

ROBERT P. VISSER PAPERS, 1972-78

Collection Type

Personal Papers

Extent

8.9 linear feet (ca. 8,900 pages)

Record Type

Textual

Access

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Processed by

Stacy Davis, August 2004

Biography

Robert Peter Visser

October 7, 1940 - Born in New York, New York

1958 - Graduated Brooklyn Technical High School

1963 - The City College of the City University of New York (B.S. -Physics)

1966 - George Washington University National Law Center (J.D.)

1966 - 1969 - Associate attorney at Mudge, Rose, Guthrie & Alexander, New York office

1969 - 1973 - Associate attorney at Mudge, Rose, Guthrie & Alexander, Washington, D.C. office

1972 - Surrogate Advance Team, Committee to Re-Elect the President

1973-1975 - Attorney at Howard, Prim, Rice, Nemerovski, Canady and Pollack

1975-1977 - Partner at Obion, Spivak, Maier and Visser

1975 - 1977 - General Counsel, President Ford Committee

1980 - General Counsel, Bush for President Committee

1977- Present - Attorney in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area

Scope and Content Note

In August 1975, the President Ford Committee (PFC) hired attorney Robert Visser as General Counsel. In October, Visser hired Tim Ryan, a Baltimore attorney who had been a volunteer advoceman for the White House and the Assistant Director of the 1972 Inaugural Parade, to work as his assistant. Unlike most PFC offices, there was no staff turnover during the campaign, so Visser and Ryan handled the

PFC's legal work through Election Day and into early 1977.

The passage of the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974 created an additional role for Visser as General Counsel as compared to the role of lawyers in previous presidential campaigns. This legislation, signed into law by President Ford on October 15, 1974, established the first spending limits for candidates in presidential primary and general elections, provided for disclosure and reporting of campaign contributions and expenditures, introduced public financing for general election campaigns and matching funds to cover part of the costs of primary campaigns, and created a Federal Election Commission (FEC) to develop regulations, implement the law, and enforce its provisions.

Because of delays in the appointment and confirmation of FEC members, the Commission did not begin its work until just before initial efforts to organize the PFC began. This meant that the PFC, like several other 1976 campaign committees, had to begin the process of running a campaign while frequently asking the FEC for guidance on procedures or filing complaints about possible violations by other campaign committees. Visser and Ryan handled these interactions with the FEC, while also working on more traditional campaign committee attorney tasks such as lawsuits, delegate challenges, contracts with consulting firms and staff members, coordinating the work of the PFC state legal counsels, and ballot security. A more complete history of the PFC and the changes to election laws is available in the Ford Library's finding aid for the Records of the President Ford Committee.

The Visser Papers

This collection consists of Robert Visser's personal working papers and material that he collected from other offices for legal and historical reasons. These papers do not heavily document the strategic plan of the campaign, but rather document the details of being an attorney for a presidential election committee. For example, there is correspondence throughout this collection between Visser, Tim Ryan, and other PFC employees with the Federal Election Commission, Republican National Committee (RNC), White House staff, general counsels of other political organizations, and outside law and accounting firms regarding legal matters for the PFC. It also contains background material, state election law summaries, and published copies of federal laws. There are discussions of the implications of the Supreme Court decision in *Buckley v. Valeo*, which invalidated portions of the

Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974 and would lead to the passage of the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1976.

One major topic is the question of who should pay for presidential and advocate travel during an election campaign, and how should one separate “official” and “political” travel. For example, there is heavy documentation of a complaint filed by the Democratic National Committee (DNC) with the Federal Election Commission regarding a ruling that presidential travel before January 1, 1976 should be treated as “party building” rather than advancement of one’s own candidacy. Money spent by the RNC for such travel would not be charged against allowable candidate expenditure levels set by federal election laws. In the complaint, the DNC sought to prove that President Ford’s travel since the formation of the PFC was directly and substantially related to his candidacy. Material includes a copy of the complaint, the PFC responses to the action, and background materials used by the PFC to counter this complaint.

