employee, herself, would be subject to administrative job action by the Civil Service Commission for violation of a regulation which permits Federal employees to contribute to campaign committees but prohibits them from giving directly to candidates. In addition, the contributing employee may also be in violation of 18 U.S.C. 607 which, when read literally, purports to prohibit Federal employees from giving political contributions to incumbent congressmen either directly or indirectly. Section 607 is treated in a separate memo.

5/ See: Brehm v. United States, Supra; and United States v. Cason, Supra, holding that to fall within Section 607 a solicitation or receipt must have been effected with knowledge of the Federal employment status of the contributor. Where a solicitation or receipt is effected by a candidate "indirectly" through others, this would also appear to require that the candidate have had personal knowledge of the coercion being employed to generate the contributions.

as well as "directly; accordingly, where a candidate can be shown to have been personally aware that his campaign staff has been engaged in a scheme to shakedown Federal employees on his behalf the candidate cannot, in my view, escape liability under Section 602 merely by relying upon the fact that the "contributions" were delivered to members of his campaign committee rather than to himself. The receipt of coerced contributions by a candidate through non-Federally employed under such circumstances would clearly constitute an "indirect" receipt within the meaning of this Section.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Memorandum

TO : Election Policy File

DATE: June 2, 1972

FROM : Craig C. Donsanto
Attorney, Fraud Section
Criminal Division

CCD:mhh

SUBJECT: 18 U.S.C. 602 Ex Parte Curtis, 106 U.S. 371 (1882)

The case of Ex Parte Curtis lends further support to the theory advanced in my earlier memo on section 602 to the effect that that section applies only to the receipt by Federal employees or candidates for Federal office of contributions from other Federal employees where there is some evidence that the contributions in question had been coerced through the application of either direct or indirect pressure.

In this case, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of a predecessor to both sections 607 and 602 which in effect purported to prohibit the handling of political contributions between Federal employees. The Court noted that this statute was within the power of Congress to enact, relying on Congress' interest in maintaining the impartiality of the Federal civil service.

In reaching this conclusion, the Court seemed to take for granted that the statute was to be applied to prohibit the receipt of contributions only where there was evidence that some form of coercion had motivated the Federal employee to part with his money. In this respect, the Court said:

"A feeling of independence under the law conduces to faithful public service, and nothing tends more to take away this feeling than a dread of dismissal. If contributions from those in public employment may be solicited by others in official authority, it is easy to see that what begins as a request may end as a demand, and that failure to meet the demand may be treated by those having the power of removal as a breach of some supposed duty, growing out of the political relations of the parties.

Contributions secured under such circumstances will quite as likely be made to avoid the consequences of personal displeasure of a superior as to promote the political views of the contributor to avoid a discharge from the service, not to exercise a political privilege. The law contemplates no restrictions upon either giving or receiving, except so far as may be necessary to protect, in some degree, those in the public service against exactions through fear of person loss." *Supra* at 374.

Phil,

I seem to be an intermediary for speaker requests. I sent the request to Mr. Spencer so I assume you would have suggested if I had called. Ed Wilson is quite an influential person in Southern California. Among other things he is the youngest person to serve as President of the Tournament of Roses and Rose Bowl. He also serves with me on the Executive Committee of the Bank Marketing Association -- the source of my request last week.

Marty



OLD KENT BANK AND TRUST COMPANY

NUMBER ONE VANDENBERG CENTER

GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN 49502

MARTIN J. ALLEN, JR.
SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT
DIRECTOR OF MARKETING
616 • 451-5278

September 8, 1976

Mr. Stuart Spencer
President Ford Committee
1828 L Street, N.W.
Suite 250
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Spencer:

I am writing on behalf on my close friend and respected associate, Mr. Edward Wilson, Senior Vice President of United California Bank.

Attached you will find a copy of his letter to me concerning his request for President Ford to appear before the Hollywood Radio and Television Society in October. Details can be found in his letter. Mr. Wilson will gladly provide any further information that you might find necessary. His telephone number is (213) 614-4394.

I would appreciate it if you would communicate directly with Mr. Wilson at your earliest convenience on this matter.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

M. J. Allen, Jr.

Martin J. Allen, Jr.

enc.

cc: Philip W. Buchen ✓
Edward Wilson



Phil - I seem to be on intermediary for speaker requests. I sent the request to Mr. Spencer as I assume you would have suggested if I had called. Ed Wilson is quite an important person in Southern California among other things. He is the youngest person to have won the Rose Bowl. He also serves with me on the Executive Committee of the Tournament of Roses & Marketing Association of the Bank over a century of Banking Service. I'll get the source of my request last week.

