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First Monday

NOVEMBER 1974

Democrats Score Major Gains;

Mathias Wins

Republicans Ahead in New Hampshire

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WASHINGTON, Nov. 5 (AP)—

By ROBERT REINHOLD
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CONCORD, N. H., Nov. 5 (AP)—

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President Offers Total Support for New Program

The election of 1974 was a painful experience for the Republican Party. There were victories, but there were not enough victories. And, candidly, there were many losses, particularly distressing because of the good and able men and women who--for a time at least--will be out of office.

But it is an American tradition--a Republican tradition--to close the book on the past, regroup, and fight back. Our Republican National Chairman has developed a plan of action designed to do just that. I have reviewed the program, and I have talked with Mary Louise about her plans for the Republican National Committee and the entire Republican Party over the next two years. I am confident that this is the kind of approach we need to bring about a resurgence of Republicanism. This is the kind of program that can produce a decisive victory in 1976--a Party victory.

Mary Louise has focused on the nuts and bolts of politics. Our emphasis must be on organization and person-to-person contact. These are the surest ways I know to build a winning party.

This program will help us build our state and national committees into a fighting force. The Republican Leadership Conference, to be held early next year, will be our springboard. You can count on my full participation. Republican leaders from across the country will take a hard look at the state of our Party--what we are, how others see us, what we want to be. A principal affirmative thrust will be to raise Republican preference well above its current level by helping voters identify with the Republican Party and the sound principles upon which our Party is built.

Our principal target must be citizen apathy. It is a national disgrace that we have come to tolerate elections where fewer than half of the eligible voters bother to cast their ballots. To suggest that Americans are turned off by politics is to admit the failure of self-government.

The program Chairman Smith presents to you here is aimed specifically at ending this apathy. It is based on the theory that people care most when they are personally involved, and that the way to involve them in politics is to show them how to be a part of our political system. I believe that theory is sound.

I congratulate Mary Louise on this initiative and offer her my total support as we work together toward 1976. I am confident she can count on your full support as well.

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David K. Wilson Chairman
Republican National Finance Committee
Robert R. Rousek
Director of Communications
Jackie O'Connor
Senior Editor

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Interview With RNC Chairman On the Challenge of '76

Q. How do you assess the results of yesterday's elections?

A. We had some very good candidates defeated. I think it's a loss to the country as well as to the Party. When a party has a President in the White House, history tells you that you're going to suffer some losses in mid-term elections. I think inflation cost us a sizeable number of votes. People had a tendency to blame Republicans instead of the Democratic Congress which has criticized the President's program but hasn't come up with any programs of its own. In addition, we had hoped that the effect of Watergate would not be as serious as it has turned out to be. Yet, while our losses are serious, they certainly are not fatal. I don't believe the vote reflected an outpouring of support for the Democrats nearly so much as a mood of disillusionment that has grown out of events of the last two years. We have survived troubled times before, and we will again.

Q. What impact will this election have on the Republican Party both in the short and the long term?

A. There are two ways a political party can respond to this kind of election. The Party can sit back passively and lick its wounds, or it can rise up and take some decisive action. In our case, I think the election of 1974 will serve as a catalyst--a call to rebuild and reorganize. The Republican Party has tremendous resiliency. I expect that we will look back a few years from now and see this election as the point where a Republican reawakening began in America. We already have a strong President in the White House, a man committed to doing what he believes is best for America. Our Party philosophy--the Republican commitment to individual initiative and responsibility, sound money management, smaller government--is very much in tune with America. Our Party structure is in place and millions of Americans are proud to be Republicans.

Q. You referred to a program of party building. What do you mean?

A. We have developed a cohesive national program to rebuild, reorganize and revitalize our Party over the

next two years. It is designed to help every one of the 50 states build a strong, aggressive party organization. We have begun by reorganizing the staff of the National Committee in order to focus our resources where they will be of the greatest help to the state organizations. We are undertaking a massive campaign to offer America a fresh hard look at the Republican Party and what it represents. This is a good way to eliminate some of the distortions that have prevented voters from identifying themselves as Republicans.

Q. Could you be more specific in terms of state and local involvement in this program?

A. I was just coming to that because that is the most vital ingredient in generating a Republican reawakening. At the national level we can offer programs and we can provide some very valuable assistance, but the true work of the Party is done in the states, the counties, the precincts. With that in mind, I have called a leadership conference for March to bring Republicans from all across the country together for a strategy session. The focus will be on the states, because the Republican Party is a confederation of states. I see the conference as a beginning--in essence, 50 different beginnings--for each state must take the ingredients of the Republican program for '76 and from these ingredients shape its own blueprint for success.

Q. What will the first steps be?

A. The initial emphasis--in fact, the continuing emphasis--must be on organization. We are planning an extensive research operation which will help the Party concentrate its efforts where the rewards will be greatest. In addition, we must begin very quickly to identify the most qualified, attractive, articulate men and women within our Party and encourage them to run for office. The components of victory are candidates, organization and issues. Good candidates generate enthusiasm; good organization channels our efforts; and, as 1976 approaches, the issues will take care of themselves.

Q. Doesn't all this cost money?

A. Yes, of course it costs money. That is basic to any good program. But this is the kind of effort our Party needs right now and I'm confident that Republicans all across the country responding to the activity and renewed interest this program will generate, are going to support it with the time, energy and money that will be required.

Q. Is the target of this program retaining the Presidency?

A. That's one of our goals, of course, but only one. Republicans will be running at every level of government and we want to win all along the line. Like a well-balanced exercise program, the Republican thrust for '76 is designed to strengthen the entire Party so that when we take off running, nothing can stop us. ■

Chairman Makes New Staff Appointments, Reorganizes National Committee Structure To Meet Demands of 1976

With the critical tasks of the 1975-76 biennium election ahead, Chairman Mary Louise Smith has reorganized the National Committee staff structure to meet these broadened demands.

Goals are to implement a solid program of Party building to reverse the decline of Republican Party registration and to develop the management and support capability necessary to undertake the 1976 Presidential campaign while continuing to provide services to candidates at other levels.

The Co-Chairman's office will serve an expanded role in the new organizational structure. Functions performed by the State Services Division for the last two years will be transferred to the new Co-Chairman Richard D. Obenshain's office. All requests and inquiries handled by the State Services Division will be directed to his office. A former function of State Services, the handling of Presidential messages and photos, will now be a function of the Political/Research Division.

Obenshain also will oversee the RNC's liaison with the various auxiliaries of the Republican Party, including Heritage Groups, College Republicans, Young Republicans, National Federation of Republican Women and the Republican Governors Association.

Mrs. Smith has appointed Eddie Mahe, Jr., who has been serving as Director of Political Activities, to be Executive Director of the National Committee staff. In his ten years of political staff work, Mahe has been executive director of county and state GOP organizations, regional field director for the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC) and national field director for the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

Richard Thaxton will be Director of the Political/Research Division.

Thaxton has been Director of Research and State Services at the RNC since January. Prior to that, he served as Director of State Services, and in 1971-72 was Director of Registration and Voting Programs in the Research/Political Division of the RNC. In that capacity, Thaxton had responsibility for the national Target '72 program.

Directly under Thaxton will be the Field Operations Division and the Training and Programs Division.

Director of Field Operations will be Charles Peckham, a 10-year veteran of political field work. Peckham has been a consultant to the RNC and the NRCC since 1972. This year he has served as Deputy Director of the Campaign Division of the NRCC.

Immediate plans call for an expansion of the field

force to a minimum of ten people, with an additional three or four in specific areas of political activity.

Director of Training and Programs will be Charles Bailey, who has been RNC field representative for Western states for five years. He has served on the City Council and as Mayor of Sunset, Utah, and at precinct, district and state levels of the Party. Prior to joining the RNC, Bailey was personnel and training supervisor for the Boeing Company.

Bailey will be responsible for developing and directing training programs for Party activists.

G. Norman (Buddy) Bishop Jr., who has been RNC field representative for the Southern states, will assume the directorship of the Communications Division.

He has experience on the news staffs of several Georgia newspapers, television and radio stations.

Bishop was district administrative assistant to then Rep. Howard "Bo" Callaway of Georgia and on Callaway's gubernatorial campaign staff. He was an independent political manager from 1970-73.

Goals for the Communications Division include the upgrading of existing publications, the addition of new, specialized publications and a massive public relations effort to tell the story of the Republican Party.

Handling the day-to-day operations of the Republican National Finance Committee as executive director will be Bill Murray who has been executive director of the Republican Finance Committee of Pennsylvania.

Rodney A. Smith, who has been with the RNC since 1970, will be Associate Director of the RNFC and will also carry the responsibility for headquarters administrative support, building facilities, print shop, mailroom and other operations areas.

AB Hermann, who has served 13 RNC Chairmen, will continue as Special Assistant to the Chairman. In addition to his other duties, Hermann will direct an expanded speakers' bureau.

Josephine Good will remain Director of the Convention Division and will work closely with the Chairman and Co-Chairman in the next two years to implement pre-convention planning according to the Rules adopted by the 1972 Convention. Included are instructive material on delegate selection methods, and assistance to state party organizations in preparing information on how all citizens can participate in delegate selection procedures.

Within the new structure, heavy emphasis will be placed on services to state and local Party groups in upgrading their organizational capabilities. To accomplish this, an aggressive research program will be undertaken (see story page 9).

A goal of four months has been set in which to develop a nationwide program to encourage Republican registration. The program will be presented at a National Leadership Conference in early March. (see story on page 5). ■

New Campaign Regulations Touch All Political Groups

President Ford has reluctantly signed into law the most far-reaching set of campaign reforms in history. This legislation potentially affects every political organization in the country and for the first time gets the federal government into the business of financing Presidential campaigns and nominating conventions. It was this part of the law in particular to which President Ford had serious reservations. This type of raid on the Treasury is especially questionable when Congress should be doing everything within its power to cut, not increase federal spending. Taxpayer financing, even on a limited basis, could destabilize the two-party system and allow third party movements emerging during a period of political crisis to become permanent fixtures.

Fortunately, Congress stopped short of imposing this public financing chaos on Congressional elections. However, the Democrats did work their will by setting low spending limits which clearly favor incumbents.

On the positive side, the new law creates a full-time independent election commission with civil enforcement power over all federal election laws. This bipartisan commission will formulate regulations, receive campaign reports, and initiate court actions to obtain injunctive relief and declaratory judgments. In addition, the new law specifically pre-empts state law in all federal elections. This provision will make federal elections more uniform and make the commission's job of control much easier.

Another positive provision in the new law is that it clearly establishes national and state committees of a political party as separate and distinct from special interest groups. As such, they will have the right to expend funds above and beyond the limits the new law imposes on all federal candidates.

Other provisions in the new law are:

Limitations on contributions:

1. No individual may contribute more than \$1,000 to a candidate for federal office in any primary, run-off and general election (\$3,000 potential). In addition, during a calendar year no individual may contribute more than \$25,000 in total to political committees covered by federal law.
2. No political committee and/or special interest group may contribute more than \$5,000 to a candidate for federal office in any primary, run-off and general election (\$15,000 potential).
3. A candidate or his family may contribute to his own race an amount up to \$50,000 for Presidential election, \$35,000 for the Senate and \$25,000 for the House.
4. Cash contributions may not exceed \$100, and foreign nationals may not make contributions.

Limitation on Expenditures:

1. \$10 million total for Presidential campaigns through the convention.
2. \$20 million in the Presidential general election.
3. The greater of \$100,000 or eight cents times the voting age population (VAP) in Senate primary elections.
4. The greater of \$150,000 or twelve cents times the VAP in Senate general elections.
5. \$70,000 in primary and general House elections.
6. Each candidate is allowed a 20 percent exemption for fund raising cost.
7. The new law specifically allows the following kinds of expenditures to be made above and beyond the limits stated above:
 - a. The national and state committees of a political party can each spend \$10,000 in each House election and two cents times the VAP in Senate elections.
 - b. Any individual citizen may on his own initiative spend up to \$1,000 on any campaign he or she chooses. However, if such expenditures exceed \$100 within a calendar year the individual must file a disclosure statement with the Commission.

Other Major Points:

1. Corporations and labor organizations are now allowed to maintain separate, segregated funds to be utilized for political purposes so long as contributions to such funds are voluntary.
2. Any person or organized group who expends funds or commits any public act for the purpose of influencing the outcome of an election must file reports with the Commission, including groups that tabulate voting records by special interest votes.
3. Presidential primaries will be partially financed with federal funds on a matching subsidy basis. The Presidential general election (\$20,000,000) will be totally funded by the one dollar taxpayer check-off system; Presidential nominating conventions. \$2,000,000 in federal funds are available to finance each Presidential nominating convention at the option of each Party.
4. The limitations on expenditures for use of communications media are repealed.
5. Many of the fines and prison terms imposed for violating various election laws were increased significantly to a high of \$50,000 and five years in jail. ■

NOTICE!

RNC Chairman Mary Louise Smith has called a National Leadership Conference March 6-8 in Washington. "This Conference," she said, "will be one of the most innovative approaches to a political operation yet attempted. The program will provide the impetus for what could become the largest off-year involvement in grassroots politics in at least a decade." Details will follow in the December issue of *First Monday* and invitations will go out early in the new year. ■

Disappointed GOP Already Fighting Back

The party that controls the White House traditionally loses seats in the mid-term elections. Whether or not this should be the case, to the average voter the Executive Branch symbolizes the government, and the party in power is, therefore, held accountable for the nation's ills.

Fall of 1974 showed voter unrest in the areas of the economy, Watergate and related problems. On Election Day 1974, a majority expressed this feeling in votes against Republican candidates.

When the dust had settled, this was the new line up:

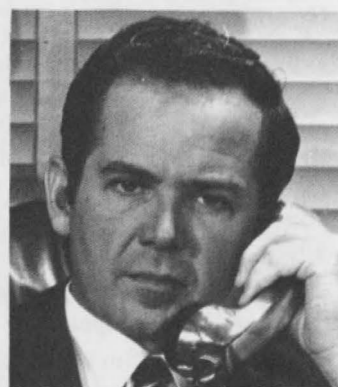
- Statehouses: 12 Republicans, 36 Democrats, 1 Independent, 1 Undecided
- Senate: 38 Republicans, 61 Democrats, 1 Independent
- House: 144 Republicans, 291 Democrats

The net loss in the House was 43 seats--a significant loss, to be sure, but less than had been predicted in early, gloomy projections.

There were some bright spots for Republicans. In Ohio, former GOP Governor James Rhodes had all but conceded early in the evening, only to be awakened in the early morning with news that a late surge had given him a slim victory. The Rhodes victory, paired with the re-election of Governor Milliken in Michigan, thwarted Democrat hopes for a sweep of the large-state governorships.



Rhodes



Milliken

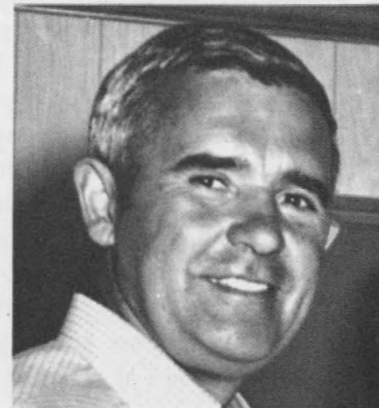
Meanwhile, in South Carolina, Republican State Senator Jim Edwards maintained the momentum of Southern Republicans by becoming the first Republican Governor of the Palmetto State and giving Republicans solid Gubernatorial control from the Potomac to the Savannah.

In the Senate, also, there were strong reasons for Republicans to be encouraged. Counted out only a few weeks before the election, Kansas Senator Bob Dole, former RNC Chairman, staged a dramatic comeback to retain his seat. In Nevada, former Governor Paul Laxalt held on to a razor-thin margin to win a Democrat seat. Also capturing a photo-finish was Senator

Henry Bellmon of Oklahoma whose seat had been placed in the Democrat column by early network projections.



Edwards



Laxalt

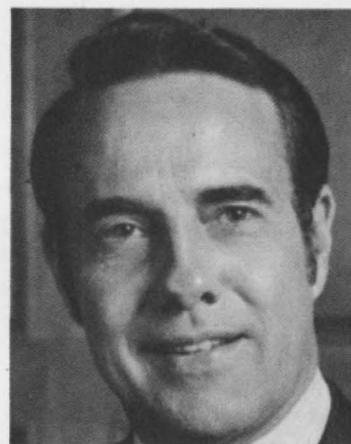
In Cincinnati, Republicans recaptured one of the seats lost in last year's flurry of special elections as Willis Gradison defeated Democrat Tom Lukens. Overall, Republicans swapped even in Ohio and Pennsylvania, two large states where pre-election forecasts saw Republican routs.

Compared with the pre-election predictions, there were other points from which Republicans could take heart. The Gubernatorial projections proved far more pessimistic than the final results revealed--a net loss of five or six. In the Senate, also, the GOP loss was less than earlier expected--four or five seats, giving the Democrats a 14-seat margin in the upper chamber.

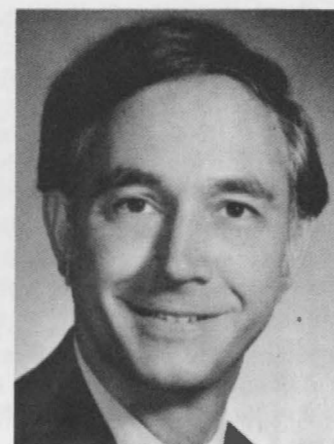
Some observers have tried to compare the 1974 results with the situation faced by the Party in 1964. However, that analogy is too simple. As the GOP heads toward the 1976 campaign, there is no internal division within the Party.

Instead the Republican Party is united in policy and purpose, prepared to move forward in planning for the next elections.

It would be an understatement to observe that Repub-



Dole



Gradison

licans face a major reorganizational job in the months immediately ahead. The new campaign spending law will dramatically reshape the role of state party organizations and the results of the 1974 elections give to this added momentum. These results will fuel the fires of Party enthusiasm and impress Republicans with the necessity of regearing for 1976.

A little past midnight, as the election picture became clearer, RNC Chairman Mary Louise Smith faced reporters and said that this election marks a new beginning for the Republican Party. Said the Chairman, "I am proud to be a Republican. There are millions of other Republicans across the country who are equally proud of their Party. Republican volunteers put in hundreds of thousands of hours of dedicated, hard work, as they tried to turn the tide of events beyond their control. They never wavered," she said, "and they will be with us tomorrow."

