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THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

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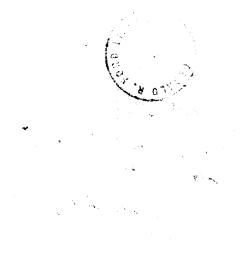
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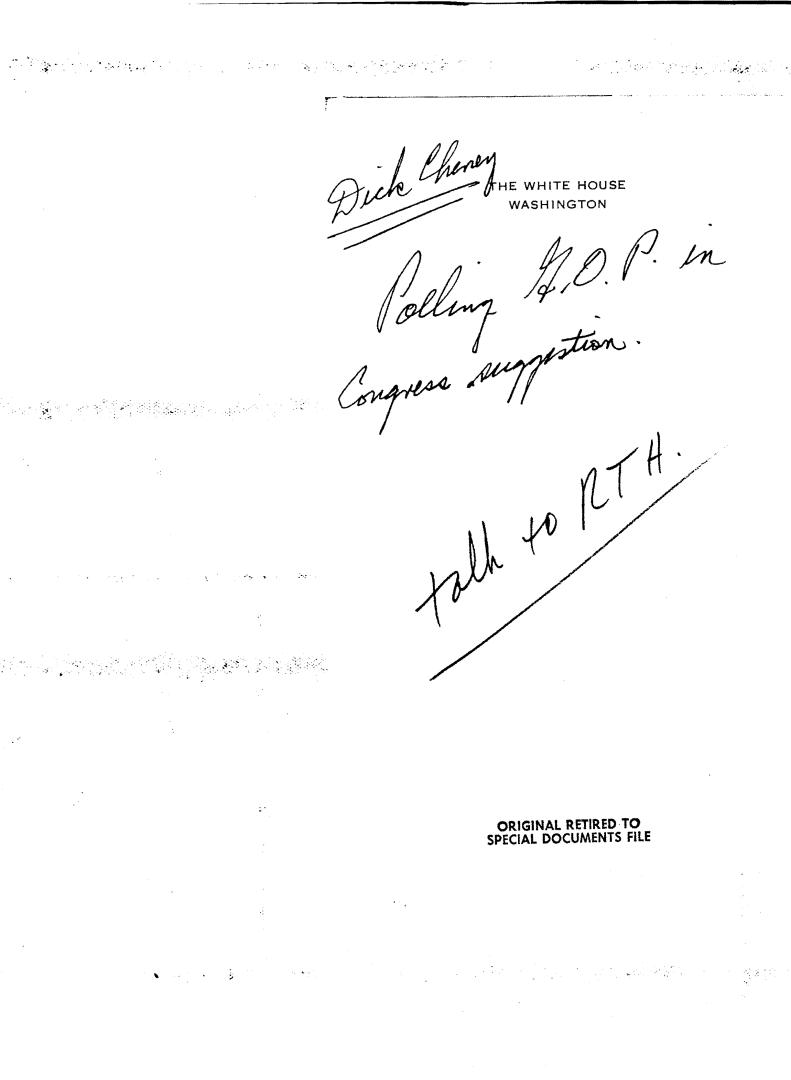
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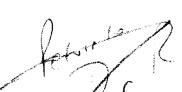
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ORIGINAL RETIRED TO SPECIAL DOCUMENTS FILE







WASHINGTON

January 14, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JAMES CONNOR

J. ROBINSON WES

FROM:

SUBJECT:

Meeting with David K. Wilson, January 13, 1975

Mr. Wilson, who for the last two years has served as Chairman of the Republican National Finance Committee and has been on the Committee for several years before that, is deeply concerned about the situation affecting the Republican National Committee. He feels that management of the Committee is incompetent and that there is not direction or sense of purpose. He feels that the situation is critical if we are going to get going and use the RNC for the campaign in 1976.

