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THE PRESIDENT FORD COMMITTEE CAMPAIGN PLAN

August 29, 1975





SECTION I: OVERVIEW

A campaign and the manner in which it is conducted reflects foremost upon the candidate. When that candidate is an incumbent President, the campaign affects not only his opportunity to be elected, but his ability to govern. Although it will not be their only measure of his abilities, the American people will acquire a perception of the President and his ability to lead from the manner in which his campaign is conducted.

The purpose of this plan, therefore, is to determine a strategy for the President Ford Committee which assures that President Ford receives the Republican nomination for President in such a manner that it reinforces the perception of him as a leader who the American public will wish to return to office in the general election.

Politically, it is important for the Committee to establish, early, where it is going and how it will get there so that campaigns by challengers will be forced to react to the style and tone established by the clear front runner.

No other exercise requires the intense personal discipline of a Presidential campaign where a slip of the tongue, an ad lib, an off-the-cuff remark, or an informal answer can end the campaign totally. It requires the discipline to answer the same politically sensitive questions in the same way over and over again, the discipline to give the same speech to many, many different voters in different places, the discipline to work within an agreed-upon plan and not to improvise on the basis of seat-of-the-pants knowledge or what appears to be temporary advantage.



This plan, then, is meant to establish a discipline which will assist the campaign's decision makers in creating objectives for themselves and offer a framework and timetable for carrying out those objectives. Only by adhering to such a plan faithfully can the President and the campaign organization assure themselves of a campaign in which they can be both successful and proud.

ISSUES

Since the late 1960's, our society and many of its most respected institutions have been placed under severe stress. The American people recognize this, and are seeking a leader who they perceive has the capacity to restore a traditional system of values or who will establish a new social order, as a replacement, which is acceptable to society.

An incumbent President has a significant advantage over all other potential candidates in that he can demonstrate day in and day out the capacity for such leadership. Conversely, because he has to make governmental decisions, he also carries the risk of creating the impression of a lack of capacity for such leadership. Therefore, the manner in which a President conducts himself in office and the way in which he deals with issues is more important to his election than any other single factor.

In 1976, we find a public which is politically turned off by Watergate and related activities. It seeks a President who is honest, has a high level of integrity and who deals with the American people in a straight-forward manner.



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The traditional Republican campaign themes of peace and prosperity will have to undergo some significant revisions to fit the political climate of 1976. Confidence in the foreign policy arena has always been a major asset to incumbent Republican Presidents. Although the perception of President Ford as a leader in foreign affairs is increasing, a large percentage of the public remains to be convinced. It is difficult to imagine that the course of international events can be controlled in such a manner as to assure that the President will have an opportunity to prove himself to voters regarding matters in the foreign area. Therefore, it can be expected that the issue will, at best, be a neutral factor.

Notwithstanding, some opportunities will probably occur during the next 14 months which will allow the President to take strong, positive positions on foreign policy matters. When those occasions arise, he should announce his policy and implement it in a crisp, precise manner which is demonstrative of great competence in the area.

His handling of the Mayaguez incident was clearly a turning point in both the perception of his ability to handle his job as President and his ability to deal with foreign policy problems. Successful handling of issues dealing with war and peace clearly result in significant gains in public approval.

Prosperity, in a political context, is a psychological issue which is difficult to measure in real terms. As a nation, we are prosperous when the bulk of our citizens think we are. However, one fact seems clear....the level of economic activity is of less



importance than the direction in which the economy is moving. All but the most pessimistic economists concede that the economy is now heading up and, barring the effect of increased inflation, is likely to continue in that direction for at least the next 18 months.

There are, however, two additional economic questions which need to be addressed in the course of the campaign. The first is the question of unemployment, particularly in the large metropolitan areas. Obviously, as the economy shows improvement, overall unemployment will decline. Unemployment in urban areas is, however, extremely high and is probably deserving of special attention. The 1976 State of the Union address would be an appropriate forum in which to present short-term solutions to this problem. Another possibility might be a White House Conference on the problems of cities to deal not only with unemployment, but the economics of city administration, the delivery of services in an urban area, and problems of urban education.

Second, the public is becoming increasingly concerned about bigness -- big business, big government, big labor. There exists a perception that with these institutions becoming so large, the identity and needs of individuals will be submerged in the needs of the organization. One manner in which this concern has manifested itself is in the increase of consumer consciousness among the public generally. Currently, the President's emphasis on regulatory reform could be considered a response to this concern, but additional initiatives to capitalize on this issue should also be taken. For years, the Republican Party has been tagged with the shibboleth that it is the party of big business. And,



yet, during Republican Administrations there has been traditionally more activity in the anti-trust area -- a direct challenge to "big business" -- than ever has existed during the years of Democratic administrations. An effort must be made to develop this issue along with emphasizing the reduction of the size of government and attacking the inordinate power of organized labor.

Another issue certainly related to both the economy and foreign affairs is the myriad of questions which need to be resolved regarding national energy policy. It is clear that with all the discussion taking place with regard to energy shortages, the President must appear to make progress in this arena, if he is to maintain his credibility with the public. Related to these energy questions, as well as to the question of "big government" is the nature of the President's relationship with the Congress. Thus far, the President has dealt with Congress in an extremely "high road" fashion, but as the general election of 1976 nears, Congressional attacks on the President will become more frequent and more vitriolic. Currently, the President is receiving the benefits of the Executive/Legislative conflict, but as election day draws nearer, he, too, will have to toughen up his posture vis-a-vis the Congress, laying at their doorstep the lack of progress which has been made on the legislative front since 1974 on issues of national importance.

The election may, however, rise or fall on the "social issues". These are the issues of crime, education, housing and poverty. They are issues where Republicans are consistently outpromised by Democrats. An effort must be made to redefine and prioritize



these issues, presenting programs for dealing with the area which do not break the national treasury and are consistent with the rights of individuals to govern their own destinies.

INCUMBENCY

An incumbent President has many advantages; yet in 1976 he will encounter some new and some unknown disadvantages brought on by Watergate and legislation stemming from it.

The foremost advantage of an incumbent President is that, unless a former President becomes the candidate, no other individual has had on-the-job experience. Other candidates may argue among themselves about who is best prepared for the Presidency, but none can claim the obvious qualifications of the man who holds the job.

Secondly, the newsworthiness of the Presidency is an invaluable advantage.

The President, merely by the fact that he is President, is news. (Every day thousands of men play golf, but when the President plays golf, it's a story for the evening TV news.) He can request the use of all the television networks at any time to address the nation on crucial issues. His staff briefs the news media daily on his activities and on his position on policies. He is, because of who he is, the most newsworthy individual in the country. As a result, he is much more likely to receive coverage on far less important activities than will other candidates.

Third, an incumbent President is the automatic front runner. This is an enormous advantage when it comes to recruiting volunteers, raising money and receiving general support.



Finally, the President has at his command all the resources of the federal government to provide him with research on issues, economic analysis, and approximately 2,000 non-career governmental officials who are constantly selling and defending his Administration to the general public. It should also be remembered, that the federal government, by its very nature, is constantly doing "favors" for other units of government in the form of grants, loan guarantees and technical assistance. All of these, presumably, accrue to the President's political benefit.

Incumbency also carries some disadvantages as well. First among these is the problem of positioning an incumbent President on policy issues. When a candidate for the office of President takes a policy position, he can for purposes of short-term gain take positions which are, or would not be, responsible for an individual actually in office. When a President takes a position on an issue, that position becomes government policy. As a result, an incumbent President is constrained by his office from taking positions which might lead to short-term political advantage.

Secondly, as a result of various governmental activities going back at least a decade, many people across the nation are "turned off" by politics and politicians. Because he is the most visible politician in the nation, the President is potentially the most affected by this negative attitude.

Thirdly, the President, as the leader of his Administration, shares the responsibility for the acts of his subordinates in the Administration and in his campaign. Should one or more of those individuals exercise bad judgment or explicitly commit a wrong,



the actions of that individual reflect directly upon the President. Because he has so many individuals of varying backgrounds and personalities in his employ, the opportunities for such things to happen are great.

Finally, and almost superficially, the increased costs incurred by the Presidency are a disadvantage and should be recognized as such in order to keep them to a minimum. A specific example is the cost of traveling in Presidential style on a limited campaign budget. Because he is President and because as such he must travel with a larger group of individuals than other candidates, the cost of the President's travel will probably be significantly higher than other candidates'. Everything possible should be done to reduce this disadvantage without either placing the President in danger or making it appear that he is "less of a President" than his predecessors.

THE REAGAN CAMPAIGN

Ronald Reagan as a candidate brings to his campaign some significant advantages in terms of attempting to acquire the Republican nomination. He is the strong favorite of the Party's right wing and if not handled carefully, could cause conservative Republicans to unify around him.

His long-standing national visibility in the Republican Party is perhaps his biggest advantage. Reagan has had a national image in the Republican Party since the 1964 election when he was selected as the "liberal" California Co-Chairman for Goldwater to offset Bill Knowland. During that same election, Reagan went on nationwide television advocating Goldwater's candidacy in what has been described as the most effective political speech given in the '64



campaign. Since that time, he has twice been elected Governor of the most populous state in the nation and has been active across the country as a fund raiser for both state parties and individual candidates. As a result, Reagan is well known to the Party rank and file and has a significant number of outstanding I.O.U.'s.

A second advantage is the flexibility he has as an individual who is not currently holding office and, therefore, not obligated to divide his time between official duties and campaigning. This will allow him to spend much more time in both Primary and Convention states than the President.

Even among conservatives are many who consider Reagan to have too conservative an image to be a credible candidate in the general election -- this may prove to be his greatest negative.

He will also be running against an incumbent President who will logically be perceived as being the "Party candidate". This will result in Reagan's candidacy as being that of a spoiler.

Finally, many of Reagan's friends consider his candidacy unwise and are privately telling him so. In the end, this may be the deciding factor regarding Reagan's candidacy.

The Reagan campaign strategy will, in all likelihood, look something like this: recognizing that Reagan is generally considered to be too conservative, every effort will be made to move his positions to a more moderate stance by addressing issues in a "moderate" fashion. Reagan will talk about the declining state of our traditional institutions and discuss alternatives to recreate these institutions without actually taking a position



on these alternatives. It would be the Reagan campaign's anticipation that a conservative discussing problems normally found on the agendas of more liberal candidates would give the conservative candidate a more moderate image without regard to his own position on those problems.

Secondly, Reagan will personally be a high road candidate. He will not go out and make remarks which directly attack the President. He will place his remarks in the context of his ability to bring new leadership to the nation in order to deal with the crumbling fabric of our society.

Thirdly, the Reagan campaign will maintain that since the President was not elected by the American people or nominated by the Republican Party, it is appropriate that he be challenged in his receipt of the nomination by other candidates. That should the President then win, he will be a stronger candidate in the fall, having had to actively campaign during the Primary period.