Committee Pours Money, Professional Staff Support Into 1974 GOP Campaigns

The Republican National Committee gave a total of \$452,450 and committed 40 Washington-based staff members to 1974 general election campaigns across the country.

Staff personnel representing every division of the RNC were dispatched into the field to handle a wide assortment of duties and gain valuable on-site political experience.

Additionally, \$100,000 was donated each to the House and Senate Campaign Committees, and \$40,000 was provided the Republican Governors Association to help in their campaign efforts nationwide.

Chairman Mary Louise Smith, as Co-Chairman, devoted much of her time in 1974 to organizing and conducting the immensely successful Grassroots Seminars in 13 cities around the country. These Seminars were held from June 10 to July 15 with the goal of reaching key organization and campaign workers who would return to their home districts and implement the techniques learned.

The success of the Grassroots seminars and the Chairman's strong belief in this program led the RNC to assist many states and campaigns with their telephone operations, either with direct dollar support or by guaranteeing phone deposits.

Since the conclusion of Grassroots '74 and her elevation as Chairman of the RNC, Mrs. Smith has devoted her time to a heavy campaign schedule of news con-

ferences and speaking engagements. Republicans are a resilient bunch. America and the two-party system are basically strong. In the days just preceding this election, the RNC began a basic reorganization, directed toward the development of new tools and programs. While the last votes were still being counted on Wednesday morning, these plans were already moving toward reality. As Chairman Smith told the press in the early morning hours, "two years from now, the Republican Party will be strong and winning--we begin that job today!" ■



Bellmon

ferences and speaking engagements.

National Co-Chairman Richard D. Obenshain filled a heavy schedule of speaking engagements, press conferences and radio interviews which took him to New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Ohio, Kansas and Missouri, and on an intensive three-day tour through the South to Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina and Florida.

As has always been the practice, the RNC assisted states and campaigns with the expenses incurred in President Ford's campaign tour on behalf of Republican candidates. Political appearances by the President never are undertaken at taxpayer expense.

Other key people in the field included Jackie O'Connor, who handled the press relations in the South Dakota campaign for U.S. Senate, Linda Duval of Research conducted a statewide tracking poll and program in behalf of the Nevada campaigns. Mike Poling, also of the Research Division, organized phone banks in four counties in eastern Kentucky. Raul Espinosa, of the Spanish Speaking Advisory Committee, worked in the Cuban community in Miami, Florida.

Jay Niemczyk, Director of the Heritage Groups Division, and Phil Guarino, Director of the Senior Citizens Division and Coordinator of Field Activities for the Heritage Groups, completed 18 speaking engagements between June 22 and October 27 of this year. They attended state Heritage Groups organization meetings, dinners and rallies in support of the Republican Party.

At Republican National Committee headquarters, the campaign workload had to be handled by those of the original staff who remained in Washington. These RNC staff members organized a telephone canvass for local campaigns, completing more than 6,000 phone calls. Rose Zamaria, Administrative Director, organized and coordinated the entire Washington-based operation. ■

Expanded Political Operation Envisioned as RNC Gears Up To Meet Challenges of 1976

The 1976 election offers the Republican Party its greatest challenge in decades. The "national nightmare" through which all Republicans have suffered, the 1974 election results, the new Campaign Reform Act, all contribute to a unique set of circumstances that provide our Party with the opportunity to become the dominant political force in the nation for the future.

Faith in Institutions Shaken

Political events of the past two years have shaken the faith of a great number of Americans in their political institutions and in their political parties. Shamefully low voter turnout and participation in the 1974 elections underscores this lack of faith.

Campaign reform, signed into law by President Ford with overwhelming Congressional support represents an attempt to somehow restore the confidence of the American voters in their political systems. Whether we agree with all the provisions of the Act is beside the point. The Campaign Reform Act is law and we must work within its provisions.

Challenge is to Move Forward

At all levels the challenge to Republicans is to aggressively move forward and become a vital force in restoring confidence in our political systems by strengthening our political Party.

It is the responsibility of the Republican National Committee, and more specifically of the Political/Research Division under the direction of Richard Thaxton, to develop and coordinate programs that will accomplish these goals. We must re-examine the image of our Party. We must develop the determination not only to win at the national level in 1976, but also to win at state, district, county and municipal levels, and even in school districts, so that the future strength of this Party comes from the grassroots, not from the top.

Support Services to Expand

The thrust of the Political/Research Division's efforts will be to expand services to state, local and candidate organizations, to provide more "in-the-field" support with organizational programs, to provide a comprehensive training and seminar program that will reach out and train Party workers from the largest cities to the smallest of counties, and finally, through an aggressive public relations effort, improve and strengthen the morale and dedication of Republican workers across the nation.

Ultimately, the Political/Research Division bears the

responsibility for insuring that our Party organizations develop the strength, the programs and the ability to take charge and successfully elect a Republican President in 1976.

Ten Regional Directors Planned

The first order of business in expanding the services of the RNC to state, local and candidate organizations will be the expansion of the RNC field staff. Under the direction of Charles Peckham, ten full-time regional directors will be hired. With responsibility for approximately five states, each field director will be able to intensify the time and effort needed to assist Party organizations at state and county levels with organization programs.

Voter Groups to be Mobilized

Specifically, RNC field directors will be charged with working with Party organizations, candidate organizations, Republican office-holders, special voter groups and Party auxiliaries. In preparation for the 1976 Presidential campaign, an intensive program designed to identify and involve special voter groups must be made. Ethnic, labor, senior citizens, women, youth, veterans and other groups will be mobilized. These groups must be encouraged and brought into the Party through programs and seminars.

Field directors also will work closely with state Party officers in designing and implementing Party organization programs needed to increase Republican registrations and political participation. The liaison between the state Party organizations, special groups and the national Party, the role of the field force, is vital in the re-building of the GOP.

Party Image to be Probed

The Republican National Committee will immediately undertake an intensive research effort aimed at probing the "image" of the Republican Party--how we are perceived by the voters. Based on that study, an intensive and imaginative public relations program will be launched to dramatize and "sell" the Party. This effort will focus public attention on the Party at the national, state and local levels, through the active use of media and public relations.

The goal of this strong public relations effort will be to correct the "bad" images with which the Party has been saddled and to re-enforce the positive aspects of our Party and its philosophy. Polls indicate the American people are closer to Republican ideals and philosophy. We must project our image in ways that are relevant, understandable and motivating to the American voter.

In this way the RNC intends to begin the task of re-building--not by imposing a monolithic, Washington-designed program--but, through services, communication and cooperation, providing the kind of assistance necessary to make local programs and efforts successful at the local level. ■

Additional Services Will Be Provided State and Local GOP Units By Restructured Political/Research Division

A restructuring and expansion of the RNC Research Division is taking place "so that additional services will be provided to state and local Republican committees and to campaign organizations," according to Richard Thaxton, Director of the Political/Research Division.

Existing activities such as computerized election data analysis, demographic data analysis, and issue-opposition research are being expanded. New functions will include in-house survey research (polls) capability and voter name list development. These will be of special value to political and candidate organizations in the '75 and '76 campaigns.

Election data and demographics analysis based upon the 1972 and 1974 elections and the 1975 Census Bureau mid-census updates will be combined to provide a more powerful tool in targeting areas for organizational and campaign activities. The 1972 Election Data file will be expanded to include 1974 election results from every precinct in the nation.

Together with 1972 precinct results, various analyses such as ticket-splitting, voter turnout and other studies can be produced for any county, city and Congressional district within the nation. Combined with up-dated data from the Census Bureau's 1975 "mini-census," analyses will be developed and provided to all incumbent GOP Congressmen, Senators, Governors and state Republican committees for planning purposes in the 1976 election.

Issue and opposition research continues to be the mainstay of the RNC Research Division. Issue research concentrates on monitoring the primary political issues facing the Party and its leadership; opposition research will expand its efforts in compiling complete files, including statements, speeches, and voting records, on all targeted Senate Democratic incumbents.

This will include developing extensive files on all potential Democratic presidential contenders. Following the 1976 Democratic convention, the Research Division's opposition research office will be the chief source of all background material on the Democratic nominee.

Survey research or public opinion polling is a new service the RNC Political/Research Division will be providing in the 1975-76 campaigns. Developed on a "pilot-project" basis in 1974, this service utilizes well-trained volunteer telephone interviewers backed by professional expertise in sample and questionnaire

design, interviewer training and supervision, and computer analysis of results.

This approach provides professional quality research to candidates and party organizations at a fraction of the cost of professional polls. With the mounting cost of political polls and the new limits on campaign spending set by the new law, this service is critical in maximizing the impact of every campaign dollar.

Computerized voter name lists are vital to all Party and campaign organizations as tools to communicate personally with large numbers of voters by mail, door-to-door, or by telephone. Drawing from such sources as registered voter lists, telephone user lists and motor vehicle registration lists, names, addresses, phone numbers and Party identification information can be merged into a single list.

Lists of this type can do much to strengthen state Party organizations in the areas of fund-raising, campaigning and organizational tasks such as voter identification and registration. The Political/Research Division of the RNC, working together with each state GOP organization, can provide cost-saving expertise in the joint development and utilization of such lists in state and local campaigns as well as in the 1976 national campaign. ■

RNC RESEARCH DIVISION'S 'LEGISLATIVE REPORTS' TO MONITOR CONGRESSIONAL ACTION

A new publication, *Legislative Reports*, soon will be available through the RNC's Research Division. Citing constantly changing and often confusing Congressional legislative action as the reason for establishing the monitoring service, Richard Thaxton, RNC Research Director, indicated the *Reports* will begin as soon as Congress reconvenes.

The new, weekly publication, will report on major Congressional legislation in committee, on the floor, and cleared for Presidential action. Distributed to all members of the Republican National Committee as well as senior RNC and White House aides, the *Reports* will provide a concise and informative review of Capitol Hill happenings.

Realizing the important role state legislatures play in dealing with and solving political issues, the service also will monitor and periodically report on legislative activities of the 50 state legislatures. Specific attention will focus on common issues like taxation, land use, campaign reform, budgeting, crime, prison reform and other problems of common interest.

Massive Public Relations Effort Being Planned By RNC Communications Division

An aggressive program of news operations, information services, and public relations is being designed by the Communications Division of the National Committee.

Under the new program, broadcast media and a wider use of graphics will be featured. Direct and indirect support of news and public relations programs to state parties will be available, as well as support services for campaign activities.

Director of the Division will be Norman (Buddy) Bishop Jr., who has previously served the National Committee's Political Division as Regional Director for the Southern states.

The new program will be divided, basically, into three areas: print media, which will include the editing and preparation of such traditional publications as *First Monday*; broadcast media, which will prepare, edit and distribute radio materials nationally; and information services, which will be organized to provide support press operations for the Committee, state parties and campaigns.

Initial emphasis of the new program will be on internal public relations. This will enable working Republicans throughout the country to be kept aware of current Party activities. One planned element of this program is a periodic and totally political newsletter for Republican activists. Putting aside Party and Committee publicity, the newsletter, which is yet to be titled, will deal strictly with information oriented to campaigns, candidates and political analysis.

A familiar Committee publication, *First Monday*, will undergo extensive modification. There will be an effective use of cartoons and photography to enliven the appearance and format of the publication. Included, also, will be a positive and aggressive coverage of all political issues and events.

Still in the planning stage is a new broadcast operation. The use of Committee-developed actualities for radio release will be a function of the new operation. A local approach will be accentuated in a number of the new Communications programs.

Also planned is the setting up of a film library to provide motivational and educational material to local Republican groups. Eventually, some of these films will be produced by the Communications Division itself, in conjunction with other Committee personnel. The film program will also design and produce ma-

terials for local television news operations, and, where possible, material for state parties and campaigns.

Local support is being given a detailed look during the planning stages of the Communications program. Practicality will be a key consideration. Plans call for a flow of high-quality, professional news and public relations materials for major Republican campaigns and groups.

Initial emphasis will come from two public relations seminars planned for early next year. Attendance by those responsible for these programs within state Party organizations will be emphasized. Additional invitations will be sent to others who are likely to participate in Republican campaigns during 1976. ■

Aggressive New Finance Program Designed to Meet New Legal Requirements

Passage of the new campaign spending laws compels each of us to re-examine our current programs and to develop new methods for raising and spending political funds. We must now build on the strong national base we have already developed, while adding new programs aimed at increasing dollars available to the national Party and to state committees.

To be successful in 1976, every state should now begin to develop an objective finance plan that will attain the political goal of winning elections now and in '76.

To raise the necessary monies in each state, the Republican Finance Division is developing a comprehensive national plan whose prime goal will be to provide major support for each state's fund raising programs.

An aggressive National Finance Committee will focus its attention on the development of new national programs. In addition, the RNC will begin to assist states to develop direct mail programs, annual giving programs, dinner programs and workable plans geared to their special needs.

Some of the ideas being considered at the national level are: closed circuit dinners, a national telethon program, annual giving programs, major gift programs, neighbor-to-neighbor concept, state finance seminars and improved accounting systems. With a cooperative effort from national and state organizations, all pulling together, each will increase in strength and in ability to accomplish their goals. Only with strong, well-financed state organizations can we hope to win national elections. ■

Training and Programs Division Schedules Seminars For State, County, City Republican Leadership

The Training and Programs Division headed by Chuck Bailey is producing an extensive series of seminars which will be conducted by the National Chairman and the Political Division. The seminars will be no-nonsense work sessions with the objective of increasing overall effectiveness.

The first thrust of the seminars will be a January meeting of State Chairmen and Executive Directors to discuss the 1974 Campaign Reform Law and the 1975-76 political program of the RNC. Immediately following this meeting, a comprehensive seminar for County Chairmen and key workers will be offered to the four states that have major partisan elections in 1975. This series will be followed by 14 regional and one "big-city" seminar. These seminars will group together those leaders who share common problems.

The "big-city" seminar will be conducted for the Chairmen of the largest cities who have common problems with political operations which are not shared by most of our chairmen. There also will be four seminars conducted for the leaders in those medium-sized cities who share similar organization problems. The ten regional seminars for all other state, city and county leaders are scheduled in locations throughout the country to enable a maximum number of our city, county and state leaders to attend. Both seminars will provide the tools that will enable us to win the important races of 1976.

Also early in 1975, four seminars are scheduled to provide the most up-to-date techniques to the specialists in your state, county or city in the areas of research and public relations. One seminar in each subject will be conducted in the East and one in the West.

In addition to research and public relations, comprehensive finance seminars which will provide proven, up-to-date techniques for your Finance Chairmen and Finance Directors are scheduled for early 1975. The finance seminars will explore new methods of assistance from the RNC to your state Party finance operations and introduce new management accounting systems and detailed explanations of the new federal laws relative to political party and campaign fund-raising and spending.

The Campaign Management College which was conducted successfully in 1973-74 has been scheduled to restart in the fall of 1975. A new session titled "Advanced Campaign Management" has been added and will be conducted mainly for those who completed the college and effectively functioned in a 1974 campaign. The basic "Campaign Management" sessions will be

expanded and improved. Those who qualify to attend, determined by past involvement and performance, will become a cadre of qualified campaign managers for congressional and gubernatorial races in 1976.

Special group seminars scheduled for early 1975 are designed to involve and effectively utilize the talents of members of special groups such as, but in no way limited to, senior citizens, youth, labor and heritage groups. ■

RNC Will Depend Heavily On Auxiliary Groups in '75-'76 Political Activity

Heavy emphasis on RNC auxiliary groups will continue as the Party heads into the initial planning for the 1975-76 era of political activity. These special groups include the National Federation of Republican Women, the Young Republicans, the College Republicans and the National Republican Heritage Groups Council. All of these are vital mainstays of Party volunteer and campaign activity.

Republican liaison with special groups of voters will be the job of such organizations as the RNC Nationalities Division, the Senior Citizens Division, the Black Political Division and the Hispanic Division.

Continuing political activities by these organizations, designed to identify and reach important sources of Republican voters and workers, is supervised by the RNC Political/Research Division. Consideration is being given to the possible organization of additional special groups similar in activity and function to these already a part of the RNC. These divisions, traditionally, have served the vital function of providing a direct route into the Party structure for identifiable groups which have common goals and interests.

Success of these special groups is of strong importance to Party success in the 1976 elections. Innovative plans will seek to bring hundreds of thousands of voters into direct involvement with the GOP. These groups will provide an avenue for the input of new ideas and solutions for many of today's problems in politics and government. ■

RNC Executive Committee Meeting Set for December

Republican National Committee Chairman Mary Louise Smith has called a meeting of the Executive Committee of the RNC for Dec. 6, 1974.

The meeting to discuss new programs for the RNC will be held in the Capitol Hill Club in Washington.

Executive Directors and State Chairmen Will Look Into Campaign Reform Law At January 24-25 Session

The new Campaign Reform Law will be discussed by State Chairmen and Executive Directors during a two-day briefing and work session January 24 and 25 in Chicago, according to National Chairman Mary Louise Smith.

"State Chairmen will be in a whole new ballgame when the new law takes effect January 1, 1975. It will, among other things, require state parties to provide major in-kind and direct-funding if we are to avoid giving Democrat candidates an unfair advantage in future political campaigns. For many state parties, this may involve a major revamping of their fund-raising and internal operating activities," she said.

A detailed discussion of the new Campaign Law and specifics of how this law effects state parties will be a central feature of the meeting. In addition, newly required accounting procedures also will be reviewed in a discussion of the new law and its effect on politics next year. A presentation of RNC plans both for its own national financing and for manpower and program assistance to be provided by RNC to the individual states in order to help them strengthen and improve their own fund raising efforts will follow these sessions.

The Chairmen and Executive Directors will be briefed on the results of both state and national survey research conducted by the RNC in the areas of the Party's current image and future outlook.

Saturday morning the Chairmen will break-up by region for breakfast meetings.

At the final Saturday morning session the Chairmen will be briefed on RNC plans and programs in the

organizational area including a discussion of proposed RNC assistance to the states in their local efforts to strengthen state and county Party organizations.

The regular session will end with a luncheon wrap-up at noon Saturday. New State Chairmen and others who are interested, will be invited to attend a special briefing seminar Friday afternoon on state organization, plans and programs. ■

'INVOLVEMENT OF ELECTED OFFICIALS IMPERATIVE IN NEW PROGRAMS'--CHAIRMAN

"Involvement by elected Republicans in the Party's many new programs is imperative," said National Committee Chairman Mary Louise Smith in a letter to Republican officials which outlined the RNC's planned activities for 1975. The letter was sent to Republican Congressmen, Senators, Governors and other state constitutional officers, State Legislators and Mayors of larger cities.