1. <u>Personnel</u>. Wilson made the point that the Chairman and senior staff of the Republican National Committee, although well intentioned, are simply not experienced or particularly competent political operatives. There must be appointed soon a Republican National Committee Chairman who understands elections, who has the confidence of the President, who can deal with State party people, and finally, who can articulate and be something of a symbol and rallying point to the party. Mrs. Smith, nice lady that she is, clearly does not meet that criteria. The staff under her is likewise substandard.

2. <u>Programs</u>. The programs which Mrs. Smith has under preparation are, according to Wilson, totally unrealistic. A media campaign is simply not feasible unless it is done on a massive scale far beyond any possible resources which could be mustered. He felt that the emphasis has got to be on field organization and candidate recruitment along the lines of recovery made in the period of '64 to '66.

3. Finances. The Finance Committee has about \$600 thousand in cash on hand as well as the \$150 thousand in prepaid items. However, money is not going to be raised easily. Substantial contributors will not give in '75, although Wilson feels that they will be back in the fold by '76. The emphasis must be on reaching vast numbers of small contributors. Apparently, one of the proposals in the offing is for the creation of a President's Club, whereby fat cats give money to the RNC in order to join a special group with access to the President. A concept such as this clearly shows a complete lack of sensitivity to current political atmosphere as well as the recent unpleasantness.

4. <u>Campaign '76</u>. The RNC is totally ill equiped to be the staff support for the '76 campaign. Time is shrinking fast. A movement must be made.

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JILÉ

POST

9 DEC 1974

Mailgram

HONORABLE GERALD FORD PRESIDENT WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC 20500

AS YOU KNOW I OPENLY EXPRESSED KEEN CONCERNABBUT THE ADVERT CAMPAIGN (PROPOSED) TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF STHE REPUBLICAN) NATIONAL COMMITTEE IN WASHINGTON ON FRIDAY DECEMBER 6, REGRETAULLY I BUBBEQUENTLY AGREED TO GO ALONG AFTER BEEFINGOON IT, HOWEVER, I WISH TO NOTIFY YOU "IMMEDIATELY "THAT"I CANNOT SIVE IT SHY SUPPORT.

western union

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY S SIMAGE PROBLEM (CANNOT BERBOUVED) WE MUST BECOME GENUINELY MORE INCLUSIVE, DEMONSTRATE OREATE RCOMPASSED AND AVOID DOCTRINAL HAIR SPLITTING, THE NATION UNGENTLY NEEDS OUR LEADERSHIP, BUT, ONETHE HEELS OF HISTORICHDEFEAT; FTHE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MET TO CONDUCT BUSINESS AS USUAL.

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COPIES TO HONORABLE GERALD FORD PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF REPUBLICAN (NATIONAL) COMMITTEE

SINCERELY

DR WILLIAM S BANOWSKY<REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE MAN/PROM ALIPORNIA (#24255) PACIFIC (COASY (HWY (MALIBU)(CALIPORNIA (#0265)

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MGMWSHT HSS

November 19, 1976

DICK CHENEY



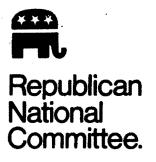
# MEMORANDUM FOR:

I JIM FIELD

FROM:

Attached is a suggested letter to be sent from the President to contributors of the Republican National Committee per their request. Dave Gergen has redrafted their letter, and I have checked it through with Ed Schmults to make sure there is no problem. As I understand it, the RNC will pay for the cost of the letter and the stationery. If you approve the letter, Kathie will get it up to Bucky Byers at the RNC.

WT W/ 120/76



Finance Chairman Jeremiah Milbank

November 19, 1976

MEMORANDUM

T0:

FROM:

DICK CHENEY BUCK BYERS

SUBJECT: CHRISTMAS LETTER

Attached is the suggested thank you letter about which we talked. What we would like to do is send it out on White House stationery to all our 1976 contributors (approximately 375,000 people).

We would time the mailing so that it arrived sometime during the Christmas holiday. We feel our contributors have been very loyal to the Committee and that this letter would be a nice gesture as well as an investment in the future of the Party.