Finally, the Reagan campaign will work very hard to win the early Primaries, thus proving the President vulnerable. The nature of the timing of the Primary elections is such that they occur first in the most conservative states where Reagan's strongest support can be found; second, in the more moderate states where the President's strongest support can be found; and, finally, in California, where Reagan has served two terms as Governor and would have his strongest organization. It would be the Reagan campaign hope that by winning these early Primaries, they will be able to open up some possibilities in the Convention states that would not be available to them if these Primaries are won by the President. The winning of these Primaries will provide



the momentum to make the Reagan candidacy viable through the Convention regardless of whether or not he could get the nomination.

PFC DELEGATE STRATEGY

As early as possible, The President Ford Committee should endeavor to get commitments from enough delegates to assure the nomination in the Convention. If the Ford campaign can therefore receive commitments from the first 1,130 delegates selected, thus barring any other candidate the possibility of the nomination, the energies of the personnel involved in the whole campaign effort can shift from Primary activities to doing those things needed to win the general election.

Secondly, it is particularly important that the President's campaign not disrupt the various Party organizations and, in fact, should strengthen them in every way possible in preparation for the general election. Due to the new election law, considerably greater emphasis will be placed on the role of the Party organization during the general election, and it will be to the President's benefit to have that organization as strong as it can be made. It is important, however, that the campaign staff and the Republican organizations understand that until the nomination is secure, the Ford campaign is prepared to "take on" those organizations who would oppose the President's nomination. This can be done in good conscience in that any organization which is not supportive of the President prior to the Convention is likely to be unenthusiastic in its support during the general election, and in all likelihood would have to be circumvented or replaced.



Thirdly, although the President should never be placed in the position of having to espouse views in which he does not believe, every effort should be made to keep the campaign from becoming an ideological debate. It should be emphasized that the President is strongly supported by both moderates and conservatives and that as a candidate his quality transcends ideological considerations. Such an attitude on the part of the campaign will make it considerably easier for the Party to be united going into the general election.

Fourth, many of Ronald Reagan's own friends, and by some reports, his family, oppose his seeking the nomination which he clearly cannot win. Without appearing blatant, every effort should be made to stay in touch with these individuals on a personal basis in order to support the no-win attitude. In point of fact, this is a legitimate activity which should be a major portion of the strategy because Reagan's candidacy will, in fact, make winning the election in November considerably more difficult.

Finally, it must be remembered that the easiest way to lose the nomination is to look beyond it to the general election. The most effective way to avoid splitting the Party during a nomination fight is to win enough delegates to end the fight early. And, the best way to get a head start on the general election is to be able to run unopposed in late Primaries and shift the emphasis of the campaign toward broader issues.

IMAGE

A key to a strong campaign organization is the discipline and restraint that organization imposes on itself. The new campaign financing law increases the necessity for discipline by

many fold. No longer can a campaign manager in a state exceed his budgeted expenditures and casually respond that "We'll only have to raise more money". A breach of campaign discipline can now result in a legal violation which could cause the loss of an election. The campaign must in fact and in appearance know what it is trying to accomplish, when it must be accomplished, and how much it will cost to get there. It is very important that a President's campaign in particular be perceived as having these qualities. It is of further importance that the campaign appear to be as austere as possible. The American public is going to respond much better to a political campaign which appears to be built around political activities rather than elaborate offices.

Finally, the campaign should have the image of being largely voluntary and having people from a cross section of American life. It is important that a campaign appear to have a place for anyone who wants to work, and this includes the use of women, Blacks, ethnics, and all economic classes in visible positions in the campaign.

For the President's part, there remains a sense that people do not know where he stands on a broad range of issues or the nature of his approach to government.





SECTION II: DELEGATE STRATEGY

The delegates selected to attend the 1976 Republican National Convention will be chosen in the most open manner of any delegates previously selected for any Convention. Therefore, any candidate who can reach and organize voters, garnering the support of the people in the Republican Party, can receive the nomination, regardless of who controls the Party organization from state to state.

The 1976 Convention should not give rise to old liberal/conservative splits within the Republican Party. The President is known by too many individuals in the Party to be a solid conservative Midwesterner for them to be sold on the idea that suddenly, because he is President, he has become a wild-eyed liberal.

Because moderates within the Republican Party appear unlikely to field a candidate, and because they are much more comfortable with President Ford than they were with the previous incumbent, they are associating the President with their wing of the Party. However, if the moderates can be held solid, a campaign can be waged between the various conservative forces as an in-house fight between friends.

This leads to the development of several themes which can be used in influencing active Party workers. Such things as: Ford's going to win the nomination so let's get behind him early and we'll have a better chance in the general election; Ford and Reagan are both conservatives and why trade one conservative for another; a fight in the Party will make the general election harder to win; and if we're concerned about Rockefeller, who do you think the President is going to listen to when he comes to decide



about the Vice Presidency -- the people for him or the people against him.

Although the individuals in the campaign who are identified with the moderate wing of the Party will not be able to use these themes as well as those identified as being more conservative, such statements should have considerable impact upon both Southern, Western and Midwestern conservatives.

The President's conservative image can be further reinforced by playing up his Midwestern ties. The Party has not had a Midwestern candidate since Herbert Hoover (Ike was really a national candidate and Wilkie did not fit the Midwestern mold or espouse traditional Midwestern views). The Midwestern Republican is, of course, the personification of conservative views in the minds of many in the Republican Party, and such an image will certainly not be any detriment to the President's nomination nor his chances for election. To support the President's image as a Midwesterner, it is important for him to do well in Primaries and State Conventions in the various Midwestern states. Should the President receive the votes of all of the delegates from the following states, he would have more than half the total number he would need to be nominated: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska and Oklahoma. Together these states will send 603 delegates to the Republican National Convention.

Because of the President's own background and inclinations, these votes should be fairly solid in his favor.



It is essential, however, to remember that the pre-Convention period actually consists of 54 separate campaigns -- not a single national campaign. Certainly the effect of winning or losing a state creates a psychological atmosphere in subsequent states, but since elections do not occur on the same day and are often governed by widely varying state election laws, each state must be looked at independently. The individual campaigns can, and should, be planned in such a manner as to create a psychological atmosphere which in a sense evolves into a national strategy.

Because of the financial limitations of the new election law, it is not possible to run an active campaign in each of the 54 areas sending delegates to the Convention. If all of the \$10 million were allocated only to the running of Primaries and campaigning in Convention states, it would allocate less than \$200,000 to each state.

It is important then to create priorities in such a way that neither the President's nor the campaign committee's time or the campaign's scarce financial resources are spent in any manner other than to maximize that time and those resources toward receiving the Republican nomination and winning the election in November. In this regard, three priorities of states have been created and the activity within those states will be defined as follows:

Priority One States are states in which the sum total of delegates exceeds the total number needed to nominate at the Convention and in which the greatest expenditure of time and dollars will take place to assure that delegates are elected who will support the President.

Priority Two States are those in which the President is likely to get some delegates and, therefore, some money and time will be spent in those areas, targeting on the specific Congressional Districts where work for the President seems to be the greatest.



Priority Three States are states which will require time and effort far beyond the realistic expectations of receiving the support of the delegates or which, because of their distance and the amount of travel time required to actively try to secure the delegations from those areas, are not worth the amount of expenditure required.

Chart II-A indicates the Priority One, Two and Three States broken down between Primary and Convention States.

THE PRIMARY STATES

The thumbnail Primary strategy is to win the New Hampshire, Florida and Georgia Primaries, thereby forcing Reagan to quit the race. If he remains in, sweep the Midwest and include Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, North Carolina and Texas. Then put up a fight in California, but play to win in Oregon, Ohio and New Jersey.

The first phase of the Primary strategy relates to taking on the Reagan campaign in states where Reagan is believed to have great strength. This is referred to as the Early Primary Strategy. Conceptually its goal is to defeat Reagan where he is acknowledged to be strong and, in defeating him, to eliminate him from the race. These Primaries take place in New Hampshire, Florida and Georgia.

Although the dates for these Primaries are still somewhat uncertain, the New Hampshire Primary is scheduled for March 2, the Florida Primary for March 9 and, although it is not yet scheduled, it is anticipated that the Georgia Primary will also occur on March 9. Each of these Primaries, therefore, is placed in the Priority One category. The outlook for each is as follows:

New Hampshire -- Governor Thomson is an open supporter of Reagan and has been active in his behalf for some time.

His activity for Reagan has not been universally accepted in New Hampshire, and the President continues to have strong support there in spite of the Thomson efforts.

However, Governor Thomson has a tremendous number of people he will be able to mobilize for the Primary in March and this factor should not be underestimated.

The current information on New Hampshire is rather sketchy in that, due to the special election for the United States Senate, Lou Wyman has requested that The President Ford Committee not actively enter the state until after the election.

Florida -- The Florida Republican Congressional delegation has traditionally had greater influence on the state party organization than Congressional delegations in most other states. This is obviously a net plus for the Ford campaign as the Congressmen view the President as a friend and former colleague. In all likelihood, the entire upper echelon of the Party organization will also endorse and support the President. There are, how-



ever, in Florida a large number of individuals who are prepared to vote for Ronald Reagan. Although polls within the state indicate the President is running strongly and will do well there, it will take a great deal of effort to assure victory in what is likely to be the winner-take-all Primary.

Georgia-- This is the home state of the President Ford Committee Chairman and a place where he has been a statewide candidate and has many friends. The State Chairman will be supportive of the Ford candidacy and should the President be able to carry Georgia, this would be the third nail in the coffin of the Reagan campaign.

Following the Georgia and Florida Primaries on March 9, the campaign will reach one of its first decision points. At this time, the leadership of the President Ford Committee will have to decide on its future allocation of resources for major Primaries and Conventions. It is probably safe to assume that, if Reagan has lost all of the above three Primaries and been thoroughly beaten in any one of those three, his campaign will be at a virtual end and he will be willing to concede the nomination at that time to the President. Should this be the case, the national resources devoted to future Primaries can be substantially reduced and directed toward building up an organization to work toward the November election.

If, however, Reagan chooses to remain in the race and depend-



ing upon the support he seems to have gathered from the first Conventions and Primaries, a decision must be made whether or not to actively campaign in the California Primary or to concede that Primary to Reagan with only a token campaign, using the financial resources which would have been spent there on other Primary and Convention activities. To run a contested race in California will require the use of approximately 30 percent of all funds allocated to Primary campaigns. This would amount to approximately \$1.5 million. If Reagan is still an active candidate following the March 9 Primaries, consideration should be given to reducing expenditures in California to approximately the \$200,000 level and increasing the level of activity in other Primary states with the remaining \$1.3 million. The \$200,000 should be spent to generate as much activity as possible in California in order to force the Reagan campaign into as high an expenditure level there as is possible, as California is a "must" state for him.

Following the early Primaries, there are a number of Primary contests which could be best characterized as Midwestern or Big States (in terms of the number of delegates). The North Carolina Primary also occurs within this time frame and should be entered to demonstrate the President's continued strength in the South. The Midwestern states are Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, Nebraska and Michigan. The "Big States" include New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Texas. This period in the campaign runs from March 16 when the Illinois Primary occurs until May 18 when the Michigan Primary occurs.