Mrs. Smith pointed out that candidates greatly influence the image of the Party during election campaigns and that Republican officeholders shape the public's view of the Party between contests. "You can obviously help us improve the GOP's image, because you've passed the most crucial test of Party effectiveness--you've won an election. You've got the experience, background and prestige to motivate, train and encourage our Party workers," Mrs. Smith said.

Special emphasis was placed by Mrs. Smith on local and state officials. "We tend to forget that local public officials--on the city, county and state level--are close to the voters every day. Congress may dominate the national news, but it does not dominate the perceptions people have about politics, Party or government."

First Monday

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First Monday

February 1975

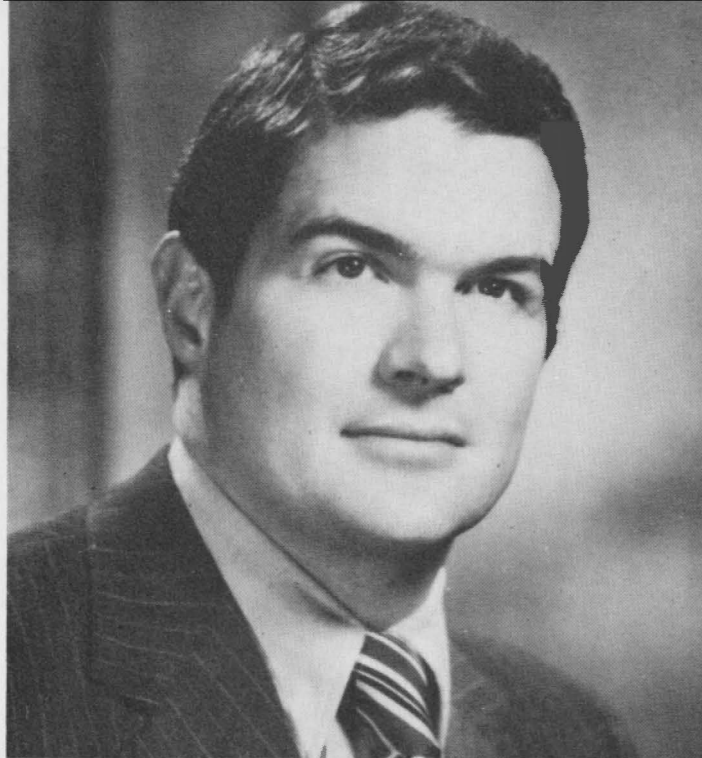
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Tradition links the future and the past. This is character, this is heritage, this is tomorrow's prologue.

Republicans--It's a Question of Values





Learn from the Past And Go Forward

As Americans, we have gone through one of the nation's greatest turmoils in its 199-year history. As Republicans, we have gone through a resounding defeat at the polls. We see around us polls which show a loss of faith and confidence in government suffered by every American.

Now, the time for pointing fingers of guilt is past. We can learn from the experience of the past several years, and go forward. As we approach our nation's 200th birthday, we must rekindle the confidence that has preserved us, and continue our great experiment in democracy.

Clearly, old style political rhetoric is not going to re-establish confidence and belief in our political system or in its leaders. We have to encourage everyone's involvement by fielding attractive, knowledgeable candidates. We have to pinpoint and clarify the issues. We have to propose solutions that hold out the promise of working. Those of us in office must demonstrate--by our performance--that **Republicanism** is a dynamic vehicle for progress in America and a beacon of hope to the world.

I continue to believe that the key to electoral success at every level lies very simply in succeeding to meet peoples' basic needs. Government can't do everything, and perhaps, some of the disillusionment of the 1970s comes from the vastly inflated expectations and promises of government created in the early sixties. But, government properly limited and properly administered, can be made to work constructively for people. As Chairman of the Republican Governors Association,

tion, I look proudly on the accomplishments of my fellow Republican Governors in their states.

In our rebuilding, we must not bind ourselves to some narrow ideology that denies a constructive role of government in our society or places us in narrow regional or economic shackles. This would surely point the Grand Old Party to extinction. I continue to believe that the battle lies in the broad center of the political spectrum. And, that is where voters perceive themselves to be.

The years ahead will not be easy ones for any of us, but they will be full of opportunity for us to show people that government can work for them. The Republican Governors welcome the challenge and look forward to sharing the progress toward a stronger Party and a stronger nation.

Christopher S. Bond, Governor of Missouri
Chairman, Republican Governors Association

First Monday

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Rep. Jarman Moves to Other Side of Aisle

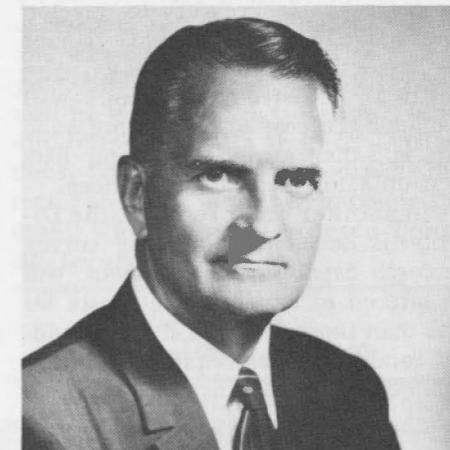
Rep. John Jarman, a 12-term House Democrat from the Fifth Congressional District of Oklahoma January 23 bolted the Democratic Party and stepped over to the Republican side of the aisle because of what he termed the liberal takeover of the House Democrat Caucus and the nullifying of the seniority system.

Jarman, whose district includes Oklahoma City and its suburbs, was one of countless senior Democrat Congressmen who are fearful of the far left tendencies of the new Democrat Caucus that made its mark in the opening days of the 94th Congress.

"The intent behind those in charge of this takeover is clear: to do everything possible to force their liberal views on this Congress and on this country by nullifying the seniority system and punishing those who do not adhere to the liberal party line as laid down by the Caucus," said Jarman in a statement.

The day before Rep. Jarman's switch, the Democrat Caucus deposed three long-term committee chairmen and replaced them with three younger and more liberal Democrats. This action was just another drastic push farther to the extreme left by the Caucus in their onslaught to impose their views on the new Congress. Jarman said he expects the same sort of

action at the subcommittee level. "I consider this wrong, and I will not serve under this kind of party control. My constituents did not send me to



Rep. John Jarman

Washington to be a rubberstamp congressman," said Jarman.

Jarman, who had conferred with President Ford earlier in the week about his intentions and dissatisfaction with the liberal trend of Congress, received an enthusiastic endorsement from Ford. "As a Republican, I am delighted that John is changing his party affiliation and welcome him to the ranks of the GOP on behalf of all Republicans," said the President. "John and I have discussed his becoming a Republican during recent

days, and he has indicated his belief that he can better represent and serve his district under the banner of the Republican Party," continued the President.

House Minority Leader John Rhodes (Ariz.) also welcomed Jarman into the GOP by saying, "For many years it has been speculated that moderate and conservative Democrats might find sufficient justification to cross party lines...There remains little incentive for many Democrats to maintain their affiliation with a party whose general philosophy is not reflective of their views," he said.

Rep. John Jarman, born in Sallisaw, Okla. on July 17, 1915, is a graduate of Yale University and the Harvard Law School. In 1946 he was elected to the Oklahoma State House of Representatives, and in 1948 to the Oklahoma State Senate. In 1950 he was elected to the 82nd Congress from Oklahoma's Fifth Congressional District, and he is now serving his 25th year in the United States House of Representatives. ■

New Law Puts RNC in Charge Of April 15 Senate-House Dinner

The annual Senate-House Dinner, which traditionally raises as much as \$1 million for Republican candidates, will be directed for the first time this year by the Republican National Committee. The switch in management of the event, which previously has been handled by the National Republican Senatorial Committee, is a result of the new federal campaign law.

As in other years, profits from the gala fundraiser will be shared by the RNC, the National Republican Congressional Committee and the Senatorial Committee.

Scheduled April 15 in the Wash-

ington Hilton Hotel, the dinner is expected to draw 1,500 Republicans. President and Mrs. Ford and Vice President and Mrs. Rockefeller are among the distinguished guests expected to attend. Entertainment will be provided by noted political satirist Mark Russell and dinner and dance music will be offered by the Mayer Davis orchestra.

Dinner organizers report a good response so far on ticket sales. Anyone interested in contributing to the event or attending may contact the Senate-House Dinner Committee at 310 First St., SE, Washington, D.C., 20003. ■



In This Issue

On the Cover...Change is the element that moves peoples and governments forward. Republicans know that governments must be receptive to new ideas while not losing sight of the value of sound traditions.

■ President Ford exhibits bold leadership in first State of the Union Message. Page 8

■ A 12-term House veteran from Oklahoma becomes the first to bolt the Democratic leadership. Page. . . 3

■ Five states get ready for the challenge of 1975 elections. Page. 6

Political— Research Emphasis is On Service

The impact of the 1974 federal campaign reform act is perhaps most apparent in its affect on the Political/Research Division of the RNC.

Richard R. Thaxton, who was appointed director of that division in November by Chairman Mary Louise Smith, says: "The reform act has obligated the RNC to be more service oriented" and adds that the prime goal of his division will be to provide sophisticated research and political services to candidates who would not otherwise be able to afford them under the new spending restrictions.

Thaxton had served as Director of Research prior to his new appointment which came as the two previously separate divisions were combined. "Research and Political have to work so closely together--the function of research is to support political activities--that it is logical that the two divisions be combined," Thaxton says.

Since January, 1974, Thaxton also has served as Director of State Services, an office that was transferred to the jurisdiction of Co-Chairman Dick Obenshain's office with the RNC reorganization in November. Thaxton joined the National Committee in 1971 as Director of Registration and Voting Programs. In that capacity, he had responsibility for Target '72, a nationwide voter identification and turnout program during the 1972 elections.

Before coming to Washington, Thaxton served as Executive Director and Research Director of the Colorado State Republican Central Committee from 1966 to 1969. In that year he joined UCC-Merrill Research Association in Dallas as Vice President for Marketing and in 1970 was promoted to Manager, UCC Market Research Division and was transferred to DATRAN in Vienna, Va.

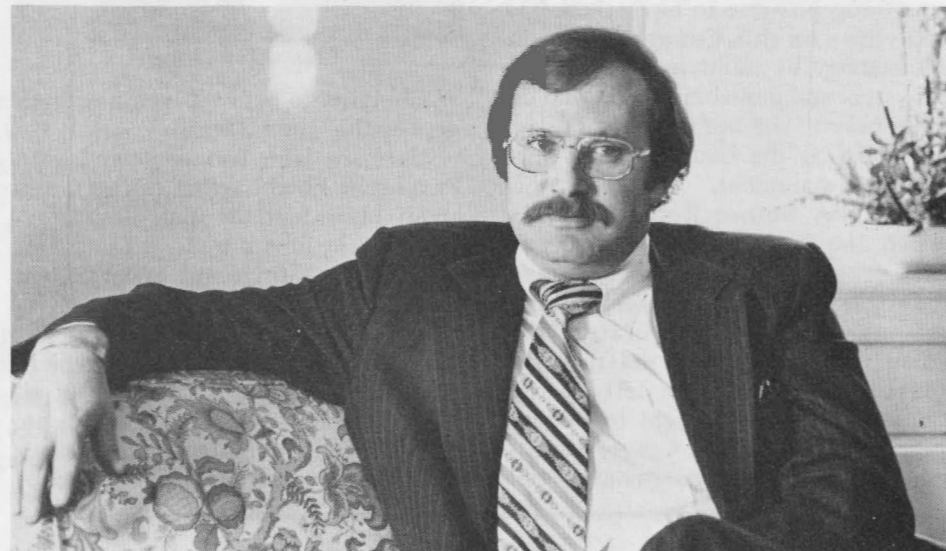
Thaxton is a history and political science graduate of the University of Denver.

In addition to increasing and up-

grading traditional programs of the Research Division, Thaxton explains that new services will be added and will be specially directed to helping candidates.

The impact of new spending limitations is most evident, he says, in Congressional elections where candidates may not spend over \$70,000. Given that limitation, Thaxton says, "it is difficult for a candidate to spend the large sums necessary to develop voter name lists, for example." Under his direction, Thaxton says, the Political/Research Division will shoulder the cost of developing such lists and then arrange to supply lists to candidates at affordable prices.

In another new program, the Division is developing in-house survey research capability which, again, will be offered to candidates at costs far less than those incurred if an individual candidate was required to hire a commercial survey research firm.



Political/Research Director Richard Thaxton

Working with Thaxton are Larry Dye, Assistant Director of Research; Charles Peckham, Director of Field Operations; Joseph Gaylord, Director of Special Voter Groups, and Charles Bailey, Director of Training and Programs.

Dye, who joined the RNC in June, 1971, as an opposition research specialist, is a graduate of Centre College of Kentucky and did graduate study on fellowship at Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University. He was editor of the 1973 *Republican Almanac*, author of the 1972 *Election Summary* and has experience in several political campaigns. Dye will oversee the Research Division's opposition research, library, issue development, information retrieval and

legislative review sections.

Peckham has charge of the RNC's expanded field operations force, which now numbers 10 field representatives. He is a 10-year veteran of political work and has been consultant to the RNC and the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC) since 1972. In 1974, Peckham was Deputy Director of the Campaign Division of the NRCC.

Gaylord came to the RNC January 1 from Iowa where he had served as Executive Director of the Republican State Central Committee. Since he joined the Iowa Party in 1967, following graduation from the University of Iowa, Gaylord has held a number of positions, including state Director of Voter Identification, Registration and Turn-out, Director of County Services and State Coordinator of Fieldmen for the Mission '70s program. He will oversee the activities of the RNC's programs for Black, youth,

heritage, senior citizen and Spanish speaking voters.

Bailey, who served as the RNC's field representative for the Western states for five years, has responsibility for RNC training programs, which include educational manuals, seminars and other related events such as the January State Chairmen's Conference.

Cheryl Jackson has been named Administrative Assistant for the Political/Research Division and in that position will help Thaxton coordinate division programs. Mrs. Jackson has been a staff member in RNC's Research Division since February, 1974. Prior to that, she worked with Thaxton in the State Services Division, beginning in 1972. ■

Louisiana Government: Memorial to Huey Long

Until quite recently, Louisiana had to be counted as the most unflinchingly, overwhelmingly Democratic state in the country. From the rich black earth of the Mississippi delta to the hardscrabble farms along the Arkansas line, politics in Louisiana always has been conducted within the Democrat Party's one-party system and has spawned many stories of government corruption.

The election of two Republican Congressmen in the last two years finally has loosened the Democrats' grip on the state, but has not affected the netherworld of vote-stealing, job-buying, logrolling, favoritism, underworld interests and other sordid activities. The situation has improved somewhat over the years, but no systematic effort has been made to clean up the state.

Louisiana politics was controlled by the usual Bourbon aristocracy until Huey Long burst onto the scene to make every man a king and build badly needed public facilities. He did not hesitate to break heads to do so. Officials who opposed his plans were removed or ruined. The legislature became a rubber stamp. Long beat back an attempt to impeach him by buying off 15 State Senators, who declared they would not vote to convict regardless of any evidence.

Long at least got things done, including the construction of a 34-story state capitol. His political heirs merely plundered the state. As political scientist V.O. Key put it:

Extortion, bribery, speculation, thievery are not rare in the annals of politics, but in the scale, variety, and thoroughness of its operations, the Long gang established, after the death of the Kingfish, a record unparalleled in our times. Millions of dollars found their way more or less directly to his political heirs and followers.

The unfortunate people of Louisiana have paid the bills through roads that break up a few years after they are built, a bridge across dry land, fifth-rate public schools and a lasting cynicism toward politicians and their misdeeds.

For example, Gov. Earl K. Long (brother to Huey) began acting

strangely, perhaps as the result of a series of small strokes. His wife had him committed and shipped him off to an out-of-state institution. He escaped and returned to Baton Rouge, and was again trundled off to a hospital, this one in Louisiana. Crazy or not, he was still the Governor, who appoints the heads of state institutions. Long called in the hospital director and fired him, then appointed a crony who promptly ordered Long discharged.

Legacy of a One-Party System

The shenanigans, some not so funny as Earl K.'s problems, continue. The current Governor is Edwin Edwards, who had some campaign debts to pay off. Wealthy oilman James W. Moore gave Edwards \$25,000 and was named to a seat on the Superport Commission, which is supposed to build a deep-water port off the coast to accommodate huge oil tankers. A former aide to the Governor, Clyde Vidrine, recently charged that the \$25,000 was the purchase price for

the commission seat.

Moore incidentally, got in trouble recently for shooting up an apartment house after a quarrel. A judge ordered him arrested, not for the shooting but for violation of his probation on an earlier drunk driving conviction. The Governor said he would advise Moore to get out of public life for a while, which would leave him a vacancy to fill, presumably at similar profit.

Perhaps the highest cost of the zany, corrupt way in which Louisiana is run is in its missed potential. The state is enormously wealthy in natural resources--oil, natural gas, sulfur, salt--and in rich farmland that yields cotton and rice and supports livestock. But the oil and gas is pumped out and sent away. Cotton is shipped to textile mills in North Carolina. Synthetic rubber is sent to tire factories in Ohio. After a burst of activity in the '40s and '50s, industrialization has slowed and wages have not kept pace with other bustling Southern states. It seems that businesses planning expansion avoid Louisiana, except those that cannot avoid it, such as the energy companies. And they are taxed heavily, a blunt warning to other industries.

The reckless, anything-goes attitude has thus discouraged prosperity and progress. Poverty and lack of opportunity may be the ultimate memorial to Huey Long and his heirs. ■

Bill Cramer Brings Experience To RNC General Counsel Post

RNC Chairman Mary Louise Smith January 22 appointed William C. Cramer general counsel for the National Committee. Cramer succeeds Harry Dent who resigned in early December.

"Given today's intricacies of law affecting political parties, Bill's long experience, both as a member of the National Committee and as an attorney, will be invaluable," Chairman Smith said in making the appointment.

Cramer was a member of the RNC executive committee from 1969 to 1972. In 1972, he served as chairman of the RNC Rules Committee and chairman of the National Convention Rules Committee. Cramer also has been a consultant to the Rule 29 Committee and has acted as the Committee's counsel in the litigation with the Ripon Society. He was counsel to

President Ford during his Vice Presidential confirmation hearings and is National Committeeman for Florida.