If you have any questions, please call me at 484-6730. Thank you for all your help.

Juin Field - tapped fast Juin Juick Staffed fast Juin Juick Staffed for



# WASHINGTON

December 17, 1976

Dear Mr. Jones:

In this Holiday Season, it's a special pleasure and privilege for me to thank you particularly for your generous support of the Republican National Committee, especially in this past national election year.

You gave of your heart and resources to try to strengthen the fundamental principles of government which we join in supporting, and I am deeply honored to have been the leader of this great cause.

Tomorrow will bring new leadership with new challenges and opportunities, but our country and our party must still depend upon the American vision of individual worth, individual freedom and individual responsibility.

Our two party system of government and the Republican National Committee, as the major entity of our own party's structure, must be strong to insure the survival of these values.

Betty, Michael, Jack, Steve and Susan join me in saying thank you and wishing you a joyous Holiday Season and a truly Happy New Year.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Mr. Tom Jones 100 Main Street Washington, D.C. 200003 (D.Gergen - 11/19/76)

Dear :

During the holiday season, it seems particularly appropriate to thank you for your warm and generous support of the Republican National Committee.

One of the highest honors of my life was to serve as the standard bearer of our party during the 1976 Presidential campaign. It is a great party that believes in great principles -- and its continued strength and vitality rests very much upon leaders like you who have been willing to place your heart and your resources in its service.

In coming weeks, new leadership will come to Washington. I know that all of us wish them well and will give them full, patriotic support. Yet at the same time we will retain our belief in individual freedom, individual worth and individual responsibility. Toward that end, I believe that we must remain united in seeking a strong two party system in which the Republican National Committee continues to serve as the fulcrum of our own party's structure.

Once again, let me thank you for your generous support during the past year. Betty and the other members of the Ford family join me in saying thank you and wishing you a joyous Holiday Season as well as a truly Happy New Year.

With warmest regards,

# Sincerely

No government funds have been used for this mailing.

## WASHINGTON

November 19, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JIM FIELD ED SCHMULT

FROM:

The text of the letter looks fine with the exception of the first two lines of the second paragraph which I would change to read:

"You gave of your heart and resources to advance the Republican principles of government which we join in"

I have no problems with the use of White House stationery as long as the PFC and RNC pays for the stationery and the mailing expense. In this connection, I believe a legend should be included to make this clear, e.g., "Not paid at taxpayer expense", or "No government funds have been used for this mailing."

WASHINGTON

November 19, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

ED SCHMULTS

FROM:

I would appreciate you taking a look at the attached text of the suggested letter from the President to contributors of the RNC. Can the letter go on White House stationery if the PFC or the RNC purchase it? Do you have any objections to the text?

I need answers to the above so I can get this project to move ahead by the close of business today. Republican National Committee.

Finance Chairman Jeremiah Milbank

November 11, 1976

Mr. Bill Baroody The White House Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Bill:

Attached is the suggested thank you letter Buck Byers talked to you about. What we would like to do is send out a personalized thank you on White House stationery to all our 1976 contributors (approximately 375,000 people).

We would time the mailing so that it arrived sometime during the Christmas holiday. We feel our contributors have been very loyal to the Committee and that this letter would be a nice gesture as well as an investment in the future of the Party.

If you have any questions, please contact Buck Byers at the Committee, 484-6730. Thank you for all your help.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Jeremiah Milbank

WASHINGTON -

# December 17, 1976

Dear Mr. Jones:

In this Holiday Season, it's a special pleasure and privilege for me to thank you particularly for your generous support of the Republican National Committee, especially in this past national election year.

You gave of your heart and resources to try to strengthen the fundamental principles of government which we join in supporting, and i am weeply nonored to have been the leader of this great cause.

Tomorrow will bring new, leadership with new challenges and opportunities, but our country and our party must still. cepend upon the American vision of individual worth, individual freedom and individual responsibility.