The political situation in these states is as follows:
Illinois -- This is currently the President Ford Committee's best organized state. The campaign there is headed up by former Governor Richard Ogilvie, and the President will likely be supported by the State organization hierarchy as well as most of the Congressional delegation. It is likely that Reagan will only be able to mount a challenge in a few of the State's Congressional Districts.



Wisconsin -- This is a state whose progressive history goes back to the days of Robert LaFollette. The Reagan campaign will have a difficult time organizing here and, as a result, the President should do quite well.

New York -- Conservative strength in New York State is increasing as demonstrated by the election of Jim Buckley to the Senate in 1970. Much of the Party organization put together by Vice President Rockefeller lies in disarray as a result of his departure from office and the defeat of Malcolm Wilson in the 1974 Gubernatorial race. Although we are currently having some difficulties organizing in New York, it is believed that the potential for a very good situation exists there and considerable work will be put into the efforts to get the President's share of New York's 154 delegates. It is further anticipated that the Vice President will, in all likelihood, attempt to control this delegation and will then deliver it for the President.

Pennsylvania -- Almost every individual who has any history with organized politics in Pennsylvania has committed himself in some way to support the President. The Pennsylvania State Republican Committee has already formally endorsed the President's nomination. Although the organization is not yet put together, the resources are such that there should be no problem with the President's having an impressive showing in the Primary.

Massachusetts -- This is the only state in the Union that voted for George McGovern. President Ford would probably be more vulnerable to a challenge in the Republican Primary from Teddy Kennedy than he is likely to be from Ronald Reagan.

Texas -- If Reagan is still in the race as of May 1, this will be, without question, one of the most significant Primary contests. Senator Tower is committed to the President and it is likely that he will be joined by John Connally who stated at the Young Republican National Convention that he "expected to be supporting President Ford". Reagan is very popular in this state and, without regard to the support the President might be expected to get from the Party organization, a Reagan campaign would have a good chance to put together a significant campaign of their own. The Texas Primary delegates will be selected according to state senatorial districts and



in certain districts Reagan is so strong that a Ford effort would be a waste of time and money. A strategy for this state can only be developed after a poll is taken.

Indiana -- The President looks very strong in Indiana polls, and it is anticipated that most of the Republican hierarchy will favor his candidacy. A key to Indiana Convention politics in the past has been the incumbent Governor. This would make the care and feeding of Governor Otis "Doc" Bowen of particular importance in the days ahead.

North Carolina -- This is a state in which Reagan is expected to do well. He will of course have the support of Senator Helms, while the President has been endorsed by Governor Holshouser. If Reagan is still in as of this date, a Ford win in North Carolina would have a salutary effect on future Primaries.

Nebraska -- Although Nebraska sends only 25 delegates to the National Convention, the national press corps looks at this state as a bellwether of a candidate's popularity in the Plains states. Reagan has been to Nebraska many times for fund raising activities, but the President has many friends there.



Michigan -- This is the President's home state, and he should do well. Due to the new state campaign law, it is unlikely that the President will receive all of the State's Convention votes if he is contested there. The law is such that any candidate who receives 5 percent or more of the vote receives that percentage of the delegation at the National Convention.



The final portion of the Primaries might well be the most vital. Depending on the decision made after the March 9 Primaries in Florida and Georgia, the knockout blow to the Reagan candidacy could occur in this period. In addition to California, the other Priority One States include Oregon, New Jersey and Ohio. These three states account for 194 delegates to the National Convention.

Oregon -- A victory in the Oregon Primary offers a tremendous psychological lift to the winning candidate and his campaign in California. Since the departure of former Governor Tom McCall, there is no dominating political force in the state. Senators Bob Packwood and Mark Hatfield each have their own organizations and operate pretty much outside the scope of the Party organization. While McCall was Governor, he controlled the state organization to the degree he desired to, and there was no love lost between him and his neighboring Governor to the south.

New Jersey -- This is a state where some effort will be required on the part of the Ford organization. There is a deep split in the Republican Party in New Jersey between Web Todd, the State Chairman, and Bernard Shanley, the National Committeeman. Senator Case traditionally gets very deeply involved in the delegate selection process in New Jersey and has considerable weight with the Party organization there. It appears that, with the exception of the split in the Party, the state would be in good shape to send a delegation to the Convention committed to the President.

Ohio -- This is a state in which the President should be in very good shape. Governor Jim Rhodes will control the delegate selection process and should deliver that delegation to the President. The activities in Ohio will require considerable monitoring, however, because Governor Rhodes has a tendency to focus on only a few matters at one time and delegate and National Convention situations must be placed uppermost in his mind. Furthermore, Governor Rhodes is personally very close to Vice President Rockefeller and will be likely to want to have a delegation which he can use to assure the Vice President's spot on the national ticket.

California -- As previously discussed, there are two alternative plans for California which will have to be decided upon after the March 9 Primaries. These plans



are as follows:

Plan One: This would be an all-out Primary fight with the expenditure of \$1.5 million budgeted for the effort. The idea would be to win the California winner-take-all Primary from Reagan and thereby eliminate him from the race by removing his base of support. This is not a task without numerous risks and considerable difficulty. At the same time, the President has considerable popular support in California. Most of the state's leading Republicans have already endorsed his candidacy and there is no question that he will be able to run a very strong race within the state. Reagan has certainly suffered substantial decline in his own state in recent years. In addition to so many of his former supporters endorsing the President, his candidates lost in the 1974 election, and his highly publicized tax initiative was also defeated at the polls. But, as a former Governor, Reagan is not without resources in that most of the middle level party leaders in California remain loyal to him.

Plan Two: Reduce the planned expenditure in California to the \$200,000-\$300,000 range, while putting together a large volunteer effort. Such a plan would force Reagan to use up significant dollar resources in a state he must win, while reducing the Ford campaign's commitment to such an effort. Ideally,



the Ford campaign should appear that it is preparing to spend a \$1.5 million now budgeted right up to the last minutes of the campaign and then not go with the massive advertising programs that such a budget would contemplate. The funds would then be used in other Primary efforts, probably in the Priority Two States.

Priority Two Primary States

Kentucky -- This is a state where Reagan will have some strength, but the President will nearly match him. A Kentucky election law apportions delegates on a proportional basis to the top four candidates who get at least 15 percent of the vote. Under such a plan, a minimal effort will get the President some delegates.

Maryland -- This is a state where most of the Primary campaign attention will be focused on George Wallace's candidacy. Any public relations value from a big win in Maryland will certainly be diminished by the effect of Wallace's win or loss in the state where he was shot in 1972. Delegates in Maryland are elected on the Congressional District basis, and efforts should be made to win specific Congressional Districts.

Rhode Island -- This is a winner-take-all Primary, and it is not anticipated that Reagan will do well here. Party organization, such as it is, will probably be



supportive of the President, but its small number of delegate votes reduce it in importance.

District of Columbia -- A volunteer effort run by individuals in the Washington area should produce a victory for the President with an expenditure of very few campaign funds.

Alabama -- This is a state in which Governor Reagan will be very popular. There should be some showing on the President's part, but a minimal number of dollars spent with the expectation that Reagan will probably win the winner-take-all contest.

South Dakota -- This is a state in which the Republicans are very conservative and which has few delegate votes. It is a winner-take-all Primary, so all 20 votes should be counted as lost.

Tennessee -- This is a state where Reagan should have some strength, but the President will have support from elected officials and some of the Party organization. An effort should be made to select those Congressional Districts in which he will run well and target on them.

West Virginia -- Governor Arch Moore will control this delegation and is supportive of the President. It would probably be helpful to the Governor if the President ran an active campaign in one of the Congressional Districts.



Nevada -- This is Paul Laxalt's home state and does not have many delegates. We should probably concede it to him, with only a token campaign.

Montana -- This is another state in which minimal efforts in specified areas will probably assure the President of some delegates at the Convention. The Primary is such that the delegates selected go to a state convention which then elects the delegates to the National Convention.

Arkansas -- This state has a new campaign law which is as yet untested. The President should win some delegates, but can afford to lose all 27.

Idaho -- Candidates in this Primary are placed on the ballot by the Secretary of State, and the President would be expected to get a credible share of the vote.

The only Priority Three Primary is in the Virgin Islands, where the number of delegates elected (4) is not worth the time and money necessary to assure the win.

The responsibility for running the Priority One Primary campaigns will rest with the Primary States Director and five campaign management teams with four members each.

Each campaign management team will consist of the following individuals: (1) a campaign manager who will have the overall responsibility for each team. He will direct the other members of the team and will have the responsibility for carrying out



the campaign plan in the Primary states; (2) two political organizers to organize volunteers and assist the campaign manager in implementing the campaign plan; (3) a PR/public relations person to deal with news media problems and promote the campaign's operation within the state. This individual will also have the responsibility for dealing with the national press when it is in the state and for coordinating with the Director of Research on advertising matters.

As agents of the President Ford Committee, each team will have the responsibility for the bulk of campaign expenditures in each state. Consideration should also be given to adding a fifth member to the team as a representative of the treasurer or replacing one of the political organizers for this purpose.

Chart II-B indicates the assignment of campaign management teams by Primary states.

Chart II-C indicates campaign management team assignments by team.





The Convention States

The Priority One Convention States fall into two categories: those which occur before the New Hampshire Primary and those in which the number of delegates are greater than 20.

Each of these states will have a specific budget for organizational activities leading up to the District and State Conventions.

Primary responsibility for the convention states will rest with the Convention States Director in Washington. He will have 5 fieldmen reporting to him who will be responsible for making sure that the Ford State Committees are organizing for the requisite conventions. These fieldmen and the Convention States Director would be able to call upon members of the President Ford Committee Advisory Committee and various VIP surrogates to represent the President at county, district and state conventions. These surrogates would include Members of Congress, Governors, and Presidential appointees within the Administration.

At this time, it is anticipated that at least 132 delegates will be selected prior to the New Hampshire Primary. There will obviously be significant press coverage given to any indication of weakness on the part of the President as demonstrated in these convention states. This could have significant effect on the New Hampshire Primary and those which follow it. It is important, therefore, that the President do well in these convention states. If Reagan is to be forced from the field early, the outcome of the Hawaii, Maine, Wyoming, Minnesota and Kansas delegate selection conventions must be firmly in the hands of the Ford campaign.



The remainder of the convention states which fall into the Priority One category have among them 349 delegates. Should the President receive the votes of all the delegates from the Priority One Convention States, which number 481, and all of the 1260 delegates selected in the Priority One Primary States, he would receive 1741 delegates on the first ballot at the national convention. It must be pointed out, however, that the only way in which this could occur would be for the President to be unchallenged in the Primary states. This is due to the fact that many states, Michigan for example, have proportionate Primary elections in which the individual who gets the significant share of the vote gets that proportion of delegates to the national convention.

Priority One States

Hawaii -- This is a traditional precinct caucus state followed by the state convention. Although Reagan has friends in Hawaii the President should do well there.

Maine -- This is a state in which the Vice President has a number of friends who will be working for the President at the State Conventions.

Wyoming -- Senator Clifford Hansen is clearly the strongest politician in the state, and he has endorsed the President's candidacy. Working with the Ford organization, there is little question that this will be a Ford state.