Marty

UNITED CALIFORNIA BANK

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90017

EDWARD WILSON SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT
DIRECTOR OF MARKETING

August 31, 1976

Mr. Martin J. Allen, Jr.
Senior Vice President
Old Kent Bank & Trust Company
One Vandenberg Center
Grand Rapids, Michigan 49502

Dear Marty:

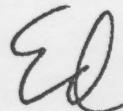
I am a member of the board of directors of the Hollywood Radio & Television Society, an organization that meets for a Newsmaker Luncheon each month at the Beverly Wilshire or Century Plaza Hotel. The Society's 500 members are top executives involved with broadcasting, broadcast advertising, program and commercial production, or allied fields. Since 1960, HRTS has sponsored the annual International Broadcasting Awards which honor the "world's best" radio and television commercials. Last year, the competition drew some 3,500 entries from 47 nations.

During the past season, our luncheon speakers included: Leonard Goldenson, chairman of the board of the American Broadcasting Companies, Inc.; FCC Chairman Richard Wiley; Arthur Taylor, president of CBS, Inc.; Kathleen Nolan, president of the Screen Actors Guild; Dinah Shore; Howard Cosell; Roone Arledge, and others. This season, the following speakers will be among those who will appear: Robert Wussler, president of CBS Television (September 20); the three network program chiefs (November 4); and NBC's Rose Bowl and Super Bowl sportscasters (January 5). We have held October open for the possibility of featuring a nationally prominent office seeker. Like most of the Society's board members, I would prefer to see President Ford use the occasion as a political platform rather than the Peanut King.

All of the foregoing is by way of asking if you might be able to contact a member of the President's staff to determine if President Ford could schedule an address to the Hollywood Radio & Television Society on any weekday in October? My one assurance is that the media coverage would be disproportionately larger than the audience in attendance.

Warm personal regards.

Cordially,



Date 10/13/76

FOR Phillips Buchen

FROM John Kwapisz PFC
OR

FOR APPROPRIATE HANDLING _____

FOR YOUR INFORMATION ✓

is very
concerned about
this

TO: Bob Teeter

10/12/76

FROM: John Kwapisz

RE: Media Campaign



Since we are moving into the final phase of the media effort, and since I have had numerous ideas regarding our ad plans, I thought I would offer some of them to you now. Charlie has also encouraged me to offer my suggestions.

Of course, the effort to convey the trustworthiness and the dependability of President Ford is an important part of the campaign. But people are unlikely to vote for him just because he is an honest, decent guy. We must press the attack on Carter, as we are beginning to do in the ads and elsewhere. Criticism should not only be leveled at his fuzziness and deception, but also about his poor record in Georgia (about which he deceives the voters) and his dangerous and irresponsible defense and foreign policy proposals.

At the same time we need to continue establishing the positive image of the President. Unfortunately, I am afraid that too much of our effort in this regard has used image to convey image, rather than using substance to achieve the same end. The American people are tired of vagueness and image-making; they would like to see some substance which demonstrates leadership, achievement, and trust. With respect to President Ford, that substance exists, but we seem frequently unwilling to utilize it, not just in ads, but elsewhere. Yet the facts are there to back him up on leadership and initiatives for America's future.

The President spoke about some of these initiatives in his Michigan speech, one of the few times, strangely, that I know of when they have been seriously mentioned, except for partially in the first debate. He talked about his proposals in the following areas: jobs; inflation; increasing home ownership; catastrophic health insurance; reform/consolidation of federal health programs (read: reorganization and cutting the federal bureaucracy--there is more of this which has not been publicized); reform in federal aid to education (again, consolidation and revenue sharing, which is doing something about the mess and waste in Washington); tax credits for tuition to private schools; anti-crime legislation; expanded national parks. Some of these issues are sexy; some are not. Most have been proposed to Congress, which has failed to act. Taken as a whole they form a rather nice program, and one that blunts some of Carter's appeal, particularly his frequent charge that Ford "has not taken the leadership in proposing a single program as far as I know to alleviate our problems." (Readers' Digest, Oct. 76) A nice ad could easily be done on this.

In general, I think there are several major areas that we need to hit with ads, including Ford-Carter comparisons. The major ones are: Inflation-the Economy, Taxes, Defense, and the Carter Record in Georgia. More on this later.

I also have what I think are some good ad lines and punch lines, which I will get to you soon.

Campaign

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Ask Barry
to prepare
memo for

me.

J.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 28, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: PHIL BUCHEN

FROM: JACK MARSH

It has been suggested that the President send the accompanying telegram to the individuals set out on the attached. This has been done in the past.

The question is who should pay for the same. I assume it would have to come out of the PFC.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 28, 1978

NK:

Text of suggested night letter from the President to:

1. 128 House Republican Incumbent candidates
2. 100 House key challenger candidates (as designated by Rep. Cong. Camp.Cmte)
3. 30 Senate candidates (incumbents & challengers)

"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/Senate Liaison Office. I will be receiving reports from them. With warm regards.

/s/ Gerald R. Ford

Query -- who pays?

VO


Republican
National
Committee.

