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CAMPAIGN '76

*Campaign
176 File*
[Signature]

1. Image reasons
2. Other reasons
3. Media promotion of Reagan and others
4. Lyndon Johnson uncouth
5. Nixon -- Tricky Dick
6. Leadership demonstrated
 1. action and not motion
 2. the initiative
 3. legislative proposals
 4. executive actions
 - a. foreign affairs
 - b. intelligence
 - c. Domestic Council
 - d. other (survey this)
7. Democratic expressions of concern
 - a. public
 - b. private



Philadelphia -- Early 1789
Near Independence Hall
(in a small tavern)

General Washington: Gentlemen, I've called this meeting to discuss frankly the campaign. You know I didn't want to be President. When I accepted Chairmanship of the Constitutional Convention, I felt after it ended I could return to Mt. Vernon. Now I hear we're in trouble, let's have the bad news from my Advisor.

Advisor: General, we've got two problems. I know its hard for you to understand sir, but some of the former colonies, particularly in the South, are saying you're not strong on Defense. I know you were Commander-in-Chief during the War, but the opponents are saying except for Yorktown you didn't win any of the battles. And to show you how mean the campaign has become they are saying you lost Canada. That is the 14th Colony issue.

General Washington: But we won the war.

Advisor: General, I know we won the war, and the people



know we won the war, but you see, the British had more troops than we did, and they had four times as many guns. But in spite of that, you kept riding up and down the country saying we were number one and we could win. You see the people perceived the British were stronger. It's perceptions, Sir, that count in politics.

General Washington: H'mm, I see. I'm not sure I agree; but go on to the second issue.

Advisor: General, I hate to bring this up, but the people are saying you've spent too much time in Philadelphia. Being Chairman of the Constitutional Convention hasn't worked just like we thought. Let's face up to it, you were also a Member of the First Continental Congress.

General Washington: Gentlemen. He has hit on a real problem. There's an anti-Philadelphia mood in the country. I felt it as we tried to ratify the Constitution.



Advisor: General, if I could be so bold, the Philadelphia issue is much broader than you think. It touches a lot of people. It cuts a wide swath among your supporters. Jefferson is out because he wrote the Declaration and Madison we all know drafted the Constitution. Adams who's mentioned for Vice President is part of the Philadelphia crowd and you may have to drop him.

General Washington: The situation is bad. Why?

Advisor: They have just spent too much time in Philadelphia. The people want to throw the Philadelphia crowd out. It's bound to cost us Hamilton and Monroe sooner or later. Thank heavens Franklin lives here or he's be gone too. There's no doubt about it, General, serving in the Congress is a real liability for a man seeking to be President.

General Washington: Gentlemen, this is a dilemma. How do we ever explain to the country what we've been doing here in Philadelphia for the last 15 years?



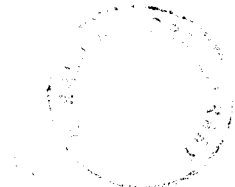
Jefferson: General, we can't explain it. We're all going to be tagged with the same stick. We can't shake the Philadelphia image, but I have a plan -- Let's move the Capitol.

Hamilton: By Jove, Tom, you've got it, but where do we put it?

Jefferson: Near Virginia, of course. But we will need a name.

Hamilton: Washington, Tom. What else?

Advisor: With a name like that, we're bound to win in November.



Philadelphia -
Early 1789
~~Con. Dir.~~
near

Gen. Washington;

~~Independence~~
Hare

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called this meeting to discuss
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~~is also a nasty little story that~~
~~you were Braddock's guide when he~~
~~was massacred~~ - and to show
you how mean the campaign has
become they are saying you lost
Canada. That's the 1st Colony
issue. ~~They're clobbering us with.~~

GW ~~4/88~~ ~~Large~~ - But we won the war

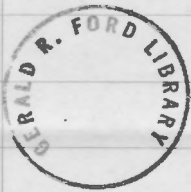


General, I know we won the war
and the people know ^{we won the war} it but you see
the British had more troops than we
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one and ~~our~~ ^{we} ~~could~~ ^{could}
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to satisfy the Constitution



Adviser ~~Gen~~

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have ^{just} spent too much time in
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G/W Gentlemen, this is a ~~real~~ ^{to the country} dilemma.
How do we ever explain what
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We can't explain it.