The Visser Papers contain the official documents related to the creation and incorporation of the Campaign ’76 Media Communications, Inc. in December 1975 (the PFC’s in-house advertising agency), including the Articles of Incorporation, Certification of Incorporation of Incorporation, bylaws, Board of Directors meeting minutes, Howard H. Calloway’s resignation as Director, annual report for Foreign and Domestic Non-Profit Corporations, and a Corporate Resolution (Bankers Trust, New York City). Visser’s working papers contain correspondence, memos, drafts, and bank documents and document the development of the corporation, but do not heavily document the subsequent work of the company. This collection also contains material related to the proposed incorporation of the PFC as a nonprofit political committee, including drafts of the articles of incorporation and bylaws, memoranda and correspondence regarding the advantages, disadvantages, and tax implications of incorporating.

Material related to the 1976 Republican National Convention concerns the revision and adoption of convention rules by the RNC Rules Committee and the Convention Rules Committee, logistical arrangements, the delegate selection process, preliminary schedule, the Platform Committee, the Credentials Committee, the Rule 29 Committee (a committee authorized by the 1972 Republican National Convention to review and study the rules adopted by that convention). The

question of amending Rule 18 (“The Justice Amendment”) is particularly well documented in this collection. If adopted this rule would require delegates to vote in accordance with results of binding state primaries or direct elections. Included are copies of the proposed amendment, memoranda, statement for and against the amendment.

Folders related to Virginia and California fill a gap in the Records of the President Ford Committee, General Counsel’s State Legal File. This material documents exchanges between the General Counsel's Office and state PFC legal counsels, other state PFC officers, local Republicans, federal and state agencies, and private law firms. It relates to interpretation of and compliance with federal and state campaign laws, Republican Party rules related to local PFC offices, party precinct caucuses, state conventions, and a challenge related to Virginia delegates.

The importance of volunteerism in the 1976 campaign in light of new campaign funding limitations is evident in this collection. There are several contact lists throughout this collection, information related to the volunteer legal staff, and a copy of the Ford/Dole Volunteer Campaign Manual, which was created to provide a resource for local leaders on campaign procedures, activities, and legal guidelines. Also included is an analysis of the performance of People for Ford, the volunteer arm of the President Ford Committee formed during the general election to develop outreach efforts to special voter groups. This report was written by Deputy Coordinator Tom Ruffin and provides an analysis of the operation of the organization, problems encountered, successes, failures, and offers suggestions for future elections. It also includes comments submitted from each People For Ford desk: Blacks, Business and Professional Groups, Ethnics, Jewish, Farm Desk, Labor Desk, Older Americans, Special Events, Veterans, and National Volunteers.

This collection also documents what happens to presidential election committees after the election is over. There are official documents and working papers related to the development of the 1976 Presidential Campaign Liquidation Trust, an agreement between the Republican National Committee and the trustees of the President Ford Committee to fulfill requirements of the campaign laws, and handle possible compliance actions or other possible contingent liabilities. Included are the final agreement (executed on December 1, 1976), document drafts, notes, and background material. The collection also includes correspondence regarding the

repayment of funds to the FEC following the election, and the donation of PFC materials to the National Archives.

Finally, the Visser Papers also include a Southern States Republican Conference briefing book (attended by several members of PFC, including Visser), the President Ford Committee Campaign Plan (8/29/1975), and material related to Democratic opponents, voter groups, delegate selection, insurance matters, building lease agreements, contracts, and various lawsuits.

Related Materials (August 2004)

Other materials that directly relate to legal matters and the 1976 Presidential election can be found in the General Counsel's Office Files in the President Ford Committee Records, as well as other offices of the PFC. The Visser Papers complement many topics that exist in the PFC records such as ballot security, federal and state election campaign laws, relationship between the PFC and the Federal Election Commission, campaign finance, the Republican National Convention, and Campaign '76 Media Communications, Inc.

The files of Philip Buchen, Counsel to the President, contain material on a number of campaign-related legal questions, including the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974 and 1976 and White House interactions with the Federal Election Commission concerning proposed rulings and regulations. Other collections with material include the staff files and papers of Michael Raoul-Duval, the papers of Robert Teeter, and the staff files of John Marsh, James A. Reichley, Edward Schmults, and Rogers Morton.