October 28, 1976

To: Richard Cheney
Edward Schmults

From: *J.M.S.* James N. Juliana, Director, Ballot Security
J. Michael Farrell, PFC Liaison

Subject: ELECTION DAY CONTACTS

Pursuant to your request, we have prepared the following outline of the headquarters staff and contact points in the target states as follows:

James N. Juliana, Director, Ballot Security
Project Integrity - 1976
1828 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Toll free (800) 424-9811
or
(202) 457-6600 (10th floor switchboard PFC)
(202) 457-6400 (2nd floor switchboard PFC)

J. Michael Farrell, Volunteer Counsel
President Ford Committee
1828 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 457-6634

Robert P. Visser, General Counsel
President Ford Committee
1828 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 457-6424

T. Timothy Ryan, Asst. General Counsel
President Ford Committee
1828 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 457-6424



Legal Task Force

Frank H. Strickler)
Robert F. Sagle) Co-Chairmen

1828 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 457-6600 (10th Floor Switchboard)
(202) 457-6400 (2nd Floor Switchboard)

CRITICAL STATES

Arizona

Ronald W. Carmichael, Chairman, Ballot Security
40 East Thomas Street, Suite 100
Phoenix, Arizona 85012
(602) 248-8484

California

Dave Liggett
Executive Director, PFC
Century Plaza Hotel
Los Angeles, California
(213) 277-2000

Florida

Steve Reynolds, Chairman, Ballot Security
933 Frankland Road
Tampa, Florida
(813) 251-9315

Illinois

Roy Kullby, Chairman, Ballot Security
Travelodge Motel, Rooms 348-350
(312) 281-1451 or (312) 644-0370 or 0371

Indiana

Don A. Tabbert, Chairman, Ballot Security
Convention Center
Indianapolis, Indiana
(317) 632-7378 or (317) 632-8165

Kentucky

Lowell Reece, Executive Director, PFC
309 College Street
Somerset, Kentucky 42501
(502) 459-4670

Maryland

Herman Intemann, Executive Director, PFC
1623 Forest Drive
Annapolis, Maryland 21401
(301) 268-7470; (301) 224-7268; (301) 261-8250

Michigan

John Hathaway
Chairman, Ballot Security
(313) 662-4426
(313) 663-4897
(313) 994-4657

Missouri

Wayne Millsap
Danforth Senatorial Campaign Committee
President Ford Committee
7777 Bonhomme, Suite 23300
Clayton, Missouri 63105
(314) 726-6545

New Jersey

John Whaley, Director, Ballot Security
Essex County Republican Headquarters
622 Bloomfield Avenue
Bloomfield, New Jersey
(201) 429-7540 or (201) 429-7545

New Mexico

Jim Manatt
Executive Director, PFC
Hilton Inn
Albuquerque, New Mexico
(505) 243-8661

North Carolina

Ted Heydinger, Executive Director
Royal Villa Motor Hotel, Hospitality Suite
(919) 782-4433 or (919) 821-5021

Ohio

Charles E. Shanklin, Counsel
100 East Grand Street
Columbus, Ohio 43215
(513) 826-4121

Pennsylvania

J. Michael Willmann
Director, Ballot Security
PFC
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
(215) 546-8610 or (215) 546-8611

Texas

C. J. (Neil) Calnan, Chairman, Ballot Security
President Ford Headquarters
1011 Congress, Suite 520
Austin, Texas 78701
(512) 477-9821

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 4, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: PHIL BUCHEN
FROM: MAX FRIEDERSDORF *M.F.*
SUBJECT: Voter Irregularity

We just received a call from New Orleans. There is a front page story running in the NEW ORLEANS TIMES-PICAYUNE about the vote in Orleans Parrish, which cast 217,061 votes. There are only 216,000 registered voters in that parrish, and it is estimated that 65% of those registered voted, or approximately 140,000.

Orleans Parrish votes for electors, rather than candidates, and the totals were: 87,581 for Carter, 66,612 for Ford, for a total of 154,193, with the balance going to others.

The discrepancy between the number of votes cast, 217,061, and the estimated number of voters, 140,000, is approximately 77,000 which is about the vote by which the President lost the State of Louisiana.

cc: Jack Marsh
Dick Cheney
Ed Schmults



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 5, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JACK MARSH
DICK CHENEY
PHIL BUCHEN

FROM:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF *mb.*

SUBJECT:

Voting Irregularities

I have had a number of calls concerning vote fraud, etc.

I don't know how much of this is accurate, but I would feel remiss if I did not pass along the information.

One report from Roger Barth, a local attorney of repute (phone 833-2266) is that Governor Rhodes of Ohio called the President and offered to go to the mat in Ohio on a recount.

Barth said he had tried to call Visser at PFC, to no avail, and Barth said he would take a team of lawyers and fly them out on a moment's notice.

Barth said that a recount in New York would gain 100,000 to 150,000 votes and there are still 600,000 uncounted absentees which would be mostly Republican.

Barth said the New York, Ohio and Louisiana situations, and possibly Mississippi offer opportunities to reverse the election.

Barth believes the President does not have to get involved but local and PFC officials could contest these elections.

We shouldn't be scared off, Barth concluded, because of the divisive argument. Better a little divisiveness than four years of Carter.

cc: Ed Schmults