A native of Colorado, Cramer has resided in Florida most of his life. He was educated at St. Petersburg Junior College, the University of North Carolina, where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, and Harvard Law School.

As a member of the Florida State House of Representatives, Cramer served as minority leader. In 1954 he was the first Republican from Florida elected to the U.S. Congress since Reconstruction. Cramer gave up his seat as Florida's Sixth District Congressman to run for the U.S. Senate in 1970.

Cramer, who maintains residence in Miami, is an attorney with a law firm there and is a senior partner in Cramer, Haber and Becker of Washington, D.C. ■

Five States Ready for 1975 Elections

In Kentucky, voters will make primary choices May 27, with the general election scheduled November 4. To be elected are: Governor, Lieutenant Governor and the State's constitutional officers. State Senators in odd-numbered districts--five Republicans and 14 Democrats--are up for election as is the entire State House--which presently is made up of 20 Republicans and 80 Democrats.

When then-Gov. Wendell Ford resigned following his election to the U.S. Senate last year, the Kentucky statehouse went to Lt. Gov. Julian Carroll, a factional foe of Ford. Car-

roll, an attorney and five-term member of the Kentucky State House of Representatives, served as Speaker in his last two terms. He was elected lieutenant governor in 1971. In that spot, one Kentucky source says, he was "conspicuous by his invisibility."

Already two Democrats have announced intentions to face Carroll in the May primary. They are County Judge of Jefferson (Louisville) County Tod Hollenback and State Auditor Mary Louise Faust.

Kentucky GOP State Chairman Charles Coy reports Republican plans to unseat Carroll are in full swing. In operation is a Search Committee to encourage able and qualified Republicans to seek the open state offices. Already 300 names have been suggested as possible candidates for the

constitutional offices and the committee has talked to 24 prospective candi-

dates for governor and lieutenant governor.

So far, Coy says, he is "thrilled" with the results of Search Committee efforts. Also planned to prepare the GOP for the elections is a series of seminars in each of the state's Congressional districts on organization, local publicity, local candidates and finance.

As for the chances of defeating Carroll, Coy says: "It is obvious in view of the Senate race last year (in which GOP incumbent Marlow Cook was upset by Wendell Ford) that we face an uphill race. I would hope that we will rely on our own strengths rather than the opponent's weaknesses."

In Mississippi, voters this year will also elect a Governor and Lieutenant Governor, along with their constitutional officers. The full State Senate, which now has two Republicans and 50 Democrats, and the full State House--with a present membership of two Republicans and 120 Democrats, also will be up for election. A primary is scheduled August 5, with a runoff August 26. The general election will be November 4.

Incumbent Mississippi Gov. William L. Waller is constitutionally barred from succeeding himself making the odds-on favorite for the Demo-

crat nomination current Lt. Gov. William F. Winter.

GOP chances this year in Mississippi "are the best ever," according to State Chairman Clarke Reed. "We will have strong candidates up and down the ticket, and the Party situation here is on the upbeat," Reed says.

Reed points to the 1974 re-election of Mississippi's two incumbent Republican Congressmen, both with more than 70 percent of the vote, as a sign of growing Party strength in the state.

Winter, an old political figure among Mississippi Democrats, has been State Treasurer, State Tax Collector and an unsuccessful candidate for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination and can expect opposition in his primary because of the feeling of some state Democrats that he is too liberal by Mississippi standards.

On the Republican side, Gil Carmichael, a Meridian businessman who polled 40 percent of the vote in his 1972 challenge to Sen. James O. Eastland, appears to be the frontrunner for the GOP nomination. Others also will seek the nomination, Mississippi Party officials point out. "We are happy the Party is big enough now for our candidates to start having primary opposition," Reed says. "This is another sign of the continual development of the Party in Mississippi."

An active program of candidate recruitment for all offices up for election this year is underway in Mississippi and will be highlighted by a March 15 leadership conference.

In Louisiana, though the general election is scheduled Jan. 27, 1976, the primary for candidates in that election will be held November 1 of this year. A runoff, should it be necessary, will be held December 13.

To be elected in Louisiana are: Governor, Lieutenant Governor and constitutional officers, all of the State Senate--no Republicans and 39 Democrats--and all of the State House--four Republicans and 101 Democrats.

Louisiana Republicans, buoyed by the substantial victory of Henson

Moore in a special election in the Sixth Congressional District last month, are focusing their attention on picking up seats in the state legislature. State Chairman James Boyce

says: "We are targeting a number of legislative districts that, based on past elections, we think we have a good chance of winning if we can get good candidates." He says that the State Party "expects to retain all four House incumbents and we hope to pick up 15 to 30 more seats."

The main state GOP projects for the year will be recruiting candidates in target legislative districts and fundraising. The Moore victory, Party officials believe, "makes it easier for us to recruit candidates when they see that if we have a candidate, we have the expertise to get him elected."

Since Louisiana is a virtual one-party state at the local level, (see story on page 5), serious opposition is expected for incumbent Democrat Gov. Edwin Edwards.

A major issue in the upcoming elections is expected to be what Republicans consider restrictive election laws that require closed primaries and a primary runoff. Republicans would prefer to open the primary election and eliminate the runoff. Opposition, of course, is coming from the Democrats who recognize the current election laws as being in their favor.

Also in 1975, all state legislative seats in New Jersey and Virginia are up for election.

In New Jersey, the current State Senate has 10 Republicans, 29 Democrats and one Independent member. The House is made up of 14 Republicans and 66 Democrats. June 3 is the

scheduled date for the New Jersey primary, with the general November 4.

"There are a number of districts which we consider pivotal," GOP State Chairman Webster B. Todd says. "The prospects of regaining control of the senate and assembly within the next two years have been brightening considerably since Gov. Brendan Byrne took office," he says.

The complete disarray of the Democrat Party in New Jersey and the failure of Byrne to keep his no-state-income-tax promise are pointed to by state Republican officials as reasons for optimism. Though he had promised no income tax, they point out, Byrne was able to push such a measure through the State Assembly before it was killed in the State Senate. "The Democrats who voted for the income tax," Todd says, "are very vulnerable on that point." The result--besides the vulnerability of incumbent Democrats--is a state budget crisis that is sure to be an issue in this year's election.

In Virginia, where new state Chairman George McMath is planning for expanded staff operations, work has begun on the 1975 elections. "We will be making the most concerted effort in Party history to target and go after these seats," McMath says.

The expanded staff, McMath says, will allow the state Party to offer expanded services to legislative candidates. "We're going to field good candidates and we're going to support them," he says. In addition to direct aid and services to candidates, the Virginia Party has plans for a number of seminars. On the agenda are candidates' schools, organizational schools, campaign managers' schools and a seminar for candidates' spouses.

In Virginia, the choice of a primary or convention is at the option of each Party within each legislative district. The general election will be November 4.

McMath sums up the attitude of the Virginia Party as the elections approach: "We're out to win." ■

Kentucky

Mississippi

Virginia

Two More Take Presidential Plunge

Yet two more hopefuls have jumped, slid, fallen or otherwise been propelled into the 1976 Presidential sweepstakes--former Senators Fred R. Harris and Eugene J. McCarthy.

Yawn. Harris, whose last attempt at the Democrat nomination made such a hit that it faltered for lack of funds fully a year before the nominating convention, wowed the nation with the announcement of his current candidacy at a January 11 news conference in New Hampshire.

McCarthy, whose record as a loser goes all the way back to 1968, made his announcement January 12 in Wisconsin.

In entering the race, Harris picked up almost where he left off four years ago with his "new populist theme." (Perhaps it should be new, new populist.) The former Senator from Oklahoma and former Democratic National Committee Chairman said he would

run his campaign from a bus, not a jet, and stay in private homes, not hotels. Harris is quoted as saying: "These will not be gimmicks; they will be financial necessities." Translated, that must mean that the financial sup-

Candidate Countdown

port for Harris once again lags seriously behind his own enthusiasm and it should not be expected that he will last long.

McCarthy, who was Senator from Minnesota from 1959 to 1971, says he has changed his stripes for this new venture. He's running as an independent. All of which doesn't change a thing. He still sits at George McGovern's left hand.

One must give McCarthy credit, though, for some very interesting remarks on the status of the Democrat

Party. In Columbus, Ohio, the day before his official announcement of



McCarthy

Harris

candidacy, McCarthy commented that the Democrats were so fragmented on issues that it would be "pretty hard to reconcile these in a candidate's platform." As a result, he said, the Democrat Presidential nominee in 1976 "won't be standing for anything much." We couldn't agree more, Gene, but what else is new? ■

Strong Voice of Leadership Rings Through Ford Speech

The strong and determined voice of leadership was evident as President Ford went, first, before the nation in a televised address and then before the Congress with his State of the Union message.

No attempts were made to paint the rosy picture that wasn't there. The President said he expected little applause and set about in a business-like manner to outline the problems facing the nation and his proposals for solving them.

"I must say to you that the State of the Union is not good," the President reported.

'Millions Out of Work'

"Millions of Americans are out of work," "Recession and inflation are eroding the money of millions more. Prices are too high and sales are too slow."

Not only did the President demonstrate a clear understanding of the problems, he spoke from his knowledge of the mood of the people: "The American people want action and it will take both the Congress and President to give them what they want. Progress and solutions can be achieved. And they will be achieved."

Just as he very realistically assessed the problems of the nation, the President just as clearly was aware of the small chance that his programs would be accepted without question by the Democrat Congress. Throughout both his television address and the message to the Congress, President Ford stressed his willingness to work with the Congress and the absolute necessity for cooperation between the Legislative and Executive branches.

'A New Partnership'

He said: "The moment has come to move in a new direction. We can do this by fashioning a new partnership between the Congress on the one hand, the White House on the other and the people we both represent."

For the new Congress just assembled, the President repeated the pledge he made to the 93rd Congress in his first address as President to that body. "...I promised the last Congress a policy of communication, conciliation, compromise and cooperation," he said. "I renew that pledge to the new members of this Congress."

In addition to outlining his proposals to meet the nation's energy and economic problems and promising future messages with specific recommendations for domestic legislation, including General Revenue Sharing and the Voting Rights Act, the President devoted some time to a discussion of international problems and again showed his clear grasp of the problems and firm thoughts on solutions.

He pointed out that "in a world of 150 nations, where nuclear technology is proliferating and regional conflicts continue, international security cannot be taken for granted."

'Attentive' Audience

The mood of President Ford's first State of the Union address was somber. And, his audience was grimly attentive. There was, as the President expected, little applause. There was little to cheer about in the forthright presentation by the President of his assessment of the nation's general ill health.

Still, on many fronts the message to Congress and the television talk to the nation were warmly received for their candor and solid proposals to restore order to the nation's economy.

"It was a tough speech," said Massachusetts Sen. Edward Brooke. "Now it is up to the Congress to act," he added.

House Minority Leader John Rhodes of Arizona commented that President Ford's priorities of energy and economy "loom as the most important business we face. Until," he said, "we attain energy self-sufficiency, put the unemployed back to work and lower the high cost of living, it is foolish to think that we can begin

to pursue the many other noble goals which most Americans share."

President Ford, Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller said, "showed tremendous courage and strong leadership in presenting forthrightly to the American people and to the world the hard realities." The Vice President added that the President "came forward with a bold, imaginative program that makes it possible to turn the problems into opportunities for the future."

Even from the Democrat side, there was praise. Sen. John Tunney of California said that the State of the Union message was evidence that the President "is focusing on the right problems." He said, much as the President had, that "there has to be compromise because the issues are so vital."

For the most part, however, Democrat comment settled along strictly partisan lines and was overall, more criticism than constructive controversy. The clear danger, when Democrat comment was taken as a whole, appeared to be that the actions requested by the President to meet the immediate emergencies would be delayed first by the Democrats' adamant refusal to simply accept the President's program and then by their own inability to come to grips with the problems and offer their own specific program. ■

The following are the remarks of RNC Chairman Mary Louise Smith in reaction to President Ford's January 13 television address to the nation outlining his new economic plan:

The significant thing about the President's proposal is his call to the American people to rekindle faith in themselves. This emphasis on the individual is a cornerstone of Republican philosophy.

Tonight's proposal will put more money into circulation, and discourage the consumption of crude oil, thereby reducing our dependence on foreign supplies. It will encourage expansion in industry and agriculture...all of this with a pledge and a challenge to curb federal spending.

Comparing the President's proposals with those of the Democrats earlier in the day, President Ford came to grips with what had to be done, and made some hard and difficult decisions. He was specific throughout...while the Democrats were general, and vague.

Clearly our situation calls for strong leadership, and that is what President Ford has provided. I believe Americans will rally to his call.



President Gerald R. Ford speaks to a joint session of the Congress in his first report on the State of the Union.

The President's Plan

President Ford's economic program as outlined in his State of the Union message is aimed at simultaneously halting the recession, reducing inflation and ending U.S. dependence on foreign oil--a contributing factor to both recession and inflation.

To attack the energy problem, the President has proposed increased new import fees on foreign crude oil and excise taxes on domestic crude and natural gas. The purpose is two-fold. First, the resultant higher cost for petroleum and petroleum products would discourage extravagant use and allow the nation to gradually reduce the amount of oil imported. Second,

the tax money realized could be used by the government to pay for other portions of the President's economic program.

The President has further proposed deregulation of the price of new domestic natural gas in interstate commerce. Though this proposal met with sharp resistance in Congress when President Ford first put it forward last year, the reasoning behind it is strong. In the past, natural gas in interstate commerce has been kept at an artificially low price and thus has limited profits for gas-producing companies. The result has been to discourage gas companies from undertaking the expensive exploration necessary to discover new sources of natural gas and thus increase supplies.

The President also said he would decontrol domestic crude oil prices by April 1 of this year unless the Congress acted against his authority by legislation.

The affect of the President's proposals would be to give oil and gas producers the additional capital needed to search out and begin producing new sources. A byproduct of the increase in available supplies of domestic energy would be increased employment in these industries.

To insure that these new profits to producers are in fact realized in new production, President Ford pro-

posed the added incentive of windfall profits taxes.

The President's program frankly and courageously realizes a fact of modern life--the high price of energy--and assumes that the cost of fossil fuels never will drop substantially. This premise protects American energy firms from a sudden price reduction by foreign oil producing nations which would undercut the costly development programs of domestic firms. The Ford plan also encourages the development of alternate sources, such as nuclear and geothermal energy and coal, because businesses will search for the cheapest form of usable energy.

The President's traditional Republican approach of relying on private enterprise to solve the energy dilemma with an assist from government has come under attack by liberal Democrats. Yet to date they have failed to come close to presenting workable alternatives.

Although the feeling among most Congressional Democrats seems to lean more toward rationing as a solution than a price increase, they ignore the highly inflationary big bureaucracy that would be required to implement a rationing program. In the long run, the cost to the federal gov-

The President...has made it clear to the Congress and the nation that he is willing and able to make the tough decisions.

ernment of a rationing program--which, of course, will reach the public if not in higher taxes, then in higher inflation resulting from further government deficit spending--makes it a virtually unacceptable solution. The President grimly warned the nation that such a rationing program would have to be continued for at least five years. He added at his televised news conference, the belief that Americans are unwilling to accept that great a sacrifice.

A second phase of the Ford energy-economy program would return what the government takes in energy taxes to the people in an effort to stimulate consumer buying and business investment and thereby enliven the economy.

For individuals, President Ford requested a 12 percent rebate of 1974

(Continued on page 10)

Energy, Economy Proposals

[Continued from page 9]

federal income taxes, to a maximum of \$1,000. If passed by the Congress, the plan would return spendable money to individuals. The return of this money to the marketplace would serve to stimulate the economy.

If, as some predict, the tax money rebated to individuals finds its way into savings accounts instead, the re-

sult would be to provide money to be borrowed by individuals contemplating large purchases such as cars and homes and firms buying inventory or capital goods. Either way, the rebate is a stimulus.

For businesses and farmers, the President has urged the Congress to raise the business investment credit to 12 percent during 1975, providing

about \$4 billion to be pumped into business expansion.

A lowering of the corporate tax rate from 48 percent to 42 percent would serve the same purpose--encourage industrial expansion and development.

Critical to the President's program to end the recession and get the American economy on track again is his call for a one-year moratorium on new federal spending.

Federal deficit spending over the years has been the biggest culprit in fueling inflation. With nearly three-fourths of the federal budget "uncontrollable"--i.e., taken up in payments that were promised years ago by a Congress that never bothered to determine where the money was coming from--and with the added pressures of anti-recession programs, the only way to keep the deficit at the lowest possible point seems to be a delay in any new spending until the economy is on a better footing.

The clear contrast, when the President's economic program and the offerings of Congressional Democrats are taken in whole, is between decisive, specific actions suggested by the President and the vague, scattered political proposals from the Democrats.

The President has opted for what may not always be popular solutions to a very far-ranging and complex problem but he has made it clear to both the Congress and the nation that he is willing and able to make the tough decisions.

So far critics of the President's program have not been able to come to grips with its full impact and are reduced to picking at details that make good press but don't necessarily offer any constructive alternative solutions. The President has seized the initiative and the Congressional majority is once again forced to respond.

■
Vice President Rockefeller and House Speaker Albert look on as President Ford outlines his energy and economic plans.