Our two party system of government and the Republican Hational Committee, as the major entity of our own party's structure, must be strong to insure the survival of these values.

Betty, Michael, Jack, Steve and Susan join me in saying thank you and wishing you a joyous Holiday Season and a truly Happy New Year.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Nr. Tom Jones 100 Main Streat Washington, D.C. 20003

RBC HAS SEEN

### Hovember 19, 1976

Dear Larry:

The Fresident has asked me to thank you for your Hovember 15 latter presenting your recommendations with respect to the future of the Republican Party.

He appreciates having your views and has asked me to assure you that they will be carefully studied.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Nax L. Friedersdorf Assistant to the President

The Monorable Larry Winn, Jr. Mouse of Representatives Mashington, D.C. 20515

Doe: with incoming to Dick Cheney for appropriate handling

MLF: JEB: VO:kt

Dick- want to do Do you want to do? Anything with this?

PR. FOA

LARRY WINN, Jr. Member of Congress THIRD DISTRICT OF KANSAS WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515



To: President Ford

From: Meredith Masoner, Press Assistant

Date: November 15, 1976

Re: Enclosed letter

Congressman Winn will be making an announcement of this proposal in a speech to be delivered on Friday, November 19. Should you have any press inquiries, he would very much appreciate your withholding comment until that time.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Meredithoner

2430 Rayburn H.O.B. (202) 225-2865

LARRY WINN, JR. KANSAS

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ME

COMMITTEES: SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

SUBCOMMITTEES: SPACE SCIENCE AND APPLICATIONS ENERGY RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND DEMONSTRATION ENVIRONMENT AND THE ATMOSPHERE

FOREIGN AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEES: INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS INVESTIGATIONS

# Congress of the United States

# House of Representatives

WHashington, D.C. 20515 November 15, 1976 STAMP MAIL

WASHINGTON OFFICE ROOM 2430 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING CODE 202-225-2865

DISTRICT OFFICE: RICHARD L. BOND ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT 204 FEDERAL BUILDING KANSAS CITY, KANSAS 66101 TELEPHONE: MAYFAR 1-0832

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford President The White House 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

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Since the election, many of my constituents have questioned me about the future of the Republican Party in this country. As a Party leader, you no doubt have had many similar queries.

Despite what our critics may say, I do not think the Republican Party is "dead." I do, however, acknowledge that we have some serious problems, and that unless we begin to confront the realities brought about by the election, we may well find our future limited.

Party restoration is not an easy task. Nevertheless, I believe we can take a very positive step in reuniting and rebuilding our Party, and that is why I am contacting you. I believe this restoration can be accomplished, or at least a good start can be made, by holding a Mini-Convention, similar to the one held by the Democrats.

I propose that such a meeting be held in Kansas City sometime during 1977, well in advance of the 1978 congressional and gubernatorial elections. I propose that invitations be issued not only to Republican regulars, but also to other leaders who align themselves with the various conservative and independent groups.

Certainly, our foremost goal is to broaden the base of our Party. While we attempt to do this, we need to address our image problem, as well. No matter how hard we have tried in the past few years, we have not had enough success in attracting many new faces. We have not successfully broadened our appeal to the vast The Honorable Gerald R. Ford November 15, 1976 Page 2

majority of those who comprise the middle class. These are the people, young and old, who work hard for a living and then see their wages eaten up by high taxes, high interest rates, and inflation. These are the people we must convince that the Republican Party is the Party for them.

Mr. President, I hope that when the National Committee meets again, a Mini-Convention will be one of the proposals under consideration. It may well be the tonic that will restore our Party, and more importantly, will strengthen the viability of the two-party system in this country.

Most sincerely,

arr

Larry Winn, Jr. Member of ongress

LW:mam

# WASHINGTON

January 10, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK CHENEY

FROM:

JACK APAR

I bring to your attention again the incoming from Governor Bowen.

Do you have any suggestions on how this should be handled?

Many thanks.