Minnesota -- The Party organization in Minnesota seems to be nearly 100% behind the President. It will be difficult for Reagan to organize in Minnesota, and he may choose to avoid a contest in that convention.



Kansas -- Governor Bennett is specifically holding the Republican Governors Association meeting in Kansas this November in order to avoid its being held in New Hampshire where Governor Thomson will be pushing for a Reagan candidacy. With this support from the Governor, the Congressional delegation, and the Party organization, the President should win all or nearly all of the delegates. Governor Reagan does have friends in Kansas and would be expected to contest this convention state. It should be remembered that Henry Bubb in Topeka was the National Chairman of the Reagan efforts in 1968.

Post New Hampshire Priority One Convention States

Washington -- Governor Dan Evans controls the Party here and will be supporting the President. As a result, there should be no problems in Washington.

Virginia -- This will unquestionably be a contested state. Since he was elected in 1973, Governor Mills Godwin has not been active in national party activities, but was the first Governor to endorse the President early in 1975. The state party organization is likely to split in a Reagan/Ford contest, although the Congressional delegation should be solid for the President with the possible exception of Senator Scott. If Reagan is not out of the race by this time, it is likely to be a horse race.

Iowa -- Governor Ray will control the delegates to the national convention from Iowa, and he will be for President Ford.

Oklahoma -- Both the National Committeeman and National Committeewoman have endorsed Reagan, but Senators Bellmon and Bartlett can be expected to back the President, thus making the convention a horse race.



Missouri - Governor Bond and Congressman Gene Taylor will, in all likelihood, be able to maintain control over the entire Missouri delegation. It is possible, however, that they will fight between themselves as to who specific delegates are, but in any case, both are supporting the President.

Connecticut -- It would not be expected that Governor Reagan could mount a very significant campaign in this state; however, it should be watched closely.

Colorado -- This is a state in which Governor Reagan could mount a very significant campaign. Bob Leigh, former State Chairman, has been active for him in recent days. It is also the home of the Coors organization which is expected to be supportive of the Reagan candidacy. (Bob Walker, Reagan's former Executive Assistant, works for Coors there.)

Utah -- This is a state in which Reagan has many friends, but the President should be able to secure at least half of the delegates.

Arizona -- Arizona is in the process of changing their delegate selection system and, as a result, will be operating under a new set of election laws. The support of John Rhodes, Barry Goldwater and Paul Fannin should assure the President of a strong showing in this state.

Priority Two Convention States

The Priority Two Convention States are Delaware, Vermont, Alaska, North Dakota and New Mexico. Among them they have a total of 83 delegates. These states were selected for category Two in that although the President should receive some delegates from each



of these states, the total number of delegates in any state individually was so small that much time and effort should not be spent in that state as are spent in states with greater numbers of delegates.

Priority Three Convention States

Priority Three Convention States are South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, Guam and Puerto Rico. Guam and Puerto Rico were selected as Priority Three states on the basis of the fact that they are so far from the continental United States that travel to those places is an inordinately high cost for the 12 delegates which they send to the Convention. All of the activity with Puerto Rico and Guam should be handled by telephone.

South Carolina, Louisiana and Mississippi were selected for Priority Three States on the basis that they are the states in which the Reagan organization is likely to be the strongest. The states should not be ignored, however, in that an attempt should be made to create organizations within those states to secure some representation on the delegation, but a likelihood of being able to do so is certainly lower than in the Priority One or Two States.

Regional and State Chairmen

Without regard to what priority is assigned to a state, each state should have a volunteer state chairman. In the Priority Two and Three states and in all of the Convention states these individuals will be the only people on the scene day-to-day representing the President Ford Committee. In the Priority One Primary states, the chairman will work closely with the campaign management team in running the Primary effort. The campaign management



team leader will have control of major expenditures.

It must be remembered that chairmen chosen before the Convention will be likely to want to remain on after the Convention. Therefore, a great deal of care should be taken in their selection to avoid the fall campaign from looking too Republican and driving away Democrat and Independent voters. The state chairmen will report to the Primary or Conventions States Directors, depending on the nature of their delegate selection system.

The Regional Chairmen will have the responsibility for checking in on the State Chairmen and serving as President Ford Committee leaders at Party functions. They will also be key to determining strategy for their regions for the general election, and at the Convention. They will report to the Delegate Coordinator. The regions are outlined in Chart II-D.

The National Convention

The plan for the National Convention will vary widely, based upon whether or not Governor Reagan has been forced out of the race by that time. If Governor Reagan remains in the race, much of the President Ford Committee activity at the National Convention will have to surround holding delegations and making sure the President has enough delegates to nominate him on the first ballot. Should Governor Reagan quit the race prior to the National Convention, the efforts of the President Ford Committee should be to work with the National Committee in such a way as to put together an extravaganza to serve as a kickoff to the President's general election campaign. Although it is too early

to devise a precise plan for the Convention, a Convention Director should be identified and planning for logistical support for the Convention begun. Regardless of the nature of the Convention, logistical planning for such a meeting is a tremendous task and will consume a considerable amount of time. A Convention Director can operate on a part-time basis until shortly after the first of the year and then should come on the Committee staff in a full-time status.



PRIORITY ONE STATES BY DELEGATE SELECTION SYSTEM

<u>PRIMARY STATES</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>TOTAL DELEGATES</u>
New Hampshire	March 2	21
Florida	March 9	66
Georgia	March 9	48
Illinois	March 16	101
New York	April 6	154
Wisconsin	April 6	45
Pennsylvania	April 27	103
Massachusetts	April 27	43
Texas	May 1	100
Indiana	May 4	54
North Carolina	March 23	54
Nebraska	May 11	25
Michigan	May 18	84
Oregon	May 25	30
California	June 8	167
New Jersey	June 8	67
Ohio	June 8	97
	TOTAL	<u>1260</u>

<u>CONVENTION STATES</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>TOTAL DELEGATES</u>
Hawaii	January 19	19
Maine	February 1	20
Wyoming	February 3	17
Minnesota	February 24	42
Kansas	February 28	34
Washington	March 7	38
Virginia	March 31	51
Oklahoma	April 3	36
Iowa	April 4	36
Missouri	April 15	49
Connecticut	April 20	35
Colorado	May 3	31
Utah	May 17	26
Arizona	?	29
	TOTAL	<u>481</u>
	GRAND TOTAL	1741



PRIORITY TWO STATES BY DELEGATE SELECTION SYSTEM

<u>PRIMARY STATES</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>TOTAL DELEGATES</u>
Kentucky	May 25	37
Maryland	May 18	42
Rhode Island	June 1	19
District of Columbia	May 4	14
Alabama	May 4	37
South Dakota	June 1	20
Tennessee	May 6	43
West Virginia	May 11	28
Nevada	May 25	17
Montana	June 1	20
Arkansas	May 25	27
Idaho	May 25	21
	TOTAL	<u>278</u>

<u>CONVENTION STATES</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>TOTAL DELEGATES</u>
Delaware	April 20	18
Vermont	April 20	17
Alaska	May 1	19
North Dakota	?	18
New Mexico	June 1	<u>21</u>
	TOTAL	93
	GRAND TOTAL	371



PRIORITY THREE STATES BY DELEGATE SELECTION SYSTEM

<u>PRIMARY STATES</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>TOTAL DELEGATES</u>
Virginia Islands	July 6	4

<u>CONVENTION STATES</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>TOTAL DELEGATES</u>
South Carolina	February 28	36
Louisiana	April 15	41
Mississippi	April 22	30
Guam	April 15	4
Puerto Rico	?	<u>8</u>
	GRAND TOTAL	123



<u>CAMPAIGN TEAM</u>	<u>PRIMARY STATE</u>	<u>DATE OF PRIMARY</u>
I	New Hampshire	March 2
II	Florida Georgia	March 9
III	Illinois	March 16
IV	New York	April 6
III	Wisconsin	April 6
V	Pennsylvania	April 27
I	Massachusetts	April 27
II	Texas	May 1
III	Indiana	May 4
IV	North Carolina	May 4
I	Nebraska	May 11
V	Michigan	May 18
III	Oregon	May 25
II-III	California	June 8
I	New Jersey	June 8
IV-V	Ohio	June 8



TEAM I

New Hampshire (March 2)
Massachusetts (April 27)
Nebraska (May 11)
New Jersey (June 8)

TEAM II

Florida (March 9) + *Georgia*
Texas (May 1)
California (June 8)¹

TEAM III

Illinois (March 16)
Wisconsin (April 6)
Indiana (May 4)
Oregon (May 25)
California (June 8)²

TEAM IV

New York (April 6)
North Carolina (May 4)
Ohio (June 8)¹

TEAM V

Pennsylvania (April 27)
Michigan (May 18)
Ohio (June 8)²



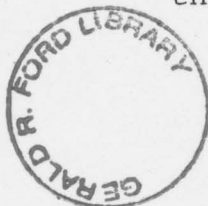
SECTION III: RESEARCH, PUBLIC RELATIONS AND MANAGEMENT INFORMATION

RESEARCH

Since the 1960 elections, it has been evident that one of the keys to success in the national political arena is good research. This will be even more true in the 1976 elections than it has been in the past. It is unclear as to what degree the President will have to overcome the public's resentment of the 1972 Presidential campaign. In 1974, the public clearly vented its frustration with former President Nixon on Republican candidates and the number of individuals voting reflected a clear disillusionment with the political process.

Prior to the National Convention, the Research Division of The President Ford Committee should be operating in four areas -- polling (both in Primary States and on broad issues), advertising, issue planning, and generalized planning for the general election campaign.

Polling - Arrangements can be made with the Republican National Committee to enable The Ford Committee to secure copies of polling data pertaining to the President which is conducted in various states. In addition, the President Ford Committee might wish to enter into a cost-sharing arrangement with states which may be key to the Committee's activities. In addition, it would probably be beneficial to do some initial polling in New Hampshire, Florida and possibly Georgia, based on the importance of those states' Primaries to the overall election plan. (Funds have been set aside in the budget for this purpose.) Such polling will assist not only the political decision makers in targeting the volunteer organization





and its efforts, but will also be of use to the advertising people in planning advertising for those Primary races.

Additionally, allowance has been made in the budget for 8 additional polls in other Primary states.

This fall the RNC will be following up on attitudinal polls which they conducted last fall. An effort should be made either through the White House staff or through the campaign committee to have specific questions included in these polls to begin the process of identifying the President's constituency within the population. Questions should also be included which could help identify those constituent targets which have views and attitudes about specific issues that are concurrent with the President's but who do not consider themselves his supporters. As this work will go into the field in October, it is important that it be decided who will make contact with the National Committee and what questions will be included.

Finally, a poll totally paid for by The President Ford Committee and commissioned by them should go into the field next July to retest the public's perception of the President and gain further information on issue-related material. It is likely that this poll could be used to sophisticate some of the data which has been gathered in the poll done this fall. This information would then be included as a factor before finalizing the battle plan for the general election campaign.

Issue Planning - Since the President is an incumbent, it is logical that his issues planning will be done within the White House staff operation, as a candidate's views on issues reflect



themselves in government policy when articulated by a sitting President.