Energy

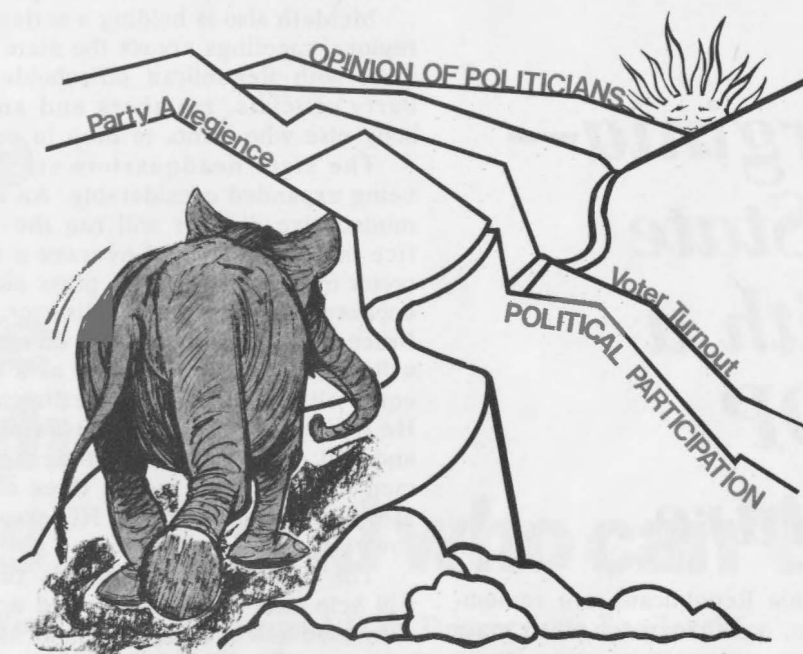
The following is a brief summary of President Ford's energy recommendations:

- Increase import fees on crude oil by \$3 per barrel by April 1.
- A \$2 per barrel excise tax on domestic crude oil and \$2 per barrel fee on imported crude.
- Windfall oil profits tax.
- Decontrol price of new natural gas in interstate commerce.
- An excise tax on natural gas.
- Request authority for oil production at Elk Hills, Calif., naval petroleum reserve.
- Amend 1970 Clean Air Act and 1974 energy legislation to permit greater use of coal.
- Authorize exploration and production at naval petroleum reserve No. 4 in Alaska.
- Request authority to impose tariffs, import quotas, import price floors or other actions to deal with fluctuations in world oil prices.
- Delay for five years, 'til 1981, auto emissions standards required in Clean Air Act and extend deadline for other clean air standards applying to industrial polluters.
- Regulate strip mining.
- Increase investment tax credits and other tax incentives for industry and electric utilities.
- Speed licensing and siting of nuclear power plants.
- 15 percent tax credit for improvements in home insulation.
- Government subsidies for insulation to low-income families.
- National standards for heating and cooling efficiency in new homes and commercial buildings.
- Require new autos and appliances to carry "energy efficiency" labels.
- Authority to buy and store one billion barrels of oil for domestic use and 300 million barrels for military use.
- Standby authority for the President to deal with shortages--including power to allocate petroleum products and control their prices, ration fuels, allocate materials used in energy production, implement conservation plans, increase domestic oil production and regulate oil inventories.

Economy

The following is a brief summary of President Ford's recommendations to fight the economic recession:

- Refund 12 percent of 1974 income taxes paid by individuals, up to a \$1,000 limit.
- Temporarily raise business investment tax credit to 12 percent during 1975.
- Permanent reduction in personal income taxes by raising low-income allowance and reducing tax rates.
- Direct payments of \$80 to adults who pay no taxes and lesser payments to make up the difference for taxpayers whose cuts under the permanent reductions amounted to less than \$80.
- Reduction in the flat corporate income tax rate from 48 percent to 42 percent.
- One-year moratorium on new federal spending programs.



HANNIBAL vs. THE ALPS-1975

National Leadership Conference Needs You

Republican leadership interested in having a voice in the Party's thrust over the next 20-plus months will get that opportunity at the March Leadership Conference. Those attending will participate in active panel-led discussions dealing with a number of key issues facing the Party in 1975-76.

The Leadership Conference begins March 6 in the Washington Hilton Hotel. Reservations and details may be obtained by contacting Kit Donahue, Conference Coordinator, at the RNC.

Specifically, the issues for discussion are: What should the role of the Republican Party be in re-establishing the confidence of the American people in elected leadership? Should the Republican Party undertake basic structural changes and, if so, in what way? Should the Republican Party expand its base and, if so, in what areas? How should the Republican Party reach out to and involve the minority voter in its daily affairs? Can we involve the under-35, non-college voter in the Republican Party and, if so, how? (National opinion polls show

that only 15 percent of those under the age of 30 identify themselves with the Republican Party.) Should the Republican Party be involved in ongoing development and advocacy of issues and, if so, how? Also to be discussed is the Republican Party's relationship with organized labor, public financing of campaigns, Republican officeholders accountability to the Party platform, and is there still a role for patronage in a modern political party?

These are only some of the questions to be discussed.

The Presidential campaign of 1976 must be inspired by and have the input of all Republican activists at all levels. With the proper coordination of all efforts, another Republican victory in 1976 can be assured. The Republican Leadership Conference is the beginning of this campaign.

All Republican activists are urged to attend the briefing in Washington March 6 and 7. Registration fee is \$36.50 and should be made payable to: Republican Leadership Conference, 310 First St., SE, Washington, D.C. 20003. Deadline for registration is February 27, 1975. ■



Virginia— A State With a GOP Future

Virginia Republicans can remember when, not so long ago, their state legislators were put on committees that never met. Now they are aiming at control of the General Assembly.

The bad news from Washington over the past couple of years rolled across the Potomac and cost the Party five seats in the legislature and two in the Congress. But that is over now and Republicans are united behind an energetic new state chairman, George N. McMath of Onley.

"I went to a speaking engagement the other night and expected a few people to show up, you know, just to talk about Republican politics and meet each other. But the place was packed," McMath said. "It's like that all over the state. I couldn't be happier with the cooperation we're getting."

McMath took over as State Chairman during the fall when Richard D. Obenshain was appointed national Co-Chairman. During Obenshain's term, the Party scored two triumphs, electing a U.S. Senator in 1972 and a Governor in 1973. McMath is concentrating on legislative and local races and hopes to make big inroads in the large Democratic majorities in both houses of the legislature.

McMath says "involvement and communication" are the key words in the growth of the Virginia Party.

To involve more people in Party affairs, McMath formed 13 committees to conduct a number of studies. Some 250 people serve on the panels. Among the subjects covered are revision of the Party plan, publication of a directory of Republican officials, officeholders and leaders, new space

for state headquarters, and the publication of a bimonthly magazine, tentatively slated to start in the spring.

McMath also is holding a series of regional meetings across the state to meet with Republican officeholders, Party officials, members and anybody else who wants to drop in.

The state headquarters staff is being expanded considerably. An administrative director will run the office in Richmond and oversee a director of communications, press aide, bookkeeper and personnel director. J. Bruce Hildebrand, the field director, will continue in that position as a co-equal with the administrative director. He will be in charge of fundraising and will oversee three fulltime fieldmen who will each handle three congressional districts while Hildebrand covers the Richmond area.

The field force, the Party's first, will help local organizations and work with candidates, many of whom have never run for office before.

A fulltime youth coordinator will work with the state College Repub-

the Golden Elephant, Silver Elephant and Trunk and Tusk.

"The local units are accepting the challenge," McMath said. "The potential is a list of 40,000 names statewide."

Another fund-raiser is the annual Commonwealth Dinner. The price of a ticket for the dinner April 26 is \$50, half of what it used to cost.

"We're trying to get more people to attend by charging less," McMath said.

New services and programs, plus the work of the fieldmen, should give the Party an edge in many legislative districts, especially marginal ones. While incumbents in most rural and many urban districts tend to stay in for years and years, the turnover in suburban and some urban districts is about average.

A key figure in all this, of course, is the ebullient McMath himself. He divides his time between running weekly newspapers on the Eastern Shore, serving in the House of Delegates and working on Party affairs.

'In Virginia our Party has no problems. Perhaps a few challenges, but no problems.'...McMath

lican, Young Republican and Teen-Age Republican groups and try to get more young people involved in the Party.

The central staff is by far the largest the Party has ever had and will, obviously, cost a lot. The budget for this year is set at \$415,000, about three times the 1974 budget and the largest budget the state Party has ever had.

To raise that much money, McMath has devised what he calls a "very elaborate organization."

The program involves the local Party units, which until this year were assessed a certain amount by the state Party. They will instead be given 10 percent of the money the state Party raises in their areas. To be eligible for the payback, the local unit must give the state Party a list of potential contributors equal to one percent of its population and telephone each potential contributor to say that a letter from the state Party is on the way.

The letter will ask for money and enclose a booklet describing the various categories of support, including

"I spend about 60 hours a week on Party work, so I guess it's more than a fulltime job," he said. "I'm having so much fun that I almost feel guilty!"

"In Virginia our Party has no problems," McMath said. "Perhaps a few challenges, but no problems. There is evidence of enthusiasm throughout the state--everything is looking up. I believe we will have a great year in '75."

McMath is a former Democrat, as are the Governor and many of the rank and file, and hopes to continue the realignment of the parties in the South.

Mainly he is trying to get more people involved in the Party, which still barely exists in some parts of the state, and win elections for local and legislative offices.

"We're really rolling down here. More people are getting involved and we'll have more money and candidates than ever before," McMath said.

From Cumberland Gap to Chincoteague, Virginia Republicanism is on the rise again.■

Let's see who can make the tough decisions

Proposals by President Ford

and who can't

Proposals by Democratic Leadership
In House of Representatives

TAX CUT

12 percent rebate of 1974 taxes up to \$1,000; direct payment to poor people; permanent reduction of rates.

"Increasing the personal income tax exemption, the standard deduction and minimum allowance, by reducing the weight of payroll tax liabilities upon the working poor, and/or by a system of individual tax credits." No specific option recommended.

ENERGY CONSERVATION

Reduce dependence on foreign oil through tariff; delay gas-wasting auto emission systems; develop energy efficiency standards; encourage new oil and gas exploration; 10-year energy self-sufficiency program; allocation so no one region will suffer.

Calls situation an "emergency" but lists SEVEN options, recommends none. Options include higher pump tax and rationing.

STIMULATION OF THE ECONOMY

Increase in investment tax credit so farmers and businessmen can make new, job-creating investments.

No specific recommendations.

WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS

No reliance on wage and price controls, previously proven unworkable.

Calls for standby controls on prices, says nothing of wages.

FEDERAL SPENDING

Decried growth of federal budget and calls for one-year moratorium on new federal spending programs.

Says nothing of holding down government spending; calls for several new spending programs, including open-ended subsidies.

It's pretty clear. On one side are the precise, definitive proposals of a concerned leader who has taken a long look at the problems and done some hard thinking on the solutions. On the other side, vague, general ideas that could take months to be hammered into anything resembling a "program." Obviously, action is needed now! President Ford deserves your support.



'Best Program Ever,' State Chairmen Say

Proposed communication and voter registration plans and reorganization of the Republican National Committee drew high praise at their preview at the meeting of Republican State Chairmen in Chicago last month.

"It's the best program to come out of the National Committee since I've been on the scene," said Clarke Reed of Mississippi, Chairman of the Southern State Chairmen's Association. "It is a real quantum jump for the RNC in the area of services to the states...it really puts the states on the spot to do their job."

Richard Rosenbaum, New York State Chairman and Chairman of the Northeastern State Chairmen's Association, speaking of the meeting said, "It was the most useful and constructive conference I have ever attended since becoming state chairman over two years ago. From every standpoint, it was a most stimulating and satisfying session which should produce results for the Republican Party."

Thus, state Republican Party chairmen received their first glimpse of the program that will be presented in detail to hundreds of Party leaders from across the nation at the Leadership Conference in the Washington Hilton Hotel March 6-8.

In Chicago, chairmen or their representatives from 45 states heard Mary Louise Smith and her staff outline a comprehensive plan for rebuilding the Party and preparing for the 1976 elections.

The state chairmen were briefed on the increased services available to the states from the National Committee. These include an extensive re-

organization of the Communications Division, an expanded field force, the creation of a training and programs division, survey research capabilities, a special groups division, and a voter name list operation, to mention only a few.

The chairmen also were given in-depth briefings on the implications of the new campaign reform act and its associated tax laws. They heard outlines for accounting systems for management control, and finance/fund raising operations.

Part of the comprehensive program to rebuild the Party and prepare for the '76 campaign already is underway. The plan includes a first in American politics: a series of half-hour television programs produced by the Party.

The programs, National Chairman Mary Louise Smith told the GOP chiefs, will present a "Republican view of the news," including good news about Republican state administrations, actions of the Ford Administration, activities in Congress, and will provide a segment for use by state parties if they so desire.

The TV program, only part of a larger communications package, is intended to build support for a massive voter registration drive in the fall of 1975.

Mrs. Smith pointed out that the Party will be expected to run the 1976 Presidential campaign and must get in shape for it. The registration drive not only will register thousands of Republicans, but also will test the Party organization and help develop the skills and human resources needed for '76. ■



RNC Chairman Mary Louise Smith talked at the State Chairman's meeting with [clockwise, from top left] Richard Rosenbaum of New York; Deputy Assistant to the Counsellor to the President Gwen Anderson and Rhode Island State Chairman Tucker Wright; Iowa State Chairman John McDonald, Glee Goman of the Senatorial Committee and Lyell Rushton, who attended as a representative of Sen. Ted Stevens.

Congress Watch

There's Order in The GOP House

As the 94th convened, it was apparent that House Republicans were far more unified than the Democrats and are determined to rapidly reverse the temporary decline in the Party's fortunes. Recent actions of the Democrat Caucus may help by driving some conservatives into the arms of the

With this issue, *First Monday* begins a new feature, *Congress Watch*, which will keep an eye on Congress—especially the left side of the aisle. When and if the Democrat leadership gets around to legislative matters, we will emphasize those activities.

GOP. (See related story on page 3.)

Republican Leader John Rhodes of Arizona was optimistic about how effective the GOP minority can be.

"Given the internal warfare prevalent among the Democrats, the Republicans in Congress may turn out to be the single most cohesive force in town," he said. He added that there existed among Republicans "a spirit of unity and common purpose the likes of which have never been seen before, at least during my Congressional career."

Meanwhile, Democrats in the House busied themselves with killing off three conservative committee chairmen—in addition to Wilbur Mills who got it earlier—and Democrats in the Senate were preparing to grab a seat.

The chances of holding a special election to settle the disputed New Hampshire Senate seat faded late last month when the full Senate referred the matter to its Rules Committee.

The Rules Committee has instructions to decide who won the seat and report back to the Senate.

Republican Louis C. Wyman won the election by two votes, according to a recount by the State Ballot Law Commission, and Democrat John Durkin is challenging the victory on the basis of alleged errors in the commission's recount.

While the new power of the Democrats in numbers alone will make it

easier to push through their proposals, there are so far no signs that they will be able to unite a program—except for two points: They are in favor of a tax cut and opposed to the President's plan for energy taxes. Coming up with a coherent alternative to the President's proposals will, no doubt, provide a difficult problem for the Democrats.

As *First Monday* went to press, the Majority was trying to prevent the oil tariff ordered by the President from taking effect. Some called for a 90-day

Tough Job Ahead for Campaign Unit Heads

The new chairmen of the National Republican Congressional Committee and the National Republican Senatorial Committee—Rep. Guy Vander Jagt and Sen. Ted Stevens—are facing perhaps the most extensive job of revamping those committees in their history. It is a reorganization job facing all political committees this year.

The reorganization is necessary to meet the requirements of the 1974 federal campaign act which, although it greatly strengthens the position of the National Committee and state parties, drastically changes the traditional operations of the campaign committees. In the past, most of the Washington financial support for federal candidates has come from the two campaign committees rather than the RNC.

Under the new law the two Republican campaign committees are severely restricted in the amount of money that may be contributed to candidates for the House and Senate. In the past, the committees had been free to give almost any amount of support. Now the limit is \$5,000 per candidate, per election.

For example, the NRCC may give \$5,000 to a given candidate in the primary election, the same amount in a primary runoff and the same in the general. The maximum, then, per candidate, will be \$15,000. In most

delay in the boost, although the grounds for delay were unclear. The alternative is rationing that, to be effective, would limit drivers to nine gallons of gasoline a week and could last as long as 10 years.

"The basic problem is that Congress does not want to have to do anything which might be unpopular," observed Rep. Barber Conable, chairman of the House Republican Policy Committee.

The House Ways and Means Committee has reported out a bill tying a 90-day delay to an increase in the federal debt ceiling, without which the government will be unable to operate.

One has to wonder when the Democrats will get around to learning that sometimes unpopular problems require unpopular solutions. ■

cases in the past, however, these committees have not chosen to become involved in primaries.

Vander Jagt and Stevens were elected by GOP members of the House and Senate to take on this responsibility.

Vander Jagt replaces Rep. Bob Michel as Chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee. Michel, who represents Illinois' 18th Congressional District, resigned the position to become Minority Whip.

Stevens replaces Sen. Bill Brock of Tennessee as Chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee. Brock is up for re-election in 1976 which precludes his continuing as chairman.

Vander Jagt, from Cadillac, Michigan, represents that state's Ninth Congressional District. A former member of the Michigan State Senate, he was elected to Congress in 1966, filling the vacancy caused when Rep. Robert P. Griffin was appointed and then elected to a full term in the U.S. Senate.

Stevens, who makes his home in Anchorage, was appointed to the Senate by then Alaska Gov. Walter Hickel in December, 1968. He was elected to the Senate in 1970 for the term expiring in 1973 and was re-elected for a full six-year term in 1972. ■

First Monday



GOP leaders in the House of Representatives following the January 14 meeting of the House Republican Conference. From left, seated, are Reps. Samuel Devine of Ohio, House GOP Conference Vice Chairman; Bob Michel of Illinois, Whip; John Rhodes of Arizona, Minority Leader; John Anderson of Illinois, Conference Chairman, and Jack Edwards of Alabama, Conference Secretary.

Standing from left are Reps. James Quillen of Tennessee, senior GOP member of the House Rules Committee; Louis Frey Jr. of Florida, Research Committee Chairman, and Guy Vander Jagt of Michigan, National Republican Congressional Committee Chairman. Not in the picture is Rep. Barber Conable Jr. of New York, Chairman of the GOP Policy Committee.