Jefferson General & others all going to be tagged
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shake the Philadelphia image, but
I have a plan. — Let's move
the Capitol.

Hamilton By Jove, Tom you've got it, but
where do we put it?

T/S Near Virginia, of course. But ^{we will} ~~what~~
~~shall we call it.~~ need a name.

Hamilton Washington, Tom, what else?

Mgr With a name like that we're
bound to win in Nov.



told Max's ofr. 3/17
4:51 all

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



Donna -

Call Max's office
& advise that I spoke
to TT about Buckley
and he wants ~~for~~
him.
to see

M
(Need ~~fill~~ for pen)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

M

March 13, 1975

Jack,

Unrelated to our conversation this morning, re: Senator Buckley, Bill Kendall advises me that he put in a proposal a week or so ago for the President to meet with Buckley ... no action has as yet been taken on that request. (Buckley says he wanted the President to hear firsthand the results of the Eastern Shore Conservative get together, rather than to read press reports) . . . golden opportunity?

Russ



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 14, 1975

Jack, Charlie Leppert called to request a luncheon meeting here at the White House sometime next week between you, Dick Obenshain (RNC Vice Chairman) and Don Baldwin. They called to check on the Ford--Conservative problem. They have already spoken with both Jack Calkins and Bob Hartmann on the same subject.

Charlie Leppert told them we would get back with them later today with a response.

Russ

OK



MAY 15 1975

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 5/15/75

TO: JOHN O. MARSH

FROM: Douglas P. Bennett **DPB**

For Your Information XX

Please Handle

Per Our Conversation

Other:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 14, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DONALD RUMSFELD
THRU: MAX L. FRIEDERSDORF
VERN LOEN *VL*
FROM: DOUGLAS P. BENNETT *DPB*
SUBJECT: Attachment

I have been informed that the informal check being taken on the Hill relative to the possibility of a Reagan-Wallace ticket in 1976 was conducted by a representative of the "Conservative Digest" magazine, located in Falls Church, Virginia.

Attachment



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 12, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN O. MARSH
MAX L. FRIEDERSDORF

THRU: VERN LOEN *VL*

FROM: DOUGLAS P. BENNETT *DPB*

SUBJECT: Reagan-Wallace Ticket

Joe Waggoner told me this afternoon that an informal check was being taken on the Hill as to what sort of support conservatives would have for a 1976 Reagan-Wallace ticket.

cc: Donald Rumsfeld
Robert Hartmann
John Calkins

by whom



MAY 13 1975

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WASHINGTON

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ma

Don
cc: Donald Rumsfeld
Robert Hartmann
John Calkins

Loel
Advised

M

MAILED

MAY 13 1975

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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cc: Donald Rumsfeld
Robert Hartmann
John Calkins

Keep Advised

M



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 19, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO: JACK MARSH

FROM: RUSS ROURKE

Jack, during my conversation with Chuck Grassley on the Mexico matter, he touched on the political situation in Iowa. The three problem areas that are constantly called to his attention either as a result of personal tours through the State or through his Congressional mail are as follows:

1. The farmers are still upset over past Administration blunders.
2. Unhappiness with Henry Kissinger. Grassley indicated that the cancellation of Kissinger's California trip and the possible "low profile" by Kissinger until at least after the primaries would be welcome news to Iowans.
3. "President Ford should come out strongly in favor of food stamp reform." (Grassley indicated that his mail continues to run heavily in support of such reform and he hates to see the initiative taken away from the President.)

Grassley added that the President "should continue to knock Congress at every opportunity and to run on his own superior record of performance."

cc: Max Friedersdorf
Charles Leppert, Jr.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 20, 1975

MEETING WITH TEN REPUBLICAN SENATORS WHO WILL
BE RUNNING FOR REELECTION IN 1976

Wednesday, May 21, 1975

10:00 a.m. (30 minutes)

The Cabinet Room

Through: Max L. Friedersdorf

From: William T. Kendall

I. PURPOSE

To discuss the upcoming campaigns of the Senators.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS PLAN

- A. Background: Several Senators who are running next year have expressed a desire to sit down with the President to discuss their problems in connection with next year's elections. These Senators have been meeting among themselves and their staff people meet also on a regular basis.