The following White House Central Files Subject File categories are the most prominent file locations for material relate to the campaign: FG 387 (Federal Election Commission), PL (Political Affairs), SP (Speeches), and TR (Trips).

Last Modified Date

2024-05-20

General Subject File, 1972-1978.

(Boxes 1-23, 8.9 linear feet)

Memoranda, correspondence, reports, clippings, publications, speeches, press

releases, leases, insurance forms, inventories, staff lists, briefing books, building diagrams, brochures, and notes related to Robert Visser's role as General Counsel for the President Ford Committee (PFC). Topics include ballot security, delegate selection, federal and state election laws, communication with the Federal Election Commission, campaign finance, insurance, claims against the PFC, presidential and advocate campaign travel, and volunteers. Material related to the 1976 Republican National Convention concern planning and the adoption of convention rules (in particular Rule 18, "The Justice Resolution"). Also there are documents related to the development of the 1976 Presidential Campaign Liquidation Trust and Campaign '76 Media Communications, Inc.

Arranged alphabetically by subject.

Box 1 - General Subject File

Status	Title
OPEN	1976 Presidential Campaign Liquidation Trust
OPEN	1976 Presidential Campaign Liquidation Trust - Drafts (1)-(2)
OPEN	1976 Presidential Campaign Liquidation Trust - PFC/RNC (1)-(3)
OPEN	Advocates
OPEN	American Business Volunteers For President Ford
OPEN	Ballot Security (Project Integrity - 1976) (1)-(2)
OPEN	Ballot Security (Project Integrity - 1976) - Manual
OPEN	Ballot Security (Project Integrity - 1976) - State Contested Election and Recount Statutes for State, Federal, and District of Columbia Office (1)-(2)
OPEN	Ballot Security (Project Integrity - 1976) - Voting Methods Manual

Box 2 - General Subject File

Status	Title
OPEN	Broadcast Media Guide for Candidates
OPEN	Business and Professional Groups for President Ford, 11/10/1976 (1)-(3)
OPEN	California (1)-(3)

Status	Title
OPEN	Campaign - Miscellaneous (1)-(3)
OPEN	Campaign '76 Media Communications, Inc. - Articles of Incorporation
OPEN	Campaign '76 Media Communications, Inc. - Annual Report for Foreign and Domestic Non-Profit Corporations
OPEN	Campaign '76 Media Communications, Inc. - Board of Directors Meeting Material, 09/14/1976 (Meeting never held)
OPEN	Campaign '76 Media Communications, Inc. - Board of Directors Meeting Minutes and Accompanying Documents, 03/23/1976
OPEN	Campaign '76 Media Communications, Inc. - Board of Directors Meeting Minutes and Accompanying Documents, 06/22/1976
OPEN	Campaign '76 Media Communications, Inc. - Board of Directors Unanimous Written Consent of 01/07/1976
OPEN	Campaign '76 Media Communications, Inc. - Bylaws

Box 3 - General Subject File

Status	Title
OPEN	Campaign '76 Media Communications, Inc. - Case Regarding Gardner, Robert ("I'm Feeling Good About America")
OPEN	Campaign '76 Media Communications, Inc. - Certificate of Incorporation
OPEN	Campaign '76 Media Communications, Inc. - Howard H. Callaway Resignation
OPEN	Campaign '76 Media Communications, Inc. - Corporate Resolution, Bankers Trust, New York City
OPEN	Campaign '76 Media Communications, Inc. - Working Papers (1)-(5)
OPEN	Campaign Cost Allocation/President and Advocate Travel (1) - (4)

Status	Title
OPEN	Campaign Cost Allocation/President and Advocate Travel - Mrs. Ford's Trip to Hawaii, 12/1975
OPEN	Campaign Cost Allocation/President and Advocate Travel - Presidential Trips to Massachusetts, North Carolina, and Georgia, 11/1975 (1)-(3)