First Monday

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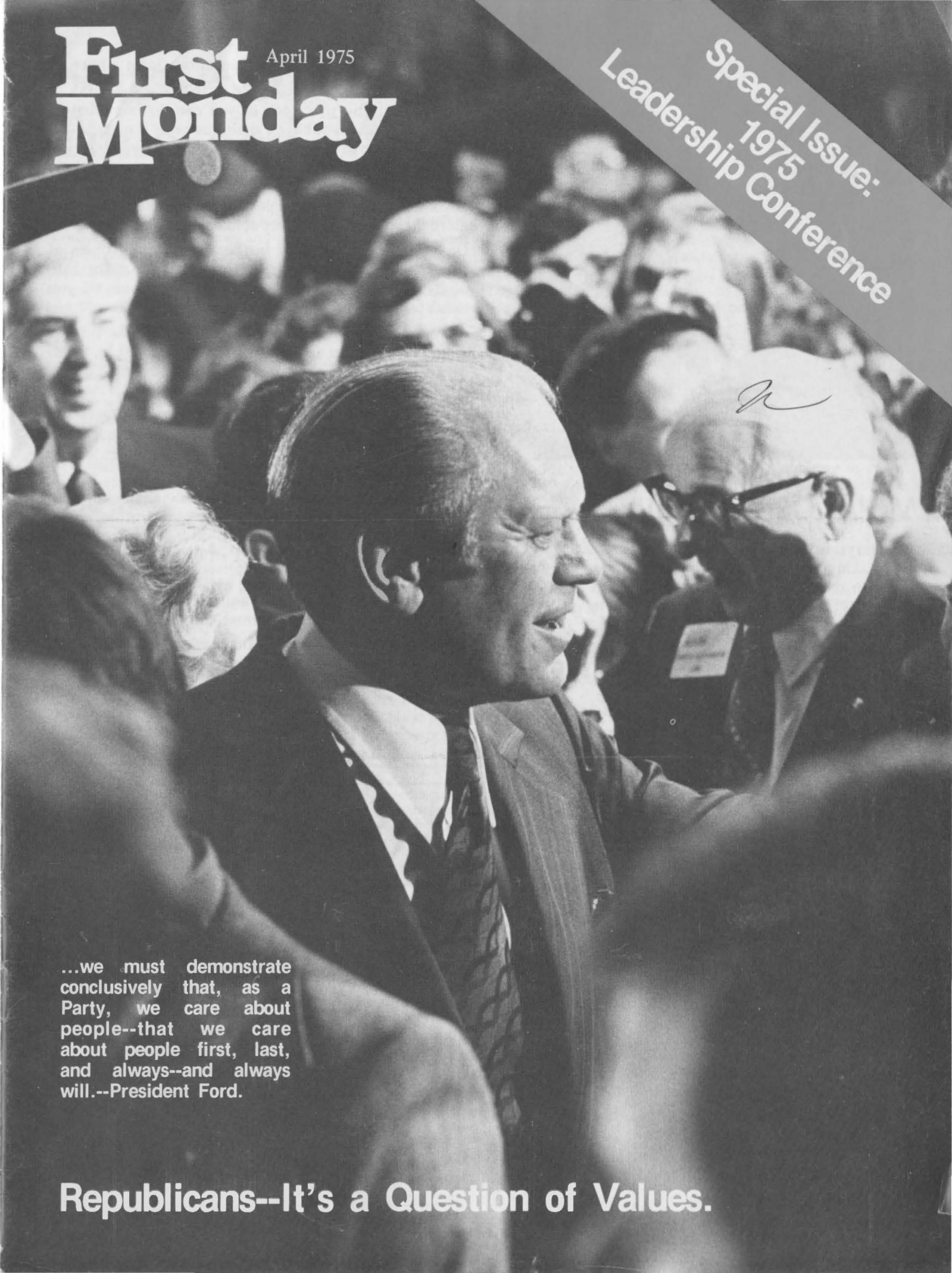
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First Monday

April 1975

Special Issue:
1975
Leadership Conference



...we must demonstrate conclusively that, as a Party, we care about people--that we care about people first, last, and always--and always will.--President Ford.

Republicans--It's a Question of Values.



We're Out to Win!

My congratulations to Republicans across the country for making the 1975 Republican Leadership Conference an overwhelming success.

We had hoped that 1,000 would attend. We set a goal of 1,500. But when the final count was taken--2,751 Republicans had come to Washington to talk, to listen, to search for answers that will rekindle the spirit of this great Party.

My only regret is that everyone of you could not have been here to share the fresh new enthusiasm, the excitement, the determination to bring our Party back again.

In the conversations of those who attended, I heard some words and phrases again and again--words like alive, growing, building.

I heard the term, "Middle America." It was said the Republican Party is the hope of Middle America, that we can touch the dreams of Middle America, that we must reach Middle America because they are our hope and we are theirs.

And I heard the word "freedom."

In fact, if there was one word that summed up the Republican philosophy by these men and women from every one of our 50 states, that word was "freedom":

Freedom for the individual;

Freedom from government interference;

Freedom from oppressive taxes that pay for programs we neither want nor need;

Freedom for ourselves and our children and our grandchildren to meet our fullest potential.

Our task now is to build on the momentum of that

weekend in March--to carry that enthusiasm all across the nation--to translate it into action.

One small thing that each of you can do immediately as we begin a Republican dialogue with America: As soon as you have read this issue of *First Monday*, leave it at the beauty shop or the barber shop or the dentist's office, wherever people read as they sit and wait. This is something you can do personally to reach more and more people with the Republican message.

Or, you can go one step further. Additional copies of this special Leadership issue are available at the rate of five copies for one dollar. We'll send you all you need to share with your friends and neighbors.

Let people know what our Party is doing. Take it upon yourself to do your share of the work that must be done. This was my final challenge to the Leadership Conference. I say it also to each of you:

"I challenge you to begin a giant campaign of personal politics--to go out into your neighborhoods, your communities, and to inspire others who believe as we do to join in working with us.

"I challenge you to set aside the trivial demands of everyday life which sap your energies but bring no lasting reward....and instead to devote yourselves to shaping the future of your Party and the future of your nation.

"I challenge you to go forth united, to carry a common message to Republicans across this nation:

"The Republican Party is out to win. Our victory will be a victory for America."

Mary Louise Smith

Mary Louise Smith, RNC Chairman

First Monday

Republican National Committee
310 First Street, S.E.
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Senate Recount: Time and Money

The people of New Hampshire continued to lack full Congressional representation last month as Senate Democrats insisted on a tedious and probably inconclusive recount in the disputed Senate race instead of taking the simpler and obvious step of calling a new election.

The Senate Rules Committee had the job of examining 900 disputed ballots to try to see whether Republican Louis Wyman or Democrat John Durkin won the election, which the New Hampshire State Ballot Commission gave to Wyman by two votes.

It seemed unlikely that the people of the state would accept as their properly elected Senator the winner of a recount involving numerous ballots on which the intentions of the voters are almost indiscernible. The state's General Court (legislature) reflected public opinion by passing a law providing for a special election no more than 45 days after the Senate declares a vacancy.

tion because of the delays and squabbling here."

In opting for a Rules Committee recount, the Senate ignored a recent and substantial precedent on the House side of the Capitol, where the general election in Louisiana's Sixth District last fall ended in a dead heat due to a voting machine's malfunction. A state court ordered a special election, which was held in time for the winner, Republican Henson Moore, to be sworn in along with the other freshmen in January. His constituents were thus not deprived for a moment of their proper representation.

The Senate also chose to ignore historic precedent and for the first time refused to seat the duly certified Senator--in this case Wyman--while considering a challenge. The people of New Hampshire thus had only one Senator while the long, involved recount got underway. Counting of the ballots didn't start until after 64 days of preliminaries.

...the Committee secured special counsel at the going Washington rate of \$100 per hour, with the preliminary tab of \$100,000 to be picked up by the taxpayers...

The Democrats, however, insisted on trying to dope out the results of the first election, although two recounts already have been conducted, with differing results. The aim seemed to be to secure an additional seat for the Democrats and save Durkin the trouble and expense of a special election. The party politics involved bothered many Republican Senators, who protested that the recount would not settle the issue and would leave the state underrepresented until the haggling is done.

"We must not let partisanship rule the issue, but rather we must take it back to the people of New Hampshire for them to decide," said Senator Ted Stevens of Alaska, chairman of the GOP Senate campaign committee. "Another election is long overdue and we do an injustice to those in the state who do not now have full representa-

The committee decided to count about 900 disputed ballots, and on that count the election will turn. Trying to keep the Democrat Senators from judging each ballot from the number of votes cast for Democrats other than Durkin, Republicans suggested that the ballots be covered in some way so that only the Senate vote would be visible. The Democrat counsel raised all sorts of objections, but the Republicans devised suitable templates and the suggestion was adopted.

About half the ballots, however, are marked in such a way that they cannot be masked. Staff people marveled at the ingenuity of the voters at embroidering their ballots with write-in votes, stray pencil marks and half-erasures.

The Senators began laboriously counting the ballots, finishing 16 after several hours of work. The pro-

cess seemed certain to drag on into April.

It is expensive as well as time-consuming. The committee secured special counsel at the going Washington rate of \$100 per hour, with the preliminary tab of \$100,000 to be picked up by the taxpayers. The two contenders were stuck with enormous bills for legal advice, although the Congress usually reimburses both sides after such a case is completed.

The greatest danger of the recount is that no one will believe it. The losing side always will claim irregularities. The winner never will have the full legitimacy that comes from public recognition of the result of a fair, clean election. The obvious remedy is to run it again. As Sen. Lowell Weicker of Connecticut put it: "The only fair way to determine who won the New Hampshire seat is to let the people of that state have their say in a second fair and question-free election." ■



In This Issue

On the cover...President Ford at the 1975 Leadership Conference: "Our first and most urgent task is to work together to restore the full trust of our fellow Americans in the on-going experiment of self-government."

■ **Special Report: The 1975 National Republican Leadership Conference--The Start of a New Momentum.** Pages..... 7 to 22

■ **The Republican National Committee debates two critical issues.** Page. . . .5

■ **New life in rural communities--a Republican Administration at work.** Page.....4

Rural America: A Peoples' Revolution

Since the advent of a Republican Administration in 1969, a quiet revolution has been taking place in the America outside the crowded metropolises and their suburbs, a revolution wrought not by federal technocrats and bureaucrats but by hundreds of thousands of individuals and their local governments.

It is the kind of revolution the social engineers hate and fear because they cannot control it with their flow charts and system analysis, and because it reflects the true will of that frequent object of collectivist rhetoric, "the people."

The fact is that conditions in rural America, after a long period of decline, have stabilized and are beginning to improve in comparison to urban America.

The government's policy has been to let the people make the key decisions as to how and where rural America should change and grow, and provide the framework within which the decisions can be made.

For example, surveys have shown that millions of people who live in the cities or suburbs would rather live in small towns or in the country. They stayed put largely because of economic reasons: they held jobs where they were and were afraid of being unable to find work elsewhere. Jobs were scarce in rural areas because they did not have the broad base of services and opportunities needed to build plants or homes. Many rural communities lacked sewer, water or even electric service, without which they stagnated.

Rather than launch a crash program to string electric lines and lay pipes all over the place, the Republican administration began a program through the Rural Development Act of 1972 to provide grants, loans and loan guarantees to provide community facilities and aid business expansion and industrial location. Almost \$260 million was authorized by the Department of Agriculture in fiscal 1974 alone.

The Rural Development Act programs meshed with the existing Farmers Home Administration and Rural Electrification Administration pro-

grams, which help people buy farms and homes and help provide electric and telephone service. All told, FmHA authorized \$4.2 billion in fiscal year 1975, as opposed to only \$1.3 billion in 1969, the last year Democrats wrote the budget; and the REA authorized \$2.5 billion in FY '75, as against \$449 million in 1969.

Farm-state Congressmen have praised the Administration's performance in rural development. "The Department of Agriculture, since passage of the Rural Development Act of 1972, has chalked up a commendable record in assisting rural areas develop to solve the problems of people," said Nebraska's Sen. Carl Curtis.

"Community development loans made by USDA agencies in 1975 will be nearly four times higher than in 1969," he noted.

There is nothing glamorous about laying sewage and water lines and

erecting telephone poles. But the programs are significant because, first of all, the federal government did not decide where the lines were to go; the people and their local governments and cooperatives did. Second, such basic work makes it possible for real development and growth to take place. This is building from the bottom up instead of imposing "progress" and "renewal" from the top down.

The result has been that the rural population has stabilized, with the historic migration of millions of people off the land and into the cities slowing to a crawl of only 100,000 people per year since 1970. The farm population has been stable at about 9.4 million for the past few years, and the number of farms has remained at just under 3 million since 1970.

The number of small farms has remained relatively constant and the number of big farms has increased only a few percentage points, belying the fear that Corporate America was turning the farmlands into agricul-

tural assembly lines.

More and more economic opportunities are opening up; the number of new jobs available in rural areas is now increasing twice as fast as in metropolitan areas. Few of these jobs are in heavy industries and other sectors vulnerable to recession, so that the slump of recent months has hurt rural America less than the cities.

The base of rural America's prosperity, the farm, was doing better than ever until farm income declined recently. Still, total farm family income stood at \$52.7 billion in 1974, some \$21 billion more than in 1970.

There are bleak spots in the rural report, health care in particular. Doctors simply prefer to practice in the cities, where more services are available and they can earn more money. The Administration is struggling to improve rural health care through such programs as the National Health Service Corps, which pays for a medical student's education if he will promise to locate for several years in a doctor-poor area. The rate of retention is growing rapidly, and officials hope that soon fully half the doctors who benefit from the program will settle permanently in deficient areas.

Nationwide programs such as the Emergency Medical Services and Health Maintenance Organizations programs are improving rural health care, especially since 20 percent of the money in each is earmarked for rural areas. The Rural Development Act is also providing a number of grants and loans for building community health facilities.

The Department of Agriculture also is hoping to improve rural health through emphasis on preventive medicine.

Critics of the government's actions in rural America would prefer to overlook evidence of solid accomplishment and continue to complain, for instance, about the migration off the land, when that migration has, in fact slowed to a crawl, and about lack of opportunity when the nation is underwriting billions of dollars of rural economic development.

But more important than jobs and houses is the fact that the key decisions are made by people and their local governments and organizations. The process is often slow and untidy, but only the people of rural America have the wisdom--and the right--to decide their destiny. ■

...a Republican Administration at work...



Members of the Republican National Committee listen to debates during their March 5-6 meeting in Washington.

RNC Debates Federal Financing, 'Positive Action'

Two agenda items of major interest faced the Republican National Committee at its March 5-6 meeting in Washington: federal funds for financing the 1976 Republican National Convention and the final report of the Rule 29 Committee, including a proposed interpretation of the rule requiring "positive action to achieve the broadest possible participation by everyone in party affairs."

The question of whether the Party would accept federal money to finance its 1976 nominating convention came to the fore with the passage last year of legislation which both outlawed the traditional method of convention financing--sales of program book advertising--and made available a maximum of \$2 million to each major political party for convention financing.

Court Challenge

That legislation currently is being challenged in court on the basis of its constitutionality.

In presenting the prospect of whether or not to accept the federal funds to the National Committee last month, Republican National Committeeman from Delaware Thomas B. Evans said:

"At the last meeting of the National Committee...this body went on record...almost unanimously as being opposed to pending legislation which

would provide \$2 million for each major party for its national convention. Our opposition at that time was based on the inherent Republican belief that there should be less rather than more government involvement in the political process.

There are those here...who might advocate that the party refuse to utilize the funds made available by federal law. However, I believe we must realize that we go into the 1976 presidential election year substantially behind in almost every category but the most logical political philosophy.

"We can ill-afford to give the opposition a head start of not just \$2 million, but a spread of \$4 million."

Evans proposed for the Committee's consideration this motion:

"The Republican National Committee strongly supports the concept and philosophy of the legal action to enjoin the distribution of the funds for all national conventions. However, if the disposition of the pending lawsuit upholds the present law, or the court fails to act, the Executive Committee is empowered by this body to instruct the National Chairman at the appropriate time to utilize the funds provided in the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 as amended."

A substitute motion was offered by Oklahoma National Committeeman Skip Healy. The Healy motion read:

"Whereas the Republican National Committee as a body has al-

ready gone on record in opposition to the federal financing of National Conventions, the Republican National Committee in session March 5, 1975, declares that it is unalterably opposed to any federal financing of National Conventions and refuses to accept any money which has been collected from the taxpayers of all parties."

The Healy substitute motion then on the floor was the subject of lively debate. Arguments for the motion centered on disapproval of federal intervention in the political process, while arguments against the motion recognized that principle but held that the result of refusing the financing would be that the convention would have to be paid for from funds that the RNC would otherwise use for candidate support and that the Democrat Party would be given an automatic financial edge.

Strings Attached

One arguing in favor of the Healy motion was John C. Hart, National Committeeman from Indiana. He said:

"...as a former chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in the Indiana legislature, I have dealt many times with the receipt of federal funds. They come with strings attached and you begin games of blackmail and intimidation. The funds are not to be used the way you want to spend them in your own state, nor will these election funds be used in the way we want to use them in our Convention.

"We are selling out the right to promulgate our own rules and regulations of our own National Committee." Representative of arguments in opposition to the Healy substitute motion was that put forward by Bernard Shanley, National Committeeman for New Jersey:

"I testified at least twice before the Senate Committee representing the Republican Party, and we took a very firm and clear position that we were opposed to all federal funding of elections including this Convention money. Our record is clear..."

[Continued from page 6]

RNC Meeting

[Continued from page 5]

"I think our problem is a very clear one. None of us want this money, none of us want federal financing of elections, but we are stuck with it. We can protest and go away screaming but the answer to it is very simple. That we just can't afford to pass up this \$2 million."

In a roll call vote, the Healy substitute motion failed 90 to 62 with one abstention.

Following that action, the Evans motion was passed by a voice vote.

The next major item of business for the RNC at the Committee's March meeting was the final report of the Rule 29 Committee (see *First Monday*, January, 1975).

Four Principles

In presenting the report, Rule 29 Committee Chairman Rep. William A. Steiger of Wisconsin noted four basic principles that guided his committee during its deliberations and are evidenced in the report:

□ "that the Republican Party is in fact the party of the open door, but that it is not enough to have an open door. It is also important to take advantage of what the Convention of 1972 said in making sure that there is access and knowledge of how people who are interested can get to that door."

□ "we believe it is appropriate to strengthen the Republican National Committee..."

□ "it was appropriate to place the responsibility for Presidential campaigns clearly in the hands of the Republican National Committee..."

□ "we thought it was also appropriate to try and make sure that we could provide a way to strengthen the role of the state party organization..."

The major portion of the Rule 29 report was composed of recommended changes in the Rules that govern the Party. These recommendations were referred by the National Committee to the RNC Rules Committee. The recommended changes must pass through the Rules Committee, the National Committee, the 1976 Convention Rules Committee and then the Convention itself before they can become effective rules of the Party.

Another portion of the Rule 29 re-

port--The Interpretation of Rule 32--however, did not involve rules changes and was intended by the Rule 29 Committee to serve as guidelines to state organizations in implementing the current Rule 32 which requires that each state "shall take positive action to achieve the broadest possible participation by everyone in party affairs..."

In brief, the Interpretation of Rule 32 recommends that:

□ State organizations publicize the dates, places and requirements for participation in all Party meetings relevant to delegate selection by printing



Chairman Smith presides over National Committee debates.

the information in all state Party publications, providing news releases to all media, encouraging the media to carry the information as public service announcements and by holding the meetings in convenient places at reasonable hours.