There seems to remain a sense that people do not know where the President stands on a broad number of issues and what his approach to government and long-range policy will be. It is important that a Ford approach to government and public policy be enunciated soon. Presidents, to be successful, must be viewed by the public as having a breadth of vision, an intellectual capacity to understand the complexities of American life and to identify the common threads among our many problems. The President must be viewed as being more than just a man of integrity, but also as a man who can lead the country in the direction he would like to see it move and who can inspire the country to get behind his basic programs.

The President must be pictured as a candidate from the post-Nixon era rather than being a continuation of Nixon programs and policies. This observation relates not to Watergate, but to general attitudes toward government. As a part of the program to identify the President's constituencies, an effort should be made to identify those issues which attract the constituencies to him. To the degree that programs exist which deal with those issues, they should be emphasized throughout the next 14 months. To the degree that programs do not exist in these areas, they should be developed and articulated.

It is of course up to the President to determine what unit within the White House deals with issue-related matters; however, it is important to have the involvement of the Domestic Council,



the Office of Public Liaison, the staff secretary, the legislative office, and the Office of Management and Budget. Furthermore, the members of the President's Cabinet will probably have a desire to have input into the issue development process. They are working daily with the interest groups that deal with their Departments and are likely to be a good source of information regarding the level of support which could be expected from these groups.

Advertising - Since advertising is so closely related to individuals' attitudinal views, we recommend that a Director of Research be given this responsibility. Through conversations with several individuals, both in politics and the advertising business, it is recommended that advertising be done through an agency rather than attempting to set up an in-house advertising operation as was done in 1972. The economics of the advertising industry are such that it would be no more expensive to use an agency, and the best technicians in the ad industry are likely to be unwilling to leave ongoing jobs for a position of short-term duration.

During the Primary period, several advertising agencies should be used to develop advertising in the various Primaries and that at the end of the Primary period, a decision be made on one of these agencies which would have the responsibility for advertising throughout the general election. There is, of course, the possibility that in the general election, you may wish to use one agency for television and other agencies for radio and print media. If this should be the case, it would of course be acceptable; however, this would require the beefing up of the number of personnel at the Committee needed to supervise these activities.



In addition, an advisory council of advertising and political professionals should be created to advise the President Ford Committee on the likely effectiveness of various agencies' advertising programs. These individuals would review both the copy and direction of advertising programs prepared for the Ford Committee and assist the staff at the Committee in evaluating agency material.

General Election Planning - Since the general election campaign activity must start immediately after the National Convention, an approved general election plan should be completed by about August 1. This plan should be devised in the Research Division where there is the greatest access to information about the coalition of interest groups necessary to have a winning campaign. This plan should be done by one individual who has the confidence of the President and the Campaign Chairman and he should have authority to talk to other individuals within the campaign, in the White House, and outside government regarding this activity. It is, of course, important that this individual be more than just a "research type", but have considerable political skills and have been involved previously in campaign planning.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

Media Relations - The media staff of the President Ford Committee should be small, probably only one individual with an assistant/secretary. Obviously, day-to-day questions about the President's positions on issues and his personal schedule would be dealt with by the White House Press Secretary; therefore, the media section at the Ford Committee will have to deal only with



answering political inquiries, working with columnists with regard to stories they are doing, as well as mailing out popular newsletters, writing and getting news releases to the media, and writing an internal newsletter which can be used to keep the volunteers and employees of the PFC up to date on the Committee's activities across the country. The Director of Communications should be an individual with whom both the Campaign Chairman and the Political Director are very comfortable and in whom they are willing to confide. It will be up to this individual to advise the Chairman and Political Director with regard to their handling of news stories. It will be particularly important that this individual create a strategy to be used at "background" sessions with the press corps. He should also advise the Campaign Chairman and Political Director on the types of stories which should be gotten out about the Ford campaign. It is important that significant political gains by the campaign are made public so that they may impact on other political activities. For example, although it may not appear to be national news that North Carolina has lined up behind the President, the national political reporters will consider that very significant in that the state is considered to be Reagan country. It is this type of information that the Communications Director should be getting out on a regular basis.

Liaison Activities - One of the most often heard complaints regarding the 1972 campaign was that it did not stay in touch with Party leaders and elected officials around the country and allow for their input into the campaign effort. It is important





for the President's campaign to contrast this impression by being very sensitive to communications with broad groups of people. There are also some necessary liaison activities which must take place between various organizational groups in the campaign. It is important that these relationships be set in place early and followed throughout.

Republican National Committee - Since the members of the RNC and the Committee staff are not government employees, a communication between the two groups can be informal and frequent. As long as Governor Reagan remains in the contest, the RNC must be prepared to give equal assistance to both candidates; however, under the federal campaign financing laws, this assistance can be valued at no more than \$5,000.

There will, of course, be a relationship between the Campaign Chairman and the Chairman of the RNC, but we would recommend that, in addition, all Division Directors at the PFC also maintain an informal relationship with each of their counterparts at the RNC. A formal liaison between the two should not be designated for purposes other than the transfer of items of value. Determination of what constitutes such matter should be made by the General Counsel of the PFC and the General Counsel of the RNC and then a mechanism for accounting for items of value should be determined by them.

Republican Elected Officials - Probably the greatest number of complaints regarding the 1972 campaign activity came from Republican elected officials. A direct and concerted effort to stay in touch with elected officials in the Congress, in Governorships, Mayors' offices and State Legislatures across the country must be



made. It is recommended that such an effort be done mainly by the Political Division on matters of substance, but that a specific operation be set up using "professional volunteers" acting out of the national headquarters to maintain regular contact with these individuals.

The elected officials should be called on a regular basis to ask them how the campaign is going in their area, should the campaign be doing anything different, do they need material for their speeches which we can provide them, and other information of that sort. They should also be informed when the President will be visiting their area or when he is doing something of significance of which they should be aware. This should not replace, however, the specific need to make sure that the elected officials are made aware of key campaign decisions that might affect their own campaigns. We must be sensitive to the needs of these people in this campaign, as their good will and their willingness to use some of their own resources in the President's behalf can magnify several times the effectiveness of our Committee's activities.

Non-elected Party Leaders - In this category would be placed former Governors, former Mayors, former Congressman and Senators, as well as County Chairmen, City Chairmen and former members of the Republican National Committee. Although the care and feeding of these individuals can in most instances be substantially less rigorous than in the case of elected officials, many of these people are opinion makers in their communities and should receive some type of regular communication. Rather than using up telephone time with such communications, it is recommended that these



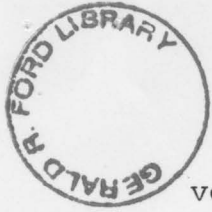
people be made a part of regular campaign mailings to keep them up to date on how the campaign is doing.

Volunteer Activities - The new campaign law has changed the nature of volunteer work in national campaigns in a very substantial way. Because of the restrictions on campaign spending, many of the activities previously undertaken by paid campaign staff members must now be done by volunteers. At the same time, the campaign management must recognize that unlike volunteers in previous campaigns, the volunteers in 1976 must do more than stuff envelopes and create enthusiasm at rallies. A 1976 volunteer will be required to play a substantive role in some basic campaign activities. It is recommended that all volunteer activities be coordinated by a single full time paid staff employee, but that all other activities dealing with volunteers, including the secretary for the Volunteer Director, be volunteers themselves.

The campaign law also places restrictions upon the number of hours and the amount of his or her own money a volunteer may give to the campaign. One responsibility of the Volunteer Director will be to keep track of such information and assure that the activities of the campaign do not run afoul of the federal campaign law.

Every Division of the campaign will have to depend on volunteers for much of their basic work, and there will be times when certain divisions of the campaign may be made up entirely of volunteers.

Although volunteers will still be typing, updating mailing lists and stuffing envelopes, the 1976 campaign will require a level of



volunteer activity and a type of volunteer who have not been used in great numbers in prior campaigns. We call this individual a "professional" volunteer. It might be a businessman, a doctor, an engineer, an attorney, or a housewife. He or she is characterized by the fact that the type of volunteer work performed in previous political campaigns has not been stimulating enough to interest them for any period of time. The 1976 campaign will offer them a new opportunity.

The major problem standing in the way of using volunteers in a major day-to-day role in the campaign has always rested with the nature of their service. It is clearly difficult to give someone day-to-day responsibility when they come in for a day once a week or two half days or possibly even only once every two weeks. In an effort to overcome the problems encountered by this occasional service, it is planned that volunteers which have day-to-day responsibilities will be organized into Volunteer Activity Teams. Each Volunteer Activity Team will be made up of a group of individuals, probably 4 or 5, who will commit themselves to have one member of their team at the headquarters and working during all of the hours when they have responsibility for whatever specific project they have been assigned. For example, one member of the team may work all day Monday, one all day Tuesday, and so on. Each of these teams will have a team leader and the team leader will be responsible for making sure each member of the team fulfills his obligation or is replaced. They will keep each other informed by memoranda or verbal communication with regard to what they have done that might relate to activities other members of the



team would have to deal with during their period of time on duty. It is hoped that the members of the teams will be acquainted with one another and have worked together previously on some type of project.

The type of activity these volunteer activity teams would work on would be such things as staying in touch with elected officials across the country, staying in touch with Party leaders, writing the internal newsletter, and, at least prior to the National Convention, probably running an entire division dealing with relationships between the campaign and various ethnic groups. In fact, the opportunities for such a program if it proves successful are almost unlimited.

MANAGEMENT INFORMATION SYSTEMS

Essentially the pre-Convention activity is dedicated to one purpose and one purpose only -- assuring that the President has enough delegates committed to him to be nominated on the first ballot at the Republican National Convention. Other activities, of course, take place during this period, but this must be the near-term target of the campaign. Once this goal has been reached, the President Ford Committee can turn its attention to general election activities and projects related to the general election. It is important, therefore, for the Committee to set up a management system which allows its leadership to know at any given point the number of delegates committed to the President and how they stand in relation to their final goal of 1130. It is equally important to monitor the thinking of the delegates on matters dealing with the Platform and the Vice Presidential candidate in order



to make sound decisions at the Convention which are acceptable to the Party generally.

This information should be gathered by the campaign staff, the State Chairmen, and the campaign management teams and reported to the Delegate Coordinator who will place it in delegate books on each of the State delegations. This information should include not only their name and mailing address and telephone number, but as much biographical information as possible. Sets of these books should be kept with the Delegate Coordinator, the Political Director, the Campaign Chairman and the White House liaison. They should be updated once a week as new delegates are selected and additional information becomes available.

These reports would be phoned to the campaign headquarters via a reverse WATS hooked up to a device such as a Code-a-phone into which the reports can be dictated. This would save time in the field and dictating the reports to a secretary and sending them through the mails and would cause the Committee in Washington to have more timely reports than it might otherwise have. Reports to this dictation equipment should be limited to matters relevant to the delegate recruitment operations and should not include the broad aspects of the political scene within a state.