Box 4 - General Subject File

Status	Title
OPEN	Campaign Plan, 08/29/1975
OPEN	Campaign Publications
OPEN	Carter, Jimmy - Magazine
OPEN	Cases: Salary Disputes of Ambraczyk, Sands, and Petty
OPEN	Chronological File, 01/1976
OPEN	Clippings (1)-(4)
OPEN	Clippings - Time Magazine Special Issue, 8/19/1974
OPEN	Conciliation Agreement (MUR 190/198) (1)-(2)
OPEN	Contact Lists - By Issue
OPEN	Contact Lists -By State: Alabama through Florida
OPEN	Contact Lists -By State: Georgia through Louisiana
OPEN	Contact Lists -By State: Maryland through New Jersey

Box 5 - General Subject File

Status	Title
OPEN	Contact Lists -By State: New York
OPEN	Contact Lists -By State: North Carolina through Washington
OPEN	Contact Lists -By State: Washington, D.C. through Wisconsin
OPEN	Contact Lists -By State: States with No Listed Contacts
OPEN	Contact Lists - Virgin Islands
OPEN	Contracts (1)-(2)
OPEN	Contracts - Market Opinion Research
OPEN	Convention Coordinating Group (1)-(3)

Status	Title
OPEN	Correspondence for Signature
OPEN	Delegate Count Information
OPEN	Delegate Count Information - Old Counts
OPEN	Delegate Selection (1)-(2)

Box 6 - General Subject File

Status	Title
OPEN	Delegate Task Force (1)-(2)
OPEN	Democrat Presidential Watch (1)-(3)
OPEN	Document Retention Program
OPEN	Election Campaign Laws - Federal (1)-(5)
OPEN	Election Campaign Laws - State: Alabama and Arizona
OPEN	Election Campaign Laws - State: Colorado and Connecticut
OPEN	Election Campaign Laws - State: Florida and Georgia
OPEN	Election Campaign Laws - State: Illinois and Indiana
OPEN	Election Campaign Laws - State: Kansas and Kentucky

Box 7 - General Subject File

Status	Title
OPEN	Election Campaign Laws - State: Louisiana and Maryland
OPEN	Election Campaign Laws - State: Michigan and Minnesota
OPEN	Election Campaign Laws - State: New Jersey and New Mexico
OPEN	Election Campaign Laws - State: North Carolina and Ohio
OPEN	Election Campaign Laws - State: Pennsylvania and South Dakota
OPEN	Election Campaign Laws - State: Texas, Virginia, and Wyoming
OPEN	Election Night Reception
OPEN	Endorsement Letters
OPEN	Federal Communications Commission (FCC) "Equal Time"
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) - Advisory Opinion 1975-27 Accountants and Attorneys Fees (1)-(4)

Status	Title
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) – Advisory Opinion 1975-72 Allocation of Candidate and Committee Activities (1)-(3)

Box 8 - General Subject File

Status	Title
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) – Advisory Opinions, 09/1975
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) – Analysis of Federal and State Campaign Finance Law, 06/1975
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) – Compliance Actions (1)-(2)
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) – Compliance Procedures/Proposed Compliance Regulations
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) – Convention Regulations (1)-(2)
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) – Correspondence – 1975 (1)-(2)
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) – Correspondence – 1976 (1)-(3)
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) – Correspondence – 1977 (1)-(2)
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) – Correspondence – 1978

Box 9 - General Subject File

Status	Title
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) – Delegate Selection/Advisory Opinion 1975-12 (1)-(5)
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) – Delegate Selection/Advisory Opinion 1975-12 - Summary
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) - Drafts
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) – Drafts – Advisory Opinion Request (AOR) 1975-72 (1)-(2)

Status	Title
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) - Drafts - Advisory Opinions
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) - Drafts - Guidelines in Connection with the 1976 Election Campaign
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) - Drafts - Presidential Primary Election Matching Fund
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) - Drafts - Title 2 Proposed Disclosure Regulations
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) - General (1)-(2)