□ Informational meetings be held to acquaint all citizens with the delegate selection process and speakers' bureaus be organized to help carry the message to geographic and cultural areas not traditionally having appropriate representation in the Republican Party of the State.

□ "How to Become a Delegate" pamphlets be available to the general public by Jan. 1, 1976.

□ Each state committee should establish a state calendar of events to include all activities of groups

with whom the Party is attempting to establish rapport.

□ Steps should be taken to encourage the widest possible participation in platform and rules hearings through sub-hearings in appropriate geographical units of the state.

□ Special emphasis be placed on working toward attracting such groups as women, young people, minority groups, heritage groups and senior citizens.

□ Each state should strictly honor the rule prohibiting fees as a condition of serving as a delegate to the national convention and should seek to make participation as inexpensive as possible through shared travel and housing and any other means.

□ State parties shall have established and functioning by July 1, a Rule 29 Committee.

Another point of the Interpretation of Rule 32 was the subject of extensive debate. This proposal called for state Party organizations to demonstrate their efforts by submitting to the National Committee examples of materials produced and activities undertaken to achieve positive action and provided that the National Committee review and comment on the state reports.

Loose Confederation

Typical of the argument against this portion of the Interpretation was that made by Nevada State Chairman Frank Fahrenkopf, who said:

"I think that one of the basic philosophies of this Party...is that we are a loose confederation of state organizations that compromise this National Committee. And that the ruling forces...should come from the states to the national organization and not downward from the National Committee as such, to the individual state organizations."

One of those speaking in favor of the proposal was Rep. Margaret Heckler of Massachusetts, a member of the Rule 29 Committee. She argued:

"The purpose of this was not to interfere with the actions of the states, nor to require the National Committee to be a coercive body in any sense. The purpose of the submission of a plan was to implement the rhetoric, to make it real, to bring about this revitalization..."

[Continued on page 24]

leadership conference points the way back

They came from all of the 50 states, by bus, car, train and plane. They paid their way with their own money. They were young, old and middle aged. They were white, black, Spanish speaking, ethnic and Indian. They came--over 2,500 of them--to participate in the biggest and most successful gathering of grassroots Republicans yet.

From the very first moment the 1975 National Republican Leadership Conference was gavelled to order March 7, it was clear that they were there to participate in the resounding rebirth of the Republican Party. The malaise that had spread throughout the Party in 1973 and had caused even usually active, involved and energetic Republicans to stay home in the fall of 1974 was clearly a thing of the past.

From a practical standpoint, the 1975 Leadership Conference was designed to be the kickoff for a series of Party training seminars scheduled to be held around the country this spring and summer (see story page 22) leading up to a massive voter registration drive this fall. The registration drive itself will test the Party's program of reorganization begun at the Conference.

The format of the Conference placed special emphasis on exchange

of views between grassroots participants and Republican leaders. Bringing their assessments of current problems and ideas for new Party directions to the Conference were President Ford, Vice President Rockefeller, House Minority Leader John Rhodes, former National Chairman Sen. Bob Dole, former California Gov. Ronald



Reagan, Secretary of the Interior Rogers Morton, Republican Governors Association Chairman Christopher Bond of Missouri and Party Chairman Mary Louise Smith and Co-Chairman Dick Obenshain.

A highlight of the Conference were "breakout sessions" in which Conference attendees met with distinguished

panels to discuss 10 major questions facing the GOP in the next two years. Participants were encouraged to speak their minds, with the knowledge that the points made in the sessions would be used by Party officials in formulating programs and policy. The lively sessions were scheduled for two hours, but some ran longer--a solid indication that Conference participants and

panelists alike found the discussions valuable.

The overall success of the gathering signaled to Conference organizers a new vitality in the GOP rank-in-file. The mood of participants was one of determination to strengthen GOP organizations on all levels in preparation for the 1976 elections. ■



for the record. . .

A distinguished cast of Republican leaders participated in the Leadership Conference. They came to meet with the gathering of grassroots Republicans and to share with them their ideas on government and Republican politics. For those who were not able to attend the Conference, here is a sampling of the presentations by eight Republican spokesmen.

chairman smith: the challenge

National Chairman Mary Louise Smith opened the 1975 Republican National Leadership Conference with these remarks.

Welcome to Washington from one Republican to another. The 1975 Republican Leadership Conference is no ordinary political gathering. It is not like other conferences you have attended. Our focus is not on the technical how-to of politics, although this will be part of our discussions.

Today and tomorrow we face far greater questions.

America is watching as you weigh the future of a great political party. We may look back and see this day as the beginning of a Republican reawakening across America.

That depends on you.

More than 2,000 of you have come from the cities, the suburbs, the small towns, and the farmlands in every one of our 50 states. Among you are county chairmen and vice chairmen, precinct men and women, ordinary, everyday Republicans--who are not ordinary at all.

You embody those extraordinary qualities that have built our country, our Party, our entire way of life.

loyal to party

You are among an estimated 29 million Republicans across America--men and women who are loyal to the Republican Party in the best of times and the worst of times.

The fact that you are here demonstrates clearly that you believe as I do--The Republican Party is important to America.

As Republicans, it is our job to make our Party strong.

We share a common dream for

America. We share a common conviction that the Republican Party is best able to provide the leadership to fulfill that dream.

You have traveled hundreds, perhaps thousands of miles to the nation's capital--many of you at great expense and considerable personal sacrifice--to join the search for answers to the pressing problems that face our Party.

We will find those answers.

We will find them together.

But let's face it. This will be no easy job.

The Republican Party is in trouble. Unless you and I get together and work for this Party, we may have no Party at all.

registration low

The November election was a disaster. Our Party registration is dangerously low.

There is dissension in our own ranks. The Democrats are poised and ready to devour us.

Time is running out.

What you do here in the next two days will be crucial. It will be hard work--anyone who came just to socialize will be disappointed.

If we fail to meet our responsibilities here, we will have no one but ourselves to blame for what happens to the Party. If we succeed, our Party will succeed with us.

I know that many of you already have been working hard. I know that you already are dedicated to the Republican Party. That is why you are here.

In the next two days, we must bring ourselves ever closer together.

If there is going to be a Party of Lincoln, we must leave here united in a single commitment: We're out to win.

We are a Party in search of itself--as Sen. Hugh Scott said, a Party in search of its future, in search of its soul.

Perhaps you do not realize the enormity of your own role in this quest. By any test we may apply, you are the leaders of the Republican Party.

A leader, by definition, is one who sets the pace for others. A good leader sets his sights on a goal and persists until he reaches it. Others follow because he inspires them to share his dream.

You must provide that inspiration. You alone can rekindle the spirit of this great Party.

deep pride

All across America I've watched you--and other Republicans like you--at work. I've felt your deep pride in your country--your creativity, your resourcefulness, your determination.

It is on that foundation that we will build this Party into a political force that will stir the imagination of America.

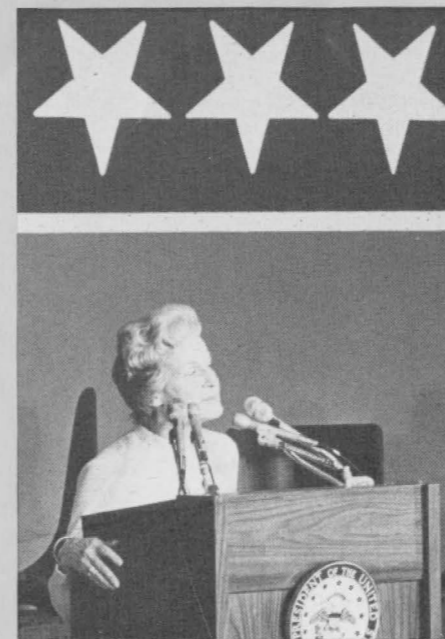
We have seen disillusionment sweep our country. We have felt it in our own hearts. Its alarming dimensions were recorded last November when only 38 percent of the people turned out to vote.

There is only one way to combat this disillusionment: We must bridge the gap between the people and their government. We must demonstrate that Americans can have an effect on the future of this country by working through the Republican Party.

And we must keep in mind that neither our Party nor our country will be any more than we make them:

We cannot have something for nothing.

Today our country is reaping the harvest of nearly 40 years of Democrat-controlled Congresses. This nation is reaping the harvest of the New Deals, the New Frontiers, the Great Societies.



Mary Louise Smith

It's a bitter harvest. We're worried about paying the rent. We dread going to the grocery store. We scale down our dreams to fit the reality of what's left of the paycheck.

The average American now works five and half months out of every year to support various governments. President Ford has pleaded with Congress to curtail spending programs that gobble up taxpayers money like a rat in a corncrib.

But the 94th Congress, overflowing with Democrat Presidential hopefuls, is almost certain to ignore the President's pleas.

sacrifice

The American people have indicated their willingness to sacrifice some of their personal luxuries to meet the great needs of our nation. And so it should be. Historically, the personal sacrifice of our people for their country has been second to none.

But surely we would not ask them to sacrifice individual freedom.... individual initiative.... individual responsibility in favor of a cradle-to-grave paternalism.

The price is simply too high.

Because we shall reap what we have sown, it is time to plant a new crop. It is time to reorganize and revitalize the Republican Party so that when election time comes again, we are the Party that speaks for the people.

We can speak for the people only

if we first have listened to what they have to say.

The Republican National Committee launched its listening effort through an extensive nationwide poll that, in effect, took the pulse of America. We sat down with more than 2,000 people, in their homes, and talked with them for more than an hour each about how they feel about their lives, their government, their future.

The findings reflected the disillusionments with government and with both political parties that we all knew existed. But, beneath this disillusionment, remain the basic convictions through which we will preserve our Party and our form of government.

This morning you will hear from a number of distinguished Republicans. In addition we will discuss our national research and what the results mean to the future of the Party.

party's future

This afternoon you will talk and we will listen as you discuss some of the long-range questions that bear on our Party's future. The thoughts that emerge from these discussions will be among the most important results of this Leadership Conference.

At noon today, Vice President Rockefeller will be our luncheon speaker. President Ford will address the banquet tonight.

Because you are the leaders of this Party, it is appropriate that you should be seated at the headtable with the President and the Vice President.

To accomplish this, we drew names at random from all those that were in at the close of registration. Ten of you will be at the headtable at lunch and ten more at the banquet tonight.

Tomorrow morning Ronald Reagan will speak. We will hear summaries of the break-out sessions that are held this afternoon.

Our Co-Chairman Dick Obenshain and I will talk about what you can do at the state and local levels during the coming months--and what we will do at the national level to help you rebuild and revitalize the Republican Party.

Our research shows that Americans share a basic relief that the two-party system is a vital element in running the Republic. It shows that

many would be willing to get involved in Party politics--if they are asked to get involved.

And it further shows that Americans are positive about America. An overwhelming 87 percent said this is the greatest nation in the world.

Those findings add up to a Republican opportunity. If we reach out, people will respond. As more and more Americans become dismayed by the nonleadership the Democrats have to offer, we must be right there to assure them:

There is a Republican alternative.

The second step in our national listening effort is this Leadership Conference. We have come to you for your help and your guidance, because you are the Republican Party. All of our nationwide efforts--every single project that we undertake--have but one goal: Helping you at the local level build a strong, winning Party.

No national program ever has or ever will win an election. Only you can build the grassroots strength to win.

And, in politics, there is no substitute for victory.

The men and women who win elections also set the policy and run the country. There is no consolation prize for second place.

you can help

During this Conference, we will talk about how we can strengthen the Republican Party at its very foundation--some of the ways the National Committee can help you and some of the ways you can help the National Committee get the job done.

During the entire Conference you will be aware of television cameras filming the proceedings. These films will be carefully condensed into a half-hour presentation that will be aired at 1 p.m. eastern daylight time Sunday over ABC-TV.

We want to let Republicans across the country know what was said and done by their Party over the weekend--we want them to be prepared, just as we are preparing ourselves, to do the job of Party-building that lies ahead.

Together, we must find the answer. We must put aside any differences and devote the next two days to charting the course of success. The Party itself is at stake. ■

dick obenshain: the job ahead

The following are the remarks of Republican National Co-Chairman Richard D. Obenshain in a closing address to Conference attendees.

This historic conference has brought together many different Republicans. There's a great diversity in this group--the type of diversity you will find all across this country--and I think that's good and healthy.

But we all share common reasons for being here.

You are here, just like I am, because you believe in the Republican Party. We all know it is vitally important to stand today with the Republican Party and move it forward. If we want to see the Republican philosophy put into action, then we've got to restore our Party to its full vigor.

we must act

We must act--and act with courage--if we want to limit the size and exorbitant spending of the Federal government; if we want to return responsibility and discretion to our state and local governments, which are closest to the people.

We have got to limit the growing interference by the federal government with the lives of individuals and the conduct of business in this country.

The need to begin work now--in order to win in 1976--has really been brought home to me since I became Co-Chairman of the Republican National Committee in September.

I've done a lot of traveling; I've spoken to a lot of GOP gatherings.

But most importantly, I've listened to a lot of people--the good folks who are our Party's greatest strength. I have heard from them the voice of a reborn Republican spirit that is committed to the job of electing Republicans and giving this country the kind of government it needs.

Electing Republicans--that's where we have got to concentrate.

I've got some overheads about the 1976 elections that I'd like to share with you.

These show the tremendous opportunity we have to influence the

course of American government in 1976.

First, 33 U.S. Senate seats will be up.

Twenty-one of these are now Democrat seats.

Eleven seats are now Republican.

One is an Independent.

We have some real opportunities for gains in the Senate.

Some of these incumbent Democrats are rather elderly. Senators Mansfield, Pastore, Stennis and Symington will all be well into their 70s next year.

Seven of these Democrats won by razor-thin margins six years ago and are even more vulnerable this time. Some of them represent states that have been moving in the Republican direction.

There's a likelihood that at least three, and perhaps as many as five, of these Democrat Senators will be seeking their Party's Presidential nomination. All of these hopefuls--Bentsen, Humphrey, Jackson, Kennedy and Muskie--may not be able to get state laws changed to allow them to run for re-election while also seeking the Presidency.

Don't let me underestimate the position of these incumbents.

an advantage

Most of them are committee or sub-committee chairmen. That's an advantage. For example, according to a recent *Washington Post* report, Harrison Williams, Jr., placed three-quarters of his committee's hearings which were held outside of Washington in his home state of New Jersey.

But seniority and incumbency do not mean as much as they used to because of the younger Democrats' persistent assaults on the seniority system.

Next, of course, the entire 435-member U.S. House of Representatives is up for election in 1976. Right now, there are 289 Democrats, 144 Republicans and two vacancies--one in Illinois and another in California.

I think we've got real opportunities

in the House.

This new House of Representatives is clearly out of touch with the feelings of the American people.

Yesterday you heard the results of our extensive polling effort. It is clear the American people are becoming increasingly conservative. There has been a clear decline in the number of people who call themselves liberal and a corresponding increase in the numbers of conservatives and moderates.

Yet the present House is far more liberal than any other crop of legislators we've seen. I believe the American people are beginning to see the utter bankruptcy of the liberal blueprint for America which the Democrat Party has followed for 40 years. This new Congress adheres to that liberal vision more strongly than any previous Congress.

for the record. . .

Listen to this comment by one of these freshman Democrats, Congressman Tom Downey of New York; (*The Washington Post*--Jan. 17, 1975) "I never felt the SDS were very rational. I felt some of their ideas were excellent and I supported them as an organization, I shied away from them."

The people will not buy those radical ideas. In fact, they are already showing their unhappiness.

Just after the election, the new Congress had a favorable rating. Forty-nine percent of the people thought they'd be better than the last Congress.

By mid-January, after a month of Congressional theatrics, the approval rating was down to 28 percent.

By early February, only 1.4 percent said the Congress was doing an excellent job and only 18.8 percent said its performance was good.

President Ford is exactly right. The liberal 94th Congress won't find acceptance with the American people.

Congress itself is in trouble. The Democrat leadership has mandated



Richard D. Obenshain

extensive recesses and most Congressional business has been conducted during a three-day legislative week. The President's at work, but the Democrats need time to go back to their districts to campaign.

We have a real opportunity to make significant gains next year. There are many marginal districts which we lost by very close margins. Many of those candidates, joined by the new ones we will recruit, will put us on the road back. The spirit is there, the issues are there and I believe the determination to win is there.

Let's go to the Governors.

Fifteen state houses will be up in 1976.

Six are now held by Republicans; nine by Democrats. Three--North Carolina's Jim Holshouser and West Virginia's Arch Moore, Republicans, and Louisiana's Edwin Edwards, a Democrat--are prohibited by state law from running again.

close to people

Our Republican Governors are vitally important to Party-building. Theodore Roosevelt called them "The bread and butter of politics." All of us know that we have got to get back into the state houses. That is where our Republican commitment to solving America's problems at the level closest to the people can best be demonstrated.

Two other sets of elections are important for us to look at.

First, state legislative seats. Nearly 6,200 state legislative seats will be up for election in 1976; 35 percent of these are Republican.

These state legislative races are key races for us to concentrate on.

By doing so, we groom candidates for higher offices; we build local organizations; we develop and sharpen our Party's image in people's minds; and, most importantly, we see the Republican philosophy put into action at the state and local level.

volatile area

1976 is especially important for state legislative races. Re-apportionment of congressional district boundaries will soon be taking place in many states. We need more Republican state legislators to insure a fair and equitable apportionment of congressional districts.

Also, state legislative seats are subject to rapid turnarounds. This is a volatile area. If we can pick up large numbers of seats next year we will give dramatic proof of the resurgence of the Republican Party.

It can be done. Here are the figures from the last eight years.

As you can see, there has been a rapid change in seats--this is even more astounding when you realize they don't all come up in the same year.

Finally, 13 major cities will have elections in 1976. We have some good opportunities to pick up other major metropolitan areas.

Needless to say, we face problems in all of these races.

You've heard, in the past two days, a few of these problems.

You've heard about our research program and what it revealed about the attitudes and feelings of the American people--the alienation, the cynicism, the mistrust, the low standing of politics, government and parties, in general, and yet the strong

feeling of commitment to our country.

You've heard about our second major problem; the new campaign law.

The strict limitations on spending and donations, and the other features of the law, have drastically increased the importance of good organization--good organization at the national, state, local and precinct levels.

We can no longer depend simply on the candidate and his personal campaign alone.