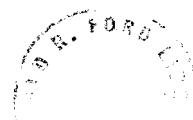
The Senators are anxious to talk to the President about plans for next year--both theirs and his.

These ten Senators represent a cross section of the political spectrum in their home States and could provide valuable information on back-home political situations as well as help in the future.

The Senators will be looking for ways the White House can pay some special attention to them. In this category are grant announcements, special projects in their home States, appointments and visits.

- B. Participants: See Tab A.

- C. Press Plan: David Hume Kennerly photo only.



III. TALKING POINTS

1. Senators, I am pleased that we are able to get together on an informal basis to talk about next year.
2. I wonder if we could go around the table and ask each of you to give us a brief capsule of your own State situation and your own prospects.
3. I am pleased that Senator Ted Stevens was able to be here. Ted, can you give us a short report on what the Senatorial Committee will be doing?
4. I have asked the Congressional Liaison staff to give you any special help you are in need of during this session and next. Our communication lines will be kept open to you and when you have a problem you think we can help with, call one of our fellows and tell him about it.



PARTICIPANTS

The President

SENATORS

J. Glenn Beall, Jr.
Bill Brock
Paul J. Fannin
William V. Roth, Jr.
Hugh Scott
Robert T. Stafford
Robert Taft, Jr.
Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.
James L. Buckley
Ted Stevens

STAFF

John Marsh
Robert Hartmann
Max Friedersdorf
John Calkins
William Kendall
Patrick O'Donnell



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Determined to be an administrative marking
Cancelled per E.O. 12350, Sec. 1.3 and
Archivist's memo of March 16, 1983

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

M

By DDO NARA date 12/3/85

June 11, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MAX L. FRIEDERSDORF

M. L.

SUBJECT: Senate Letter

Our Senate staff reports the following rundown on Republican Senators and the letter of support for the President:

SENATOR

Baker	Not approached because of status as a potential candidate.
Bartlett	Not approached yet. Waiting awhile.
Beall	Has signed.
Bellmon	Declined because of farm veto.
Brock	Not approached because of potential candidacy.
Brooke	Has signed.
Buckley	Declined to sign. Favors open convention.
Case	Has signed.
Curtis	Has Signed.
Dole	Has been asked to sign. Still considering.
Domenici	Has given oral support.
Fannin	Not approached yet.
Fong	Has signed.
Garn	Has signed.
Goldwater	Has given oral support.
Griffin	Has signed.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



Hansen	Not approached yet.
Hatfield	Has signed.
Helms	Declined to sign. Favors open convention.
Hruska	Not yet approached.
Javits	Has signed.
Laxalt	Gave oral support.
Mathias	Has signed.
McClure	Declined to sign. Favors open convention.
Packwood	Declined to sign. Will be delegate; must support primary winner; however, personally supports the President.
Pearson	Has signed.
Percy	Not approached because of status as potential candidate.
Roth	Has signed.
Schweiker	Gave oral support.
Scott (PA)	Has signed.
Scott (VA)	Not approached yet.
Stafford	Has signed.
Stevens	Has signed.
Taft	Has signed.
Thurmond	Not approached yet.
Tower	Has signed.
Weicker	Wanted to wait awhile.
Young	Has signed.

SUMMARY:

18 signed
4 oral support
3 potential candidates
3 favor "open" convention
1 "no" because of delegate status
1 "no" because of farm bill veto
2 "waiting" awhile
5 not yet approached



[July 1975?]

Draft Statement By The Press Secretary

The President has asked Secretary of the Army Bo Callaway to become the Chairman of his Re-Election Campaign. Secretary Callaway has agreed, and will be submitting his resignation as Secretary of the Army in the near future. He will take over his responsibilities as Campaign Chairman within the next three weeks.