Attachment

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### WASHINGTON

December 27, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

FROM:

DICK CHENEY JACK MARSH

Please note the incoming letter from Governor Bowen recommending a candidate for Chairman of the Republican National Committee.

What type of standard responses go out on this kind of correspondence and who should handle it?

Many thanks.

Ν.

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# Otis R. Bowen, M.D.

Governor of Indiana

December 16, 1976

Honorable Gerald R. Ford President of the United States White House Office 1600 Pennsylvania Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Jerry:

Wellow work and

Republicans have just completed a tough, exciting national campaign. We nearly pulled it off. The fact that we came so close to victory is a tribute to the planning, organization and efforts of President Ford, Senator Dole, National Chairman Mary Louise Smith and Republican leaders and workers at every level.

Now, Mrs. Smith has resigned. Her decision to do so is one all of us respect, but must regret because of her unselfish service to our party. The process of selecting her successor, already informally begun, culminates January 14 and 15 when the Republican National Committee meets in Washington.

I believe our party can find no better leader for the future than Thomas S. Milligan of Richmond, Indiana, the Republican chairman in my state.

I have known Tom many years, both as a friend and as an ally in many political campaigns. He is young, dynamic, personally unselfish and possessed of a sense of duty and vision about the role and responsibilities of the Republican Party in our American system of governance.

As Indiana chairman, he has been innovative, determined, practical and dedicated. He is not afraid of positive change. In fact, he welcomes it and does not shy away from thorny problems. He has the vision necessary to balance short-range objectives, such as winning elections, with long-range goals involving party development. He sees the party mechanism as a continuum of the electoral process, feeling that once having recruited and elected outstanding candidates the party must help its elected officeholders recruit top-quality personnel to solve governmental problems.

Among Indiana newsmen, Tom has a rare reputation for candor and honesty. He is an articulate spokesman for the party, both in terms of its policy positions and for its candidates. He is as comfortable in front of a battery of TV cameras or on a speaker's platform as he is working the aisles of a state or national convention.

Tom also stresses party development. The party has been placed on a solid financial base through programs which grossed more than \$5.75 million in slightly under four years. As a full-time chairman, Tom directs a permanent, professional staff of 20 to 25 persons which expands to 70 to 75 persons in campaign periods. Key staff members are professionally qualified in their areas of expertise and are experienced in campaign management and party development. In election years, this permanent staff becomes a valuable coordinative group with the capacity to keep campaigns glued together.

PRINTED AND MAILED AT BOWEN 76 COMMITTEE EXPENSE

(MORE)

Page 2 December 16, 1976

In both election and non-election years, the staff is heavily involved in party training programs, candidate seminars and other developmental activities--down to and including precinct workers.

The real test of all party activity is the ability to win elections. Under Tom's leadership, the Indiana GOP has a success story to tell.

In 1975, Republicans wrested mayors' chairs from Democrats in five of the Hoosier State's large to medium-sized cities and held the mayorship of the state's largest city, Indianapolis. As a result, Republicans now govern three of the state's five largest cities.

In 1976, Republicans won every statewide office. Former Indianapolis Mayor Richard G. Lugar was elected as U.S. Senator by a 407,311-vote plurality, largest ever by a statewide candidate, Republican or Democrat. Running as a team, Lieutenant Governor Robert D. Orr and I were re-elected by a 309,342-vote plurality, a figure which exceeded the record 303,000-vote plurality by which we won in 1972. The state gave President Ford a 171,000-vote plurality, second only to the President's home state of Michigan. We were one of the few states to pick up a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. We regained control of the Indiana House and won 14 of 25 contested seats in the Indiana Senate.

These are only highlights of what has been accomplished by Indiana Republicans while Tom has been state chairman. A fact sheet and other materials enclosed with this letter provide more detail.

A large share of the credit for what has been accomplished in Indiana belongs to Tom Milligan, who brought vision, dedication and professionalism to the challenge of serving as chairman. I believe he can do the same kind of job for the party nationally in the crucial period before the off-year 1978 Congressional elections and again prior to 1980. He has proven he can perform.