Because of the sharp cut in campaign spending imposed by the new law, candidates will not be able to afford many activities previously considered routine. This void must be filled by Party committees. Campaigns cannot substitute for good, ongoing, year-round Party activity. Many important functions must be handled by the Party or they wouldn't be handled at all.

We're going to have to have better organization--

- At the National Committee;
- At each of our 50 state committees;
- At the county committees in each of our 3,000 counties; and
- Most importantly, in every precinct--in each one of over 74,000 precincts.

What kind of organizational muscle are we talking about? We had a good example in the effort put forth by one of our largest states in 1972. The emphasis was on person-to-person contact. The effort centered around 103 storefront headquarters and 35 telephone centers. This campaign organization made a list of priority counties, in order to concentrate the Party's effort on the most likely concentrations of favorable voters.

door-to-door

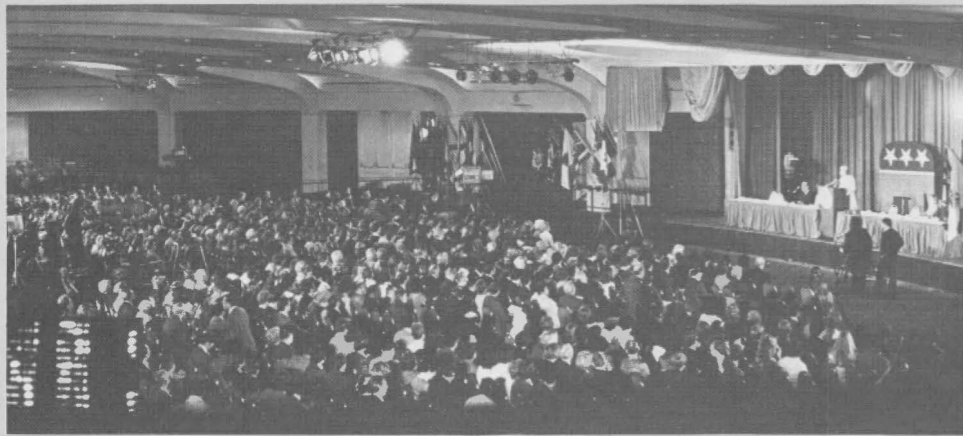
They canvassed, door-to-door, 2,600,000 households in the priority counties. This was 48 percent of the total target households.

Volunteer telephoners reach an additional 1.2 million households.

This was 21 percent of the total. This meant that over three out of every four households in the priority counties--3.8 million homes--were personally contacted by a Republican volunteer.

On election day, over 25,000 workers, drivers and judges had been mobilized.

[Continued on page 12]



dick obenshain:

(Continued from page 11)

This impressive record is useful for two reasons.

It shows what we can do.

It shows what we must be ready to do in 1976.

Ask yourself a couple of questions.

Is your state or local Party capable, today, right now, of putting together this kind of effort? Do you feel that all the trained and motivated leadership and workers you need are there, ready to perform the massive organizational tasks of the 1976 campaign at the person-to-person level?

If your answer to either of these questions is "no," then we've got a lot of work ahead of us.

That work has got to begin today, right here with each one of us. And we've got to be far along in mobilizing this Party of ours by the end of this year.

I want to assure you that you can count on the full support of the Republican National Committee. We are going to do everything we can to aid you in this effort. We know the job is not going to be done at 310 First Street. Our aim is to help you do the job in every county and precinct in this country.

We have expanded our field staff in order to assist each state and local Party committee in becoming better prepared to win elections.

We have formed a training and programs division to set up an extensive program of hard-nosed political education through seminars, manuals and other specialized training.

Our research division is involved in collecting voter name lists, opposition

and issue research and computer assistance.

Better communication will be a key to our effort. You've seen the new format and tone of *First Monday*. Radio actualities and increased contact with the media are just two things the Communications Division has done to help spread the Republican message.

And let's not forget money--adequate, broad-based financial support is crucial to our success at the National and state levels. We are also expanding the range of services we provide state and local parties in the whole finance area.

In the end, of course, our success will not be determined by the Republican National Committee. It won't be determined at the state level, either, although strong state leadership is essential to Republican success.

for the record. . .

Our future success as a political party depends on our county leadership and, ultimately, on our precinct organizations. Those are the folks who are closest to the voters, and they will determine whether a majority of Americans will join us in support of Republican candidates and Republican principles.

We must strengthen our grassroots organizations and demonstrate their readiness to play major roles in the 1976 elections.

To demonstrate this new strength, we need to conduct a national registration program this fall.

This program will identify unregistered voters, ascertain their political preferences and allow us to register favorable voters.

We want to run this program in

every state and in as many cities, towns and counties as we possibly can.

The central emphasis will be on rebuilding our precinct organizations.

But we won't hesitate to use telephone centers, blitzes, hostess phoning and any other techniques which will help in this effort to expand our Party's base.

Whatever the method, wherever the locale, we must use this drive to involve new leaders and workers to identify new Republicans and to make sure that every possible favorable voter is registered and enrolled.

We need your help in this effort.

First, we need for state and local Party leaders to begin planning now for the fall registration program. Early planning is essential.

The National Committee will shortly be providing our state Party leadership with information and assistance on planning and operating a comprehensive registration program. This information will be tailored for each state.

Let me stress the importance of the seminar programs I mentioned earlier.

This Leadership Conference has been an excellent forum for Republicans to exchange ideas on the important questions of Party direction. We have talked about some central concerns we've all had, and we've gotten each other emotionally charged up for the work which lies ahead.

But this exchange of ideas and motivation is not enough.

We must be technically effective. We must be trained in the mechanics of the political program which will win for us this year and next.

Believe me, there has been a substantial revolution in political techniques. I have been involved as a candidate, as campaign chairman and as state Party chairman for 15 years. These seminars will give us all an outstanding chance to learn the many novel and extremely useful new methods of organization and campaigning. These methods will be tailored to different areas of the country and to the different sizes of your county or metropolitan region.

I plan to attend one of these seminars to learn, and I encourage every one of you to join us in making certain

president gerald ford on the party

President Ford addressed the Leadership Conference March 7. Here are excerpts of his speech.

The time you are spending in Washington is very important--for me, for you, and for our country. The strength, the enthusiasm and the know-how you have shown is proof that creative, active and winning Republicans will never be an endangered species.

If what I hear is correct, many in this audience are new at meetings of this sort. You have spent your own money to come here. The new energy you are generating will be felt throughout the Republican Party. Your involvement and your dedication will grow--and our nation will be the beneficiary.

Your program is impressive, and I want to commend Mrs. Smith and her co-workers for putting such important emphasis on the "nuts-and-bolts" which bind the Party structure together.

Nearly a year ago, I appeared before a Republican meeting similar to this in Chicago. I said then that we must never again permit an elite guard serving a single purpose to exclude and ignore the regular Party organization. I renew that pledge to you here tonight.

Then, as now, I feel that working through and with the established



President Ford

Party structure is the right way to go. New election law reforms--particularly those dealing with finances--validate the policy that I advocated last year.

As to my role in the Republican Party, you can be sure that whenever it is proper--and I stress that point--I

intend to exert my efforts on behalf of good Republican candidates and the rebuilding of Republicanism to the fullest, consistent with my duties as President.

Obviously, the demands and duties of the Presidency impose certain limitations on my political activities. But I pledge to you now--that I will be in the middle of the 1976 campaign not only for the Presidency but on behalf of Republican candidates for the House as well as the Senate and for state governors and other elective offices across the country. I've been doing this for a good many years and I'm too old to change my good habits now.

But you and I know one fundamental fact:

The greatest contribution I can make to the country and to the Republican Party will be to make solid progress in solving our national problems--particularly our domestic difficulties. And I intend to do just that.

As to my own plans, I can tell you tonight without equivocation that I fully intend to seek the nomination of the Republican Party as its candidate for President in 1976!

There is nothing "iffy" about that statement that I intend to seek the nomination. I intend to win. I intend to run for President. And I intend to win that, too!

(Continued on page 14)

obenshain:

we reach every Republican activist or potential activist with this training.

We need to begin involving new people in our Party--people like your friends and neighbors who aren't now committed to the Republican Party.

We have an enormous group of potential new voters.

In fact, 62 percent of the eligible voting population did not vote last fall. Those folks are disenchanted and turned off. We need to tell them that we share their personal concerns and that we want their personal involvement.

Finally, we need for you to go

home and encourage other Party leaders in your state to give their total commitment to this program of organization and registration. Only if we all join in can we accomplish the tremendous goal of organization which is the key to victory in 1976.

Take a look at your badge and the slogan chosen for this Conference--"We're Out to Win."

That's what it's all about.

Only through winning will we be able to answer the disenchantment of American voters.

Americans are fed up with government red tape.

They are tired of the uncontrolled government spending which brings more inflation, higher prices and recession.

They are exasperated with a government which promises relief from their problems in exchange for greater control over their individual lives, but which, in the end, gives us more control but little relief.

They are concerned about what massive government is doing to the self-reliance, initiative and moral fiber of this country's greatest resource--its people.

The heart of the Republican Party is in tune with those great issues on which a majority of Americans stand firmly united.

Now, if we do the work which lies ahead of us, we are going to win.■

president ford on the party

[Continued from page 13]

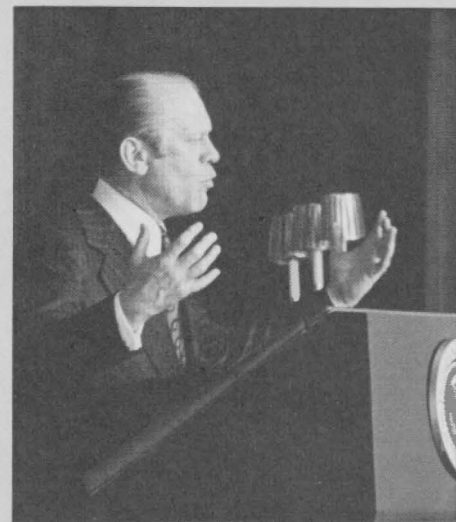
Of course, I will need your help and so will all other Republican candidates in 1975 and 1976. But before we get into 1976, we have ten more months of 1975. They are crucial.

Americans are demanding action. They are rightfully fearful that some people in Washington are so insulated that they don't know the desperation of being jobless or of living on an inadequate fixed income or pension that can't catch up with runaway prices.

Extremely difficult choices must be made this year and in succeeding years by the Congress to limit the growth of Federal budgets and deficits. But the results from Capitol Hill are disappointing.

courage to cut

Unless members of the Congress have the political courage to cut back or cut out various well-intentioned programs, we will soon come to the point, by simple arithmetic, where half of this country's entire gross product will be taken by our various



President Ford



levels of Government. Already, we are spending approximately one-third of our Gross National Product to support Government at all levels.

for the record...

This trend could destroy the fundamental free-enterprise character of this country and the economic incentives which have made us the leader of the industrialized democracies.

I believe that only a revitalized Republican leadership in all branches of government can change this course. The accumulated actions of some 38 years of Democratic-controlled Congresses out of the last 42 years will not be reversed by this Congress. And I don't intend to turn in my key to the White House until we have reversed this trend.

Now it could be argued that, because our national problems are so serious, we should not be wasting time on the problems of our Party--or any party.

Yet it is precisely because of our national problems that it is essential to look to our Party and its revitalization everywhere.

I know what the polls show--as you do--and I say with all the conviction I can command:

The standing of our Party has hit its lowest point, as far as I am concerned. It is going up from this point forward!

If we fail to rebuild effectively, the cost would not be measured by the fate of the Republican Party itself.

It would be measured by the deprivation of a basic right of all Americans--a free choice in politics. It would be measured by the death of

the effective two-party system so vital to this nation.

The abiding virtues of a strong two-party system are three-fold: First, it provides continuing choice. Second, the system forces the maximum of accommodation and compromise, instead of promoting stalemates encouraged by splinter parties. Third, the system excludes the fanatic factions which cannot be accommodated but includes the broadest range of reasonable differences--and thus holds both major parties closer to the mainstream of public opinion.

practical changes

To make sure that Republicans are really on the rise, we must make some practical changes in our political ways--not in principles, but in approach.

As a starter, we must discard the attitude of exclusiveness that has kept the Republican Party's door closed too often while we give speeches about keeping it open.

We must erect a tent that is big enough for all who care about this great country and believe in the Republican Party enough to work through it for common goals.

This tent must also be kept open to the growing number of independent voters who refuse to wear any party label, but who will support the strong candidates and good programs we present. These voters must be welcomed and won to our cause.

We must be prepared, then, to overcome the cynicism of voters by offering candidates of outstanding ability and rock-hard integrity. We must also build a party that works all the

[Continued on page 15]

rockefeller on the system

The following are excerpts of a speech by Vice President Rockefeller at the Leadership Conference March 7.

Mary Louise, this great gathering has to be the most wonderful tribute to you because you are a leader and you have organized this and I want to tell you one can't help having two feelings and I am sure we all share them. One is proud to be Republicans and the other is proud to be Americans.

We are based on the concept of a free society stressing the individual and the individual's willingness to as-

represents America. It is their future. Those of us who have been fortunate enough to have the opportunity to be selected by the Party, to represent the Party and fortunate enough to be elected by the people to represent the people, we are the trustees of the future of the young people.

It is their country and their future and we are here to see that we don't sell them short on their opportunity as the years go by, to preserve for that future the same privileges and opportunities that most of us have had,



Vice President Rockefeller

sume responsibility. That is the strength of America. That is what we believe in. That is what we have fought for in various wars to preserve.

It is that right of the individual for his or her decisions and the acceptance by him or her of their responsibilities to participate in the political process. That is why I admire Mary Louise and Dick and all of you so much because you don't have to be here, you don't have to do what you are doing. You do it because you love this country. You know that America believes in a two-party system and to make that work people like yourselves have to give of your time and energy, day after day, month after month, year after year to make this system work and this is what counts.

As I look around this room and look at this headtable here, anyone who says the young people aren't joining the Republican Party, aren't active in the Republican Party, they just want to look in this room. They want to look at the headtable, this

some haven't had and that is our responsibility to see that all Americans have equal opportunity and that we are going to have the kind of future that we want to see. I come back to this two-party system.

ford:

[Continued from page 14]

time. It must be more than a pre-election force that goes out of business after the ballots are counted.

And perhaps most important of all, we must demonstrate conclusively that, as a Party, we care about people--that we care about people first, last and always.

Our program for reform must recognize that chronic non-voters as well as voters just aren't buying the old idea that virtue and wisdom are the monopoly of one party or the other. By staying home last November, more than half the people in this country said, in effect--a plague on

I happen to believe very deeply in the two-party system because this has been the strength of our democracy. We have seen other societies, free societies, democratic governments, split and split and split into 27 parties, 20 parties and then coalitions within that group, and the first thing you know, as happened in France, the whole thing disintegrated and somebody steps in, a strong man, and starts to dominate and they lose the opportunity.

So, ladies and gentlemen, let us keep two parties in this country with broad spectrums in both parties. I don't want to see one party of the Right and one of the Left.

I think the American people believe in the two-party system and I think they understand that the great bulk of the American people are solid, sound, concerned citizens who really want an opportunity to do for their families, to have a good job, to be able to improve the conditions, to be sure that this equality of treatment, fair treatment, respect for human dignity and the great majority are going down the middle of the road.

That is where the people are and we are representing the thinking of the people. Sure, we are going to have differences. I want to tell you as a matter of fact, this country is built on the concept of the individual having his or her right to say what he thinks.

We respect that and we respect differences. But when we have argued, discussed, debated, fought,

[Continued on page 16]

both your parties. As a result, we are governed today by a majority of a minority.

Thus, the magnitude of our job must not be measured solely within our own Party, but within the larger scope of the nation and its future.

Our first and most urgent task is to work together to restore the full trust of our fellow Americans in the ongoing experiment of self-government.

Let last November mark not merely the low point of our Party, but also the upturn of the basic trust and good will we must have for one another, for our system of politics and government, and above all, for the future of this great Republic.

Thank you. ■

rhodes on telling the truth

Rep. John Rhodes addressed the Conference as House Minority Leader. The following are excerpts of that address.

We have come here to work--to construct and set in motion a mechanism that will enable us to become the majority party in America. We have the brains to do it--and--believe me--we have the will to do it.

I believe that the best way for the Republican Party to get itself together and become the majority party is for all of us to establish with the American people a reputation--and an image--of the Party that tells people the truth--about their own lives and about the nation's problems.

We must "tell it like it is"--not as people might hope it is.

The people want to be told the truth--even if the truth hurts.

That is what our President has decided--and he deserves praise for his decision. President Ford took a hard look at America and reached the judgment that--in his words--"The state of the union is *not* good."

Now what kind of language is this for a politician to be using--let alone the highest ranking politician in the land? Well--I can answer that one for you: It is the language of an honest man (the most honest man I know). It is the language of a man who has chosen to play it straight with the American people--not simply out of the goodness of his heart--not because it makes for good press notices (because it frequently doesn't)--but because he recognizes that our problems cannot be solved unless the people pitch in and help solve them. And the people cannot do their share unless they are told the facts.

We have leadership coming out of the White House and I cannot help but feel that the people know it--and will remember it when they go to the polls next year.

When the voters *do* reward us--they will be rewarding us for being candid and realistic. That is the challenge--as I see it--for the Republican Party in the days ahead. Can we be the authors of some new political

realities of the 1970s--and not be penalized for our candor?

Can we--for example--tell the American people that there is simply a limit to what their government can do for them? I think we must. Our success will depend on our ability to explain to them just how poorly the Democrat-run Congresses of the 1960s managed their tax dollars. Congress simply bit off more than it could chew. Following President Kennedy's death, it began enacting the most ambitious array of social programs ever known to man. Most of these programs were of noble purpose--but they were expensive. Not only were they *initially* expensive--but no foresight was given to how much the programs would cost in future years. As a result--we have layer upon layer of social programs that have multiplied in scope and size and--ultimately--cost.

The examples are endless. What it boils down to is the fact that our problems are highly complex in nature and that the Democratic Party is determined to come up with simplistic re-



Rep. John Rhodes

sponses. The Swiss historian Jacob Burckhardt predicted that this would happen. Over a century ago--he suggested that ours would be the age of "the great simplifiers"--those who try to make the most intricate set of problems appear simple and shallow. Commenting on this remarkable bit of foresight--Daniel Patrick Moynihan--the former Ambassador to India and now once again a Harvard professor