By Friday of this week, the President will authorize the establishment of a Campaign Committee in accordance with Federal laws. The reason for establishing the Committee at this time is to make certain that the re-election effort is conducted in a manner fully consistent with the requirements of the Campaign Reform Act of 1974. In addition, forming the Committee now will make it possible to begin work leading up to the formal announcement by the President of his candidacy sometime in the next few weeks.

The first filing of the report will list Dean Burch as Chairman of the Campaign Committee. This is a temporary arrangement because Secretary Callaway cannot formally take responsibility until such time as his resignation from the Army is effective. Thus, at that



point when Secretary Callaway takes over in early July, there will be an amended filing with the Federal Election Commission which will list Mr. Callaway as Chairman of the Campaign. Mr. Burch has agreed to continue to serve as Chairman of the Advisory Committee.

In addition, Dave Packard of California has agreed to serve as National Finance Chairman for the campaign, and Charles Chamberlain, former Republican Congressman from Michigan, has agreed to serve as Treasurer.

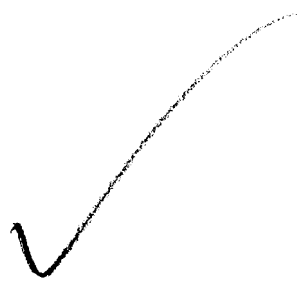


JUL 14 1975

The President Ford Committee

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

1200 Eighteenth Street, N.W.
Suite 916
Washington, D. C. 20036
(202) 833-8920



July 9, 1975

Mr. John O. Marsh, Jr.
Counsellor to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jack:

Thanks for your congratulatory note upon the occasion
of my recent appointment.

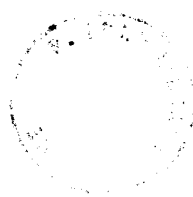
Your help in bringing this campaign to victory in
November '76 is both desirable and necessary. I
look forward to having you with me in the months
ahead.

With warm personal regards.

Sincerely,

BO CALLAWAY
Chairman

*Jack - Sorry it took so
long to officially acknowledge -
you know how much I appreciate
your friendship and support.*



JUL 17 1975

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 16, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: JACK MARSH
THROUGH: MAX FRIEDERSDORF *M.F.*
FROM: BOB WOLTHUIS *RKW*
SUBJECT: Conservative Caucus

I had one of my outside contacts run this down and as I suspected, the conservative caucus is the group being put together by Joe Coors of the beer family. The head of the operation here in Washington is Paul Wyrick who used to work for Gordon Allott. As mentioned in the press account Richard Viguerie is doing the fund raising.

File



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 10, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM: JACK MARSH 

Do you suppose your people can quietly pick up some information on the attached?

Many thanks.



Election '76: News

N-6

Conservative Caucus, Inc., Organizing in 34 States

By David Nyhan

(Excerpted from the Boston Globe)

A new right wing group, attempting to organize at the congressional district level all over the country, has raised \$500,000 in its first six months from 40,000 claimed members.

Running on money siphoned in by the powerful direct-mail apparatus of Richard A. Viguerie, a group called Conservative Caucus, Inc., has already appointed "coordinators" in 34 of the 50 states, including four in New England.

The caucus is turning to the hinterlands in an attempt to counter what it sees as the liberal trend in Washington.

--(7/6/75)



*crossed
Pinter (backup)*

July 17, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: BO CALLAWAY
FROM: RUSS ROURKE
SUBJECT: Rabbi Leib Pinter

You should know, with reference to Rabbi Pinter, that he has contacted us on a number of occasions with requests for White House assistance in connection with a wide variety of "constituent type problems" in the New York City area. Jack Marsh agrees with me that Rabbi Pinter plans to continue his liaison with the White House.

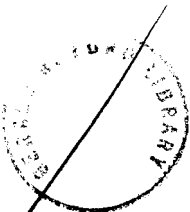
FYI, he is a respected leader in the Jewish community.

RAR/dl



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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



Jack -

Hiles sent the
attached - Typical of
editorials being
pumped out by hoax;
Hiles believes they
will have extremely
crucial cumulative
effect. I agree -
R.