In addition, the Delegate Coordinator would have responsibility for maintaining a state-by-state political update for the Political Director, Campaign Chairman and the President. This report would be done weekly and include any relevant political activity which has occurred in any state since the previous week. Included in the report would be the analysis of general strength vis a vis other candidates, polling information, newspaper en-



dorsements, and endorsements by Party and opinion leaders throughout the state concerned.

Also on a weekly basis, the Treasurer's Office should prepare a financial report indicating the financial status of the campaign. This report should contain the amount of money which has been raised, a state-by-state breakdown of how much money has been raised in each state relative to that state's goals, and should contain a breakdown of actual expenditures as against budgeted expenditures for the campaign organization.

The White House - Because of the occurrences surrounding the 1972 campaign and because of the new federal election law, the White House must remain out of almost any political activity. Should such time occur that White House employees are spending large amounts of their time on campaign-related activities, there should be an examination as to whether or not that amount of time is necessary to the campaign, and if it is decided that such is the case, the individual involved should be transferred to the campaign payroll.

It will be important for the individuals working on the White House staff on matters dealing with the President's travel and the timing of certain public announcements to understand the political atmosphere in which his presence or his pronouncements will be made. It is important, therefore, that a relationship be established between the political section of the campaign and various individuals in the White House who will be responsible for dealing with these areas. Until these individuals become well acquainted with one another, it is recommended that weekly meetings be scheduled to discuss all relevant matters. A scheduling commit-

tee consisting of the Campaign Chairman, the Political Director, the Delegate Coordinator and the individual on the President's staff who has responsibility for scheduling should meet weekly to discuss matters surrounding this activity.



SECTION IV: ORGANIZATION, BUDGET AND FINANCE

The rough outline that follows describes the campaign structure without reference to the organization of the White House staff. It is obvious that the White House staff will be performing many functions during the next months where it will not be easy to distinguish their service to an incumbent President and service to a Presidential candidate. Whenever such a distinction becomes clear, and the principal responsibility of White House staff members becomes service to the campaign, I recommend they be transferred immediately to the campaign payroll.

Norwithstanding, constant liaison between the White House and the campaign committee will be of ongoing importance. The major portion of this liaison should occur between the campaign chairman and the President's designated liaison, Don Rumsfeld. However, other points of contact must also be maintained; i.e., General Counsel with the Counsel's office; Communications Director with the Press Secretary; Political Director with the Scheduling Office and Domestic Council; and Campaign Management and Fieldmen with the Advance staff, etc. However, to keep these relationships from becoming confused, it is important that no contact be made with the White House without the explicit approval of the campaign chairman and the White House liaison. Such explicit approval can come in one of two forms -- either approval for individuals to enter into ongoing discussions on their day-to-day work without specific approval for each conversation, or approval for individuals to engage in discussion concerning one, and only one, specific project.





Chart IV-A outlines the basic national campaign structure. Within this structure, there would be three decision-making levels:

-- At the strategy and major decision level, the decision-making body would be the President, the White House liaison, the campaign chairman, the political director and whoever else the group feels should be included for particular subjects. (Authority at this level obviously rests with the President.)

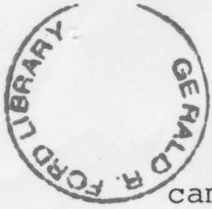
-- At the day-to-day major decision level, the decision-making body would be the campaign chairman, political director and relevant division directors. (Authority at this level would rest with the campaign chairman, with the obvious right of appeal to and veto by the President.)

-- At the day-to-day implementation level, authority would rest with the division director, with the obvious right of appeal and veto by the campaign chairman.

To work effectively, of course, this system depends upon the cooperation of all and the commitment of those with authority to foster such spirit of cooperation and mutual respect. It is essential at the outset to fix a firm line of authority and responsibility so as to avoid "committee decisions" and their subsequent confusion. Following is an outline of responsibilities for Campaign Committee staff:

Campaign Chairman

- (a) He will sit with the President, Political Director, and White House liaison, as the major strategy and decision-making body.
- (b) He will chair the day-to-day decision-making body of the



campaign (with a Political Director and relevant Division Directors) with ultimate authority for those decisions, subject to veto by the President.

(c) He will be responsible for the implementation (through the Division Directors) of all decisions of either group.

(d) He will be responsible for all hiring and firing in the campaign.

(e) He will be responsible for maintenance of an approved campaign budget and for living within that budget.

(f) He will be responsible for a productive relationship (with the White House liaison) between the campaign staff and the White House staff.

(g) He will be the major spokesmen for the candidate and campaign with the press and general public.

(h) He will act as the senior representative of the candidate and the campaign with political personalities throughout the country (especially with all segments of the Republican Party).

The Campaign Chairman will have an Assistant and a Director of Administration to handle staff details.

Political Director (Deputy Chairman)

(a) He will sit with the candidate, campaign chairman and White House liaison as the major strategy decision-making body.

(b) He will sit with the day-to-day decision-making body of the campaign (with the Campaign Chairman and relevant Division Directors).

(c) He will act as a major representative of the candidate in the campaign with political personalities throughout the country.



(d) He will have responsibility for the campaign Political organization (Chart IV-B). As such, his functions will be to:

- (1) collect political information from Republican contacts in all states in order to facilitate sound, strategic planning;
- (2) develop campaign plans in all Priority One States; and
- (3) oversee the implementation of national and state campaign plans.

He will supervise the activities of the Primary States Director and the Convention States Director in their delegate recruitment activities. He will also have the responsibility through the Delegate Coordinator for providing a system under which delegate information can be compiled on each of the delegates for use at the Convention.

Director of Communications

He will have the responsibility for press relations and non-paid public relations for the campaign.

Director of Research

He will have responsibility for planning and analyzing such polling data as might be needed in the Primary campaigns.

He will assist in the selection of an advertising agency or agencies and serve as the campaign liaison with those agencies.

He will develop the general election campaign plan so that it is approved by all parties and ready to go into effect immediately following the Convention.

Convention Director

He will oversee all arrangements for the National Convention and will coordinate with the Republican National Committee on those arrangements.



The General Counsel

The General Counsel shall be responsible for daily opinions and legal advice for both the President Ford Committee and the Finance Committee.

He will be the liaison between the campaign committee and the Federal Election Commission.

Volunteer Director

The Volunteer Director will be the only paid individual on the volunteer staff. He or she will have the responsibility for recruiting volunteers for the national headquarters, as well as planning volunteer operations within the states. Due to the nature of the new campaign law, volunteer operations are much more significant than they have been in the past and require much more careful monitoring. This will require the Volunteer Director to do a guideline plan for the recruitment of volunteers within each state, indicating the do's and don'ts of volunteer activity. In this regard, the Volunteer Director should work closely with the General Counsel.

Delegate Coordinator

The Delegate Coordinator shall have the responsibility for maintaining background information and up-to-date delegate counts on each state delegation. He will be stationed in the national headquarters and will be available on the phone at all times to the fieldmen, the campaign management teams, and the Regional and State Chairmen. He will have responsibility for all campaign intelligence. He will also be the primary contact with the Republican National Committee and have responsibility for all del-



egate activities at the Convention. The Delegate Coordinator, working with Assistants in the Political Division, shall also have day-to-day responsibility for liaison with the White House Scheduling Office. He will develop a group of surrogate speakers and with Volunteer Activity Teams be responsible for their schedule.

Convention States Director

The Convention States Director will have responsibility for the delegate selection in all of the Convention states. He shall have responsibility for the five fieldmen who cover delegate recruitment operations in those states.

In addition, he will work with the Campaign Advisory Committee to make sure that District and State Conventions each have representation from the President Ford Committee and prior to such conventions adequate ground work has been laid to assure an outcome favorable to the President.

Primary States Director

The Primary States Director will have responsibility for the campaigns in each of the Primary States. He will have responsibility for the five four-man campaign management teams. These campaign management teams will have the responsibility for running the Primaries in the Priority One Primary States.

The budget for salaries of these individuals is indicated on Chart IV-C.

It should be noted that the salaries listed in Chart IV-C are on an annual basis, since many of these individuals will not be with the Committee for a full twelve months; their salaries

will be prorated in figuring the final budget. Also, the salary figures are intended to be maximums and where individuals are in a financial position to work for less, they should do so. It would also be beneficial to the budget to bring individuals on as consultants as frequently as possible in order to avoid the payment of health benefits and the employer portion of unemployment compensation.

The timing for bringing people on board is indicated on Chart IV-D.

One final word about personnel. The campaign is going to be run with as small a staff as possible. This places a special burden on those making personnel decisions. The production from a small staff can match and exceed a staff twice its size if the people are truly excellent. Emphasis must be placed on getting the absolutely best people to work in every position.

Chart IV-E shows a generalized breakdown of the budget by a number of budget categories. Following approval of this budget, the Treasurer's office will refine it and provide monthly budget goals. The Primary States have been allocated a total budget of \$5,200,000. Of this amount, \$4,700,000 has been allocated to specific states and a \$500,000 pool has been created for use in the other Primary States. When each state organization or campaign management team is given its budget, the total actually budgeted will be reduced by 10 percent in order to form a reserve fund for that state. It is hoped that this will allow for any unanticipated expenditures and for any emergencies which might occur.



A state-by-state budget for Priority One Primary States is contained on Chart IV-F.

The Convention States have been allocated a total budget of \$850,000 of which \$645,000 has been allocated to the Priority One States. The remainder will go into a pool for the other Convention states. Chart IV-G contains the Priority One state-by-state breakdown for Convention States.

Since the Federal Election law requires that all expenditures be allocated by state, budgets for each state must be well under the total allowed by law.

It can be anticipated that there will be additional personnel needs in both the Primary and Convention States. It is envisioned that these personnel needs will be met out of the budget for the state concerned. This is also true in matters involving the Convention.