I recommend Tom Milligan as the next Republican National Chairman. I ask you, as a party leader, to examine his qualifications and record. I am confident that once you have done so you will feel as I do about Tom and, for the good of our party, will urge members of the Republican National Committee from your state and region to vote for him at the mid-January RNC meeting.

Kindest personal regards,

OTIS R. BOWEN, M.D. Governor of Indiana Thomas S. Milligan has been chairman of the Indiana Republican State Committee since Feb. 14, 1973.

During his tenure, the Indiana Republican Party has become one of the most soundly-financed state political party organizations in the nation. The Hoosier Republican Party leads state party organizations in precinct organization and grassroots training programs. Since becoming state chairman, Milligan has recruited an aggressive, highly-qualified headquarters staff and placed party administration and support on a business-like basis.

In the 1975 Indiana municipal elections, Republicans elected mayors in five second-class (medium to large size) cities previously held by Democrats, in addition to keeping the state's largest city, Indianapolis, in Republican hands. With this election, three of the state's five largest cities now have Republican mayors.

This year, Indiana Republican elected a new United States senator, Richard G. Lugar, by a record plurality for any Indiana statewide election. Indiana also reelected its governor and lieutenant governor by a record margin for those offices, gained a new Republican congressman and became the first state in the nation to give its 13 electoral votes for President Ford. The President's margin in Indiana exceeded 170,000 votes.

As the Indiana GOP chairman, Milligan also serves as a member of the Republican National Committee and has served on the executive committee of the national party organization.

Born Oct. 12, 1934, Milligan graduated from Richmond (Ind.) High School in 1952. Following his graduation from Purdue University, where he majored in government and minored in philosophy, he received his L.L.B. from Yale Law School in 1959.

After graduation, Milligan entered private practice in Richmond. In 1963, he became a partner in the Richmond firm of Reller, Mendenhall, Kleinknecht & Milligan.

In 1958, he married the former Claire Ann Coble of Richmond. They and their three children reside on an 85-acre farm in Boston Township, Wayne County.

The GOP state chairman is a member of the Wayne County, Indiana and American Bar Associations. He is former treasurer and director of the Townsend Community Center Board and former chairman of the Wayne County Red Cross.

He is a former trustee and church school superintendent of Central United Methodist Church. Milligan was the founder of the Kiwanis Camp for mentally retarded children at Hagerstown, Indiana. He is a past president of the Richmond Noon Kiwanis Club, and past chairman and treasurer of the Yokefellow Institute Board of Directors.

The Richmond Jaycees named him "Outstanding Young Man" of 1965. In 1972, he received the "Outstanding Alumni" award from the Wayne County 4-H Clubs. In 1975, he was among a group of the national young political leaders selected by the State Department to tour the Soviet Union.

Milligan has been active in politics for the past 16 years, beginning as a precinct committeeman in 1960. He was elected Wayne County Republican chairman in May, 1972.

### INDIANA REPUBLICAN PARTY FACT SHEET

(A summary of accomplishments of the Indiana Republican Party since February, 1973, when Thomas S. Milligan of Richmond, Indiana, was elected as state party chairman.)

## ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

In each campaign since Milligan took office, the Indiana Republican State Committee has selectively provided direct financial assistance and/or in-kind services to candidates.

--<u>Congressional</u>: Polling assistance, campaign coordination and counseling, and direct cash contributions were provided to most candidates in 1976. This program was an extension of a 1974 program in which all candidates received \$2,500 cash and the assistance of a full-time State Committee-paid staff person hired to coordinate campaigns.

--Legislative: In both 1974 and 1976, the Republican State Committee provided services including development of radio and newspaper advertisements, individual campaign planning and counseling, scheduling coordination, and printing. In 1976, direct financial aid was given to candidates in key districts.