To Russ
from: Hiler

Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty

II Corinthians 3:17

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Tuesday, October 14, 1975

17

..Declare his glory among the heathen, his wonders among all peoples. Psalm 96:3.

~~~~~

see: Diehl

November 12, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO:

BO CALLAWAY

FROM:

JACK MARSH

Bo, the attached is forwarded for your information. If you have a need for the services of an individual with Bill Diehl's background, I hope you will give him appropriate consideration.

Many thanks.

JOM:RAR:cb



gom - FYI

HOUSTON CHRONICLE  
Page 10, Section 1

Thursday, November 20, 1975

★★★

Goldwater Backs  
Bush for V-P

Cleveland (UPI) - CIA

106

\*\*\*\*\*U N C L A S S I F I E D\*\*\*\*\*S COPY

*m/c Cleveland*

OP IMMED  
DE WTE #7038 3371515  
O 031510Z DEC 75  
FM JACK MARSH

TO DICK CHENEY

UNCLAS WH52375

DECEMBER 2, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK CHENEY

FROM: MAX FRIEDERSDORF

SUBJECT: NEW HAMPSHIRE

THE PRESIDENT'S CAMPAIGN MANAGER IN NEW HAMPSHIRE, CONGRESSMAN JIM CLEVELAND, CONTACTED ME WITH TWO URGENT REQUESTS:

1. CLEVELAND FEELS IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT THE SEABROOK NUCLEAR PLANT BE APPROVED FOR THE NEW HAMPSHIRE SEACOAST AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. (I HAVE CHECKED THE STATUS OF THIS PROJECT WITH JIM CANNON AND HE REPORTS THAT NEPA REGULATIONS HAVE THE PROJECT TIED UP IN LITIGATION. JIM IS TRYING TO EXPEDITE A DECISION BUT ESTIMATES IT MAY TAKE AT LEAST SIX MONTH WHICH, OF COURSE, WOULD PUT US WAY BEYOND THE TARGET DATE.)

2. A DECISION AS SOON AS POSSIBLE ON WHETHER THE PRESIDENT CAN ACCEPT A MAJOR SPEECH INVITATION TO ADDRESS THE NEW HAMPSHIRE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AT NASHUA PRIOR TO THE PRIMARY ON FEBRUARY 24.

THIS DECISION HAS BEEN IN A HOLDING PATTERN, ACCORDING TO CLEVELAND, FOR SIX WEEKS NOW AND CLEVELAND FEELS CERTAIN THAT IF THE PRESIDENT TURNS IT DOWN REGAN WILL ACCEPT.

CLEVELAND STRONGLY RECOMMENDS THAT THIS INVITATION BE ACCEPTED IF AT ALL POSSIBLE.

0218



PSN:337398 RECALLED PAGE 01 OF 01 TOR:337/15:15Z DTG:031510Z DEC 75

\*\*\*\*\*U N C L A S S I F I E D\*\*\*\*\*S COPY

N-2

Sunday which showed Humphrey as the first choice of 30% of rank and file Democrats. Alabama Gov. George Wallace placed second among 622 Democrats interviewed with 20% support. -- (12/14/75) UPI

Ill. Ford Backers Gird To Halt Reagan  
(Harry Kelly, Chicago Tribune)

Illinois Republicans are trying to recruit an "all-star" slate of delegates for President Ford -- including as many congressmen as possible -- in an effort to overwhelm native son Ronald Reagan's challenge in the state primary.

At the heart of the special effort is a belief that the primary will have a major impact nationally, and a fear that the former California governor could develop an unstoppable momentum with a victory in Illinois. Two of the state's top GOP congressmen -- Rep. Edward Derwinski and Rep. Thomas Railsback, both Ford supporters -- had not intended to run as delegates. But they are reconsidering now at the request of former Gov. Richard Ogilvie, who heads the Ford committee in Illinois, and Rep. Robert Michel, the house GOP whip. "I think they believe we would have a stronger name identification on the ballot," Railsback said. But some, such as Rep. Robert McClory, said they would rather not get involved in a factional fight, though McClory says he favors Ford.

The concern with the Illinois primary and with Ford's