Box 10 - General Subject File

Status	Title
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) - Independent Committees
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) - Independent Expenditures (1)-(5)
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) - Independent Expenditures Memo - State and Local Republican Parties
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) - Index of Actions, 1975
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) - Interest on Federal Funds
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) - MUR 142(76) Advocate Travel
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) - MUR 142(76) Advocate Travel - Democratic National Committee Complaint (1)-(3)
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) - MUR 142(76) Advocate Travel - Democratic National Committee Complaint - News Clippings (1)

Box 11 - General Subject File

Status	Title
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OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) - MUR 142(76) Advocate Travel - Democratic National Committee Complaint - News Clippings (2)-(3)
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) - Task Force on Allocation of Campaign Costs (1)-(4)
OPEN	Federal Election Commission (FEC) - Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments (1)-(2)
OPEN	Finance Committee Accounting Manual (1)-(2)
OPEN	Financial Operations
OPEN	Ford Administration Staff Roster
OPEN	Ford Presidency from an Ethnic Perspective
OPEN	Fundraising Agreement with Republican National Committee (Milbank Material)
OPEN	Fundraising Checklist

Box 12 - General Subject File

Status	Title
OPEN	Gallaudet College
OPEN	General Election Expenditures
OPEN	Georgia Guide for County Chairmen
OPEN	GOP Forum, Journal of the Republican Politics and Policy, 08/16/1976 - 08/19/1976
OPEN	Hayes, Kathlene - Possible Claim against the President Ford Committee
OPEN	Improper Suggestions from Delegates
OPEN	Insurance - 1975 (1)-(4)
OPEN	Insurance - 1976 (1)-(4)

Box 13 - General Subject File

Status	Title
OPEN	Insurance - 1976 (5)
OPEN	Insurance - 1977
OPEN	Insurance - Martin, Edwin G. Claim
OPEN	Insurance - State Inventory and Lease Agreements (1)-(6)
OPEN	Insurance - Workmen's Compensation (1)-(3)

Box 14 - General Subject File

Status	Title
OPEN	Internal Revenue Service (IRS) Ruling Request
OPEN	Leftover Campaign Funds (1)-(2)
OPEN	Legal Memoranda (1)-(2)
OPEN	Meeting Briefing Book, ca. 11/1975
OPEN	Mongiovi, Arnita - Claim (v. Tower Construction Company) (1)-(2)
OPEN	Mongiovi, Arnita - Claim (v. Whittaker, John)
OPEN	Morton, Rogers C. B. - Complaint Regarding Appointment as Counsellor to the President (1)-(3)
OPEN	Names and Addresses of State Chairmen and Volunteers (1)-(2)
OPEN	National Associated Businessmen, Inc. (1)-(2)

Box 15 - General Subject File

Status	Title
OPEN	National Republican Congressional Committee - President Ford Committee Agreement
OPEN	New York Delegation Meeting Briefing Book, 07/22/1976 (1)-(2)
OPEN	Official Candidate Filings (1)-(2)
OPEN	Pennsylvania Reception Briefing Book, 07/29/1976
OPEN	People For Ford
OPEN	People For Ford - Tom Ruffin Report and Desk Reports (1)-(4)
OPEN	Policy Statements
OPEN	Political Action Committees
OPEN	Political Activity by White House Staff
OPEN	"Political Finance: Reform and Reality," 05/1976

Box 16 - General Subject File

Status	Title
OPEN	Practicing Law Institute (PLI) Seminar on Legal Aspects of Running for Public Office, 01/22/1976-01/23/1976

Status	Title
OPEN	President Ford – General (1)-(3)
OPEN	President Ford '76 Factbook, 09/08/1976 (1)-(4)
OPEN	President Ford Committee (PFC) – Accounting and Reporting Methods/Procedures (1)-(2)
OPEN	President Ford Committee (PFC) – Background Material (1)-(2)
OPEN	President Ford Committee (PFC) – “Delegate Special”
OPEN	President Ford Committee (PFC) – General
OPEN	President Ford Committee (PFC) – General Correspondence