Relationship with Finance Committee:

Under the Federal Election laws, the Finance Committee is allowed essentially \$2 million to raise \$10 million. Since this is such an extraordinarily high percentage of fund raising expenditure to receipt, a plan should be worked out with the Finance Committee to use certain of its allowable dollars for fund raising in a manner which, although directed for fund raising purposes, will also have political benefit. This should be accomplished in the following manner:

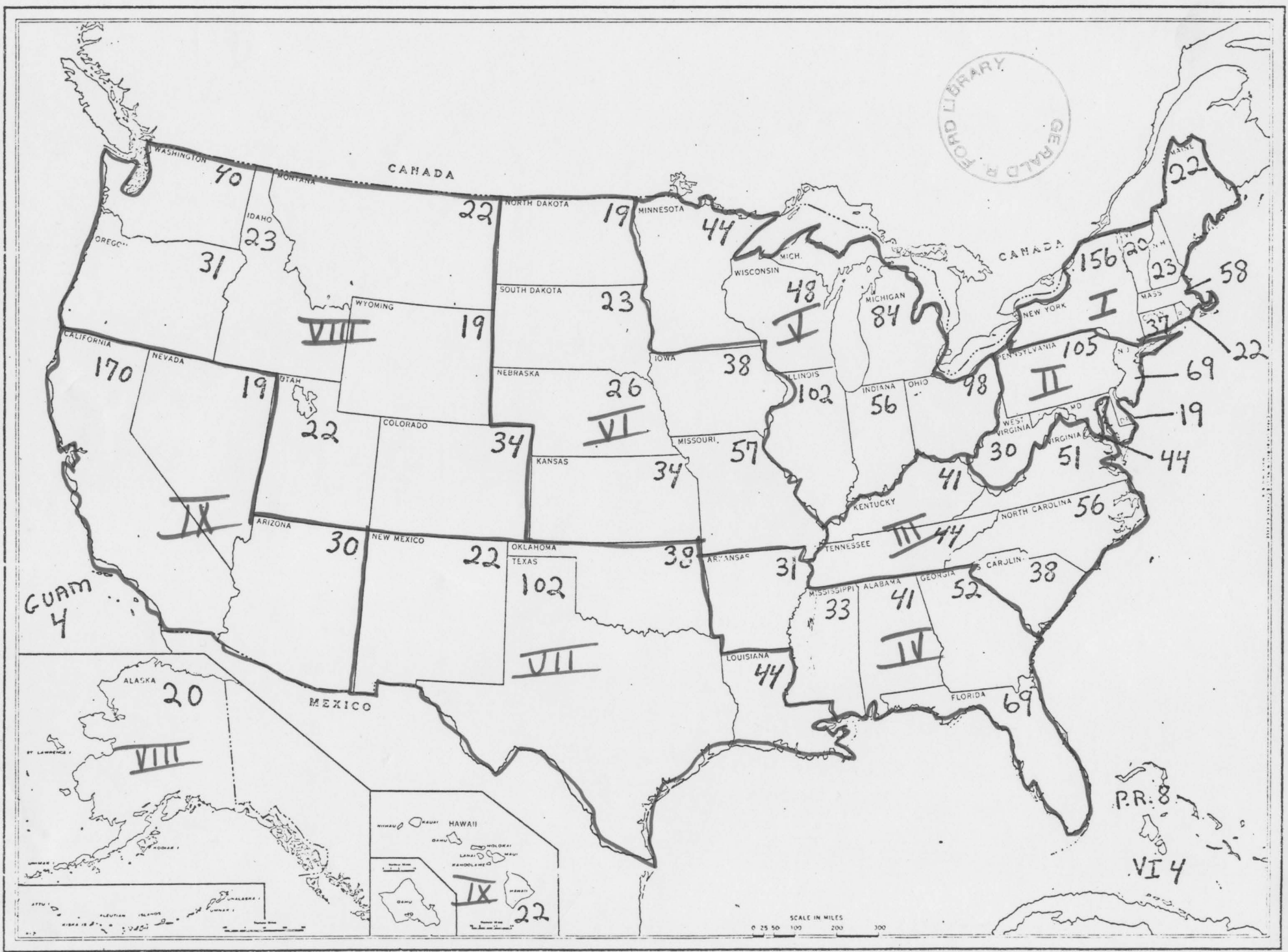
(1) To the degree possible, expenditures for fund raising in Priority One States should be held as far under the maximum state limitation as possible. This is particularly true in

New Hampshire, Florida, Illinois, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania. Since these are the earliest states in the Primary category, as many resources as can be used to win these Primaries should be directed toward that purpose.

(2) Direct mail fund raising materials should be prepared in such a manner that in the course of the solicitation sound reasons for electing the President will be outlined; and

(3) The Finance Committee should pay for any expenditures which could legitimately be charged off to either the campaign or finance operations. In this manner, the maximum amount of campaign funds can be used in attempting to achieve our primary goal of getting the President nominated and elected.

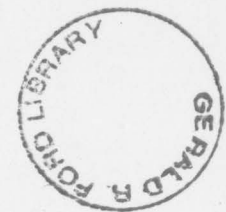
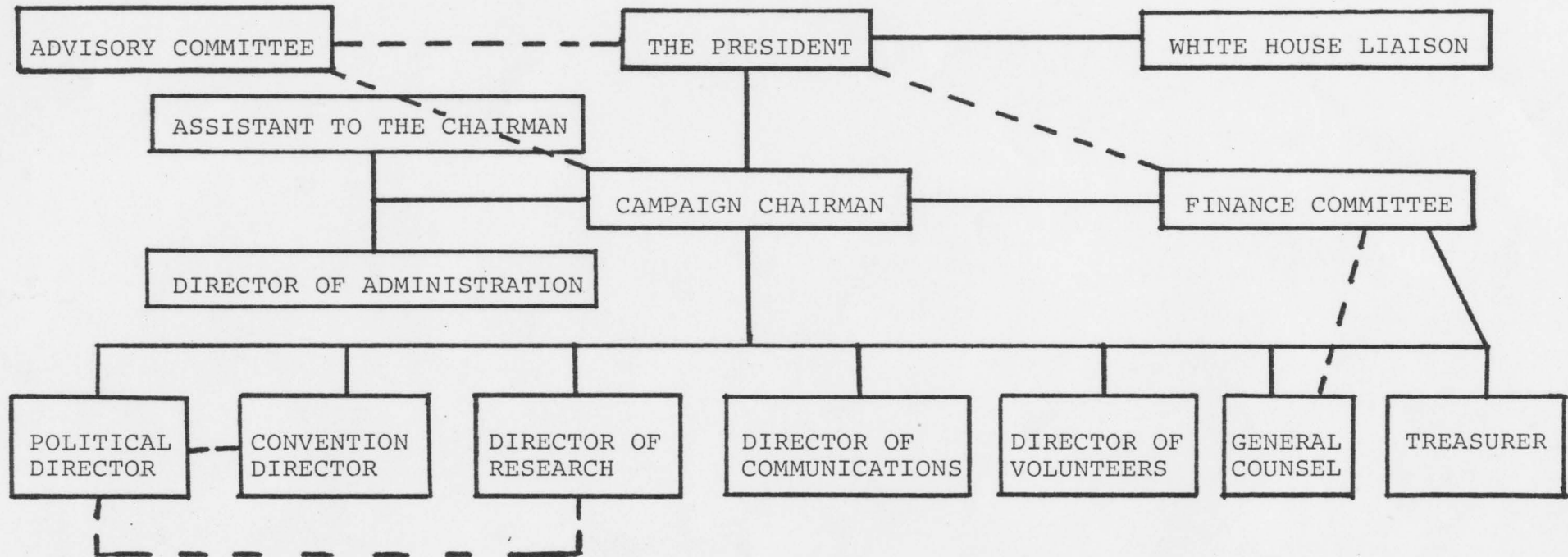




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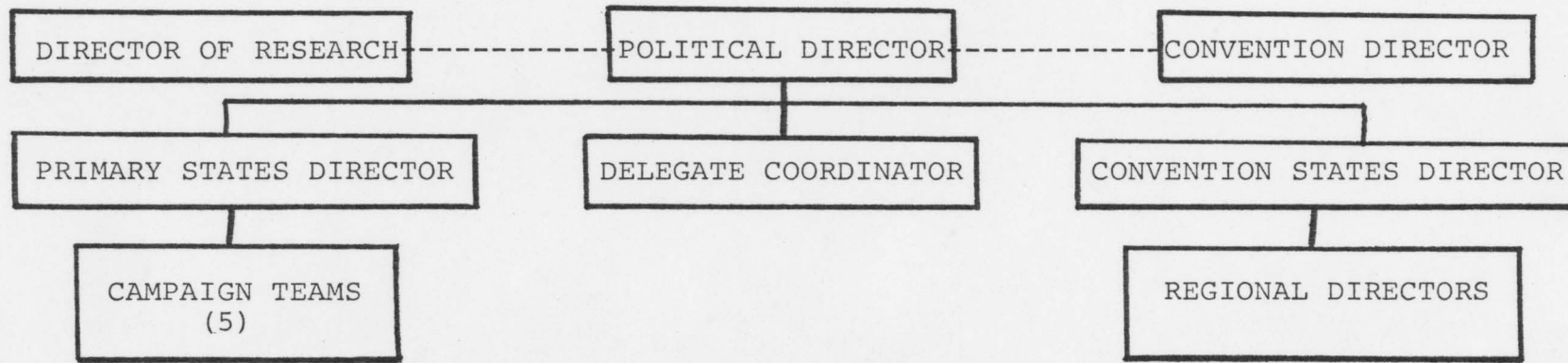
OVERALL CAMPAIGN STRUCTURE

Chart IV-A



POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Chart IV-B



STAFF - BUDGET

	<u>Annual Salary</u>
Chairman	\$42,000
Deputy Chairman (Political Director)	\$40,000
Director of Research	\$36,000
Director of Communications	\$36,000
General Counsel	\$35,000
Primary States Director	\$36,000
Convention States Director	\$36,000
Delegate Coordinator	\$25,000
Campaign Managers (5)	\$30,000-\$32,000 each
Staff of Campaign Management Team (15)	\$25,000-\$28,000 each
Fieldmen (5)	\$28,000 each
Director of Administration	\$20,000
Assistant to the Chairman	\$24,000
Assistant General Counsel	\$24,000-\$28,000
Assistant Director of Research	\$24,000
Assistants to Political Section (4)	\$20,000 each
Convention Director	\$20,000
Volunteer Director	\$20,000
Secretaries (20)	\$10,000-\$12,000 each
TOTAL STAFF (63)	



STAFFING PLAN

On Board

Campaign Chairman
Assistant to the Chairman
Director of Administration
General Counsel
Director of Organization
(Delegate Coordinator)
Secretaries (6)

September

Political Director (Deputy Chairman)
Communications Director
Convention Director (part time)
Research Director
Convention States Director
Assistant to Political Section (2)
Secretaries (5)

October

Director of Volunteers
Primary States Director
Campaign Management Team I (4)
Fieldmen (2)
Secretaries (2)
Assistant General Counsel

November

Campaign Management Teams II, III (8)
Fieldmen (3)
Assistants to Political Section (1)
Secretaries (2)

December

Campaign Management Team IV (4)
Assistant to Political Section (1)
Secretaries (2)

January

Campaign Management Team V (4)
Assistant Director of Research
Secretaries (5)



Chart IV-E

BUDGET BY CATEGORY

Primary States Budget	\$5,200,000
Convention States Budget	\$ 800,000
Salaries	\$1,400,000
Taxes, Insurances, etc.	\$ 200,000
Convention	\$ 550,000
D. C. Office Space	\$ 56,000
Office Supplies	\$ 100,000
Telephones	\$ 180,000
Polling	\$ 150,000
Travel	\$ 900,000
Presidential (\$500,000)	
Employees (\$400,000)	
	<hr/>
	TOTAL \$9,536,000
	RESERVE FUND \$1,064,000
	<hr/>
	GRAND TOTAL \$10,600,000

The Grand Total includes a 6 percent cost of living increase as allowed by law.