--<u>Mayoral</u>: The State Committee provided direct and in-kind services to mayoral candidates in selected cities in 1975.

--<u>Statewide Candidates</u>: The State Committee financed a major portion of former Indianapolis Mayor Richard G. Lugar's 1974 senatorial bid, and contributed almost the maximum legal amount of direct and in-kind services to Lugar's successful 1976 Senate campaign. The State Committee also provided paid staff for the campaigns of all GOP statewide candidates in both 1974 and 1976 and assumed financial responsibility for all campaign expenditures after the nominees were chosen.

### HEADQUARTERS OPERATION

The Indiana Republican State Headquarters is a permanent, on-going operation located in a modern office building in downtown Indianapolis. The facility was planned and made a reality by Milligan. Staff ranges in size from 20 to 25 in non-campaign periods to 70 to 75 during campaigns. The permanent staff is professionally qualified in specific areas important to party development and successful campaigns.

The Headquarters itself is equipped with an in-house printshop, including composition equipment, two printing presses, and automatic folding, envelope stuffing and mailing machines. The office also has automatic typewriters and a telephone system incorporating toll-free in-coming and out-going statewide WATS lines. An audio feed system tied to the WATS lines provides Republican-oriented news cuts to Indiana radio stations.

Computers are used to maintain vastly flexible mailing lists. The headquarters staff provides continuing opposition research, election analyses and other information.

#### FINANCE AND FUND-RAISING

Since Milligan took office less than four years ago, the State Committee has recorded more than \$5.75 million in income, with fund-raising costs consistently below the 15 per cent level. In February, 1973, the Hoosier party relied on three fund-raising programs. This year, 10 major programs--geared to givers of all sizes--will realize more than \$2,3 million.

Tom Milligan was among the first to realize and take advantage of the importance of the Political Action Committees. The State Committee's "PAC FACT" film strip and workbook have been distributed and used nationwide. (RNC members saw the film strip in Washington early in 1976.)

#### PARTY DEVELOPMENT

--<u>Auxiliaries</u>: Under Milligan, emphasis has been placed upon developing strong auxiliary groups, including Republican Women, Black Republicans, Senior Republicans, Young Republicans, College Republicans, Republican Mayors, Republican Heritage Council and others. All of these groups receive staff support, facilities and financing. All on-going activities, these groups have increased both their membership and their number of local affiliates each year.

--<u>Training Programs</u>: More than 130 training sessions for precinct-level party workers have been held since 1974. These workshops, held in all 92 Hoosier counties, have provided an estimated 8,000 local Republican workers with the nuts-and-bolts training necessary to successful campaigns. In conjunction with the workshops, the State Committee has published a precinct manual providing local workers with specific suggestions for precinct-level politics. This manual has drawn attention from many other state GOP organizations because of its clarity and completeness.

Since 1973, the State Committee has sponsored a statewide leadership conference for Hoosier Republicans. Both headquarters staff and "outside" experts, including some of national stature, serve as faculty for the conference. Every facet of party and campaign management is covered in these seminars, and every participant receives a campaign manual which is revised annually and contains specific information on the latest campaign techniques.

### SERVICE TO PARTY

Staff at State Headquarters provide a range of services to Republican organizational people at all levels, ranging from informational to legal counseling. The staff makes the party's position on legislation affecting the Republican organization known to the General Assembly. It provides guidance on compliance with federal and state campaign reporting laws. The headquarters provides a wide variety of publications and printing at cost to county organizations and candidates as requested.

IMMEDIATE UNCLAS PRECEDENCE CLASSIFICATION FOR COMMCENTER USE ONLY DEX FROM: JACK MARSH DAC 171 GPS TO: DICK CHENEY (VAIL) PAGES ( LDX TTY CITE DTG: 2723242 DEC 76 INFO: <u>\_\_\_\_</u> TOR: 272344Z RELEASED BY SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS: 6:44 M 27 DEC 20 1976 DEC 27 3 3

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