Box 17 - General Subject File

Status	Title
OPEN	President Ford Committee (PFC) – Incorporation (1)-(3)
OPEN	President Ford Committee (PFC) – Lease Agreement with Tower Construction Company – Campaign Headquarters
OPEN	President Ford Committee (PFC) – Lease Agreements (1)-(3)
OPEN	President Ford Committee (PFC) – Newsletters (1)-(4)
OPEN	President Ford Committee (PFC) – Presidential Account
OPEN	President Ford Committee (PFC) – Records Inventory
OPEN	President Ford Committee (PFC) – Strategy
OPEN	President Ford Committee (PFC) – Violations
OPEN	Presidential Travel (1)-(2)

Box 18 - General Subject File

Status	Title
OPEN	Presidential Travel – Advisory Opinion 1975-72 (1)-(4)
OPEN	Presidential Travel – Official (White House Press Releases of Presidential Remarks and Press Conferences) (1)-(5)
OPEN	Presidential Travel – Party Head (White House Press Releases of Presidential Remarks) (1)-(3)
OPEN	Presidential /Republican National Committee/Congressional Fundraising Letters (1)-(2)
OPEN	Regional Coordinators

Status	Title
OPEN	Republican National Committee (RNC) - Airplane for Vice Presidential Candidate

Box 19 - General Subject File

Status	Title
OPEN	Republican National Committee (RNC) - Carter Compliance Actions, 09/1976
OPEN	Republican National Committee (RNC) - Correspondence with State Committees Regarding Delegate Selection Process (1)-(2)
OPEN	Republican National Convention - Budget and Expenses
OPEN	Republican National Convention - Committee on Arrangements
OPEN	Republican National Convention - Committee on Resolutions (Platform)
OPEN	Republican National Convention - Conventions Rules Committee
OPEN	Republican National Convention - Credentials Committee
OPEN	Republican National Convention - General
OPEN	Republican National Convention - Logistics
OPEN	Republican National Convention - Meeting of the Committee on Rules of the Republican National Committee (RNC) in Kansas City, Missouri, 08/09/1976
OPEN	Republican National Convention - Organization Chart
OPEN	Republican National Convention - Preliminary Schedule
OPEN	Republican National Convention - Program
OPEN	Republican National Convention - Proposed Rules (Published), 08/17/1976
OPEN	Republican National Convention - Rule 29 Committee
OPEN	Republican National Convention - Rules (1)-(2)

Box 20 - General Subject File

Status	Title
OPEN	Republican National Convention - Rules (3)-(4)

Status	Title
OPEN	Republican National Convention - Rules - Briefing Book (1)-(2)
OPEN	Republican National Convention - Rules - Ripon Society, Inc. v. Republican National Committee
OPEN	Republican National Convention - Rules - Rule 16
OPEN	Republican National Convention - Rules - Rule 18 (Justice Resolution) (1)-(4)
OPEN	Republican National Convention - Rules - Rule 18 (Justice Resolution) - Memorandum of Law
OPEN	Republican National Convention - Rules - Rule 18 (Justice Resolution) - State Election Laws
OPEN	Republican National Convention - Rules Adopted (Published), 08/17/1976
OPEN	Schedule of Appointments (1)-(2)

Box 21 - General Subject File

Status	Title
OPEN	Southern States Republican Conference Briefing Book
OPEN	Soviet Union Embassy File
OPEN	Staff Lists (1)-(2)
OPEN	State Campaign Chairmen - Lists (1)-(3)
OPEN	State Campaign Chairmen - Meeting, 01/09/1976
OPEN	State Lists - Book1: General - Kentucky (1)-(4)
OPEN	State Lists - Book 2: Louisiana - Puerto Rico/Guam/Virgin Islands (1)-(3)

Box 22 - General Subject File

Status	Title
OPEN	State Lists - Book 2: Louisiana - Puerto Rico/Guam/Virgin Islands (4)
OPEN	Strategy Meeting Briefing Book, 09/07/1975
OPEN	Use of White House for Candidate-Related Activities
OPEN	Virginia
OPEN	Virginia Briefing Book (1)-(3)

Status**Title**

OPEN Virginia Challenge (Convention File) (1)-(5)

OPEN Volunteer Campaign Manual

Box 23 - General Subject File**Status****Title**

OPEN Volunteer Legal Staff (1)-(4)

OPEN Windup Papers