BUDGET BY STATE FOR PRIORITY ONE PRIMARY STATES

<u>DATE</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>BUDGET</u>	<u>NUMBER OF DELEGATES</u>
March 2	New Hampshire	\$ 130,000	21
March 9	Florida	\$ 550,000	66
March 9	Georgia	\$ 150,000	48
March 16	Illinois	\$ 400,000	101
April 6	New York	\$ 400,000	154
April 6	Wisconsin	\$ 200,000	45
April 27	Pennsylvania	\$ 100,000	103
April 27	Massachusetts	\$ 20,000	43
May 1	Texas	\$ 400,000	100
May 4	Indiana	\$ 250,000	54
May 4	North Carolina	\$ 150,000	54
May 11	Nebraska	\$ 100,000	25
May 18	Michigan	\$ 150,000	84
May 25	Oregon	\$ 100,000	30
June 8	California	\$1,050,000	167
June 8	New Jersey	\$ 350,000	67
June 8	Ohio	\$ 200,000	97
	TOTAL	\$4,700,000	1260
	ALL OTHER STATES	<u>500,000</u>	
	GRAND TOTAL	\$5,200,000	



BUDGET BY STATE FOR PRIORITY ONE CONVENTION STATES

<u>CONVENTION STATE</u>	<u>BUDGET</u>
Hawaii	\$ 50,000
Maine	\$ 30,000
Wyoming	\$ 30,000
Minnesota	\$ 75,000
Kansas	\$ 25,000
Washington	\$ 50,000
Virginia	\$ 40,000
Oklahoma	\$ 50,000
Iowa	\$ 40,000
Missouri	\$ 50,000
Connecticut	\$ 75,000
Colorado	\$ 50,000
Utah	\$ 40,000
Arizona	\$ 40,000
	<u>TOTAL</u> \$645,000
	ALL OTHER STATES <u>155,000</u>
	GRAND TOTAL \$800,000



SECTION V: TIMING

The following are generalized calendars of activity for the period September, 1975 through February, 1976. These calendars were not intended to be all inclusive, but to demonstrate the type of month-by-month planning which must occur throughout every division of the campaign organization. This type of planning is only valid when the individuals who are to put such plans into effect are on board and concur with both the goals of the plan and its timetable.



SEPTEMBER

PERSONNEL

Select and bring on board the following personnel:

Political Director (Vice Chairman)
Communications Director
Convention Director (on a part time basis)
Research Director
Convention States Director
Two Assistants in the Political Section
Five additional secretaries

POLITICAL (GENERAL)

Prepare mailing list of former delegates and alternates.
Courtesy calls by phone to all state organizations.

PRIMARY STATES

Visit New Hampshire, Florida, Georgia, and Illinois.
Select Chairmen in New Hampshire, Florida, Georgia,
New York, and Wisconsin.
Begin to recruit volunteers in New Hampshire,
Florida, Georgia, and Illinois.

CONVENTION STATES

Select Chairmen in Hawaii, Maine, Wyoming, Minnesota,
Kansas, and South Carolina.
Begin to recruit Ford delegates to run in above states.



SEPTEMBER

PUBLIC RELATIONS

Create a national press mailing list.

Distribute news releases to Washington Press Corps of all committees now active.

Individual meeting between Director of Communications and Political Writers and Columnists.

Theme: Ford is strong in States: Reagan can't win.

CAMPAIGN RELATED FINANCE

Begin efforts to identify an organization which can do direct mail fund raising for small donors in Priority One Primary States.

INFORMATION SYSTEMS

First Scheduling Committee meeting.

Gather state election laws and systematize in chronological form and by state.

Prepare calendar of filing dates for delegates in all states.

Complete and get approval for forms for delegate books.

VOLUNTEER ACTIVITIES

Assist in preparation of mailing list for Communications Director.

Answer correspondence.

Assist political division with creation of mailing list of former delegates.



SEPTEMBER

RESEARCH

Begin to identify ad agencies to be tested in Primaries.

Arrange for polling to begin in October in New Hampshire and Florida.

Work with White House Staff to create questions for inclusion in RNC fall poll.

CONVENTION

Select Headquarters Hotel.

Get blueprint of area and select floor location.

Work with RNC on Committee Chairmen.



OCTOBER

PERSONNEL

Select and bring on board the following:

Director of Volunteers
Primary States Director
Campaign Management Team I
Two Fieldmen
Two secretaries
Assistant General Counsel

Begin recruitment of Volunteer Activity Teams.

POLITICAL (GENERAL)

Mailing to former delegates and alternates.

Mailing to elected officials.

Attend Western Regional Conference

PRIMARY STATES

Campaign Management Team I to New Hampshire

Visit New York, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts.

Name Chairmen in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Texas,
Indiana, Nebraska, Michigan, Oregon and California.

Secure New Hampshire registered voters list.



OCTOBER

CONVENTION STATES

Select chairmen in Oklahoma, Iowa, Missouri, Connecticut, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, Washington, and Virginia.

Begin to identify and recruit delegates for above states.

Visit Minnesota, Kansas, Missouri, Virginia, and Connecticut.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

Theme: Reagan in race makes it harder to win general election-----no matter how Reagan tries, split is inevitable.

CAMPAIGN RELATED FINANCE

Select direct mail firm or firms.

Work with campaign staff to identify states for direct mail effort: probably New Hampshire, Florida, Georgia, and Illinois.

INFORMATION SYSTEMS

First political situation reports and finance reports to the President.

Install code a phone system.



OCTOBER

VOLUNTEER ACTIVITIES

Volunteer Activity Teams begin contact with elected officials.

Begin addressing envelopes for New Hampshire mailing.

Address mailing to former delegates, alternates, and elected officials.

RESEARCH

RNC poll to the field.

Final selection of ad agencies for the primaries.

Polls to the field in New Hampshire and Florida.

Make arrangements for polls in Wisconsin, Texas, Indiana, and Michigan.

CONVENTION

Visit convention site.

Begin preparation of convention plan.



NOVEMBER

PERSONNEL

Campaign Management Teams II, III

Three fieldmen

Assistant in Political Section

Two secretaries

POLITICAL (GENERAL)

Meeting with Republican Congressional leadership to report on campaign.

Visit Republican Governor's Association Meeting and get endorsement from group.

Secure as many congressional endorsements as possible for release in December.

PRIMARY STATES

Campaign Management Team to Florida and Georgia. (Team II)

Campaign Management Team to Illinois. (Team III)

Name chairmen in New Jersey, Ohio, Alabama, District of Columbia, Tennessee, and West Virginia.

Visit Ohio, Texas, Indiana, and North Carolina.



NOVEMBER

CONVENTION STATES

Select chairmen in Delaware, Vermont, Alaska, North Dakota, and New Mexico.

Begin to identify and recruit delegates in target districts of above states.

Delegates selected for Hawaii, Maine, and Wyoming.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

Theme: Ford will be organized in every state by the end of the year.

CAMPAIGN RELATED FINANCE

Decision on whether or not to go forward with direct mail based on status of contributions.

INFORMATION SYSTEMS

Weekly reports continue.



NOVEMBER

VOLUNTEER ACTIVITIES

Complete addressing for New Hampshire mailing.

Continue contacting elected officials.

Begin to set up Volunteer Activity Teams Interest Group Program: i.e. women, blacks, used car dealers, etc.

RESEARCH

Analyze results of RNC fall poll.

Analyze results of New Hampshire and Florida polls.

Polls to the field in Wisconsin, Indiana, Texas, and Michigan.

Ad agencies begin plans for New Hampshire, Georgia, and Florida primaries.

Begin general election plan.

Final recommendations for State of the Union.

CONVENTION

Meeting with all RNC committees.

Complete first draft of convention plan.



DECEMBER

PERSONNEL

Campaign Management Team IV
Assistant to Political Section
Two secretaries

POLITICAL (GENERAL)

Low level of visible activity this month
Private meetings with interest group leaders

PRIMARY STATES

Campaign Management Team IV to New York
Name chairmen in Nevada, Montana, Arkansas,
Idaho and Virgin Islands
Visit New Hampshire, Florida, Georgia, Nebraska
Select delegate candidates in New Hampshire,
Florida and Georgia

CONVENTION STATES

Select Chairmen in Louisiana, Mississippi, Guam
and Puerto Rico
Begin to identify and recruit delegates in target
districts of above states
Delegates selected in Minnesota, Kansas, South
Carolina and Washington



DECEMBER

PUBLIC RELATIONS

Theme: The Congress is behind Ford.
Announce Congressional supporters.

CAMPAIGN RELATED FINANCE

No activity this month

INFORMATION SYSTEMS

Weekly Reports continue

VOLUNTEER ACTIVITIES

Continue organizing VAT's in interest groups
program

Begin addressing Georgia voter mailing

RESEARCH

Analyze poll results for Wisconsin, Indiana,
Texas and Michigan

Review initial ad plans for New Hampshire,
Georgia and Florida

Continue State of the Union contact

CONVENTION

First draft of convention plan under review by
President, Campaign Chairman and Political Director



JANUARY

PERSONNEL

Campaign Management Team V
Assistant Director of Research
Five Secretaries
Convention Director (full time)

POLITICAL (GENERAL)

Begin to put together interest group committees

PRIMARY STATES

President pays one visit to New Hampshire,
Florida, and Georgia

Delegates selected to run in Illinois, New York,
and Wisconsin

Visit New Hampshire, Florida, Georgia, Illinois,
and Texas

CONVENTION STATES

Hawaii convention first delegates selected
Visit Hawaii

Delegates selected in Virginia, Oklahoma and Iowa

PUBLIC RELATIONS

Theme: Ford's ahead in New Hampshire



JANUARY

CAMPAIGN RELATED FINANCE

Mailing to New Hampshire

INFORMATION SYSTEM

Hawaii delegates and alternates in delegate book

Weekly reports continue

VOLUNTEER ACTIVITIES

Previously scheduled activities continue

RESEARCH

Approve ad plans for New Hampshire, Florida and Georgia

Ad agency begins plan for Illinois

Select pollster for New York and New Jersey

CONVENTION

Convention Director on board full time

Beginning of contract negotiations for convention
logistical support



FEBRUARY

PERSONNEL

All personnel should be on board. Any additional people should be funded from the budget allocated to the states, or the convention budget.

POLITICAL (GENERAL)

Announce interest group committees

Begin to form committees of statewide elected officials other than Governors

Begin to form committees of local government officials i.e., mayors, city councilmen, county executives

PRIMARY STATES

President visits New Hampshire, Florida and Georgia again; to Illinois for first time as candidate

Delegates selected to run in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts

Visit New Hampshire, Florida, Georgia, New York, Illinois and Wisconsin

CONVENTION STATES

Conventions are held in Maine, Wyoming, Minnesota, Kansas, and South Carolina

Visit above states

Delegates selected for Louisiana, Missouri, Guam, Connecticut, Delaware, Vermont and Mississippi



FEBRUARY

PUBLIC RELATIONS

Theme: People are for Ford (Announce interest
group committees)

CAMPAIGN RELATED FINANCE

Direct mail fund raising to Florida and Wisconsin

INFORMATION SYSTEM

Maine, Wyoming, Minnesota, Kansas and South Carolina
delegates to Convention books

Continue Weekly reports

VOLUNTEER ACTIVITIES

Volunteer activity teams assist with delegate books

Continue previously scheduled activities

RESEARCH

Ad campaigns begin in New Hampshire, Florida and
Georgia

CONVENTION

First office set up at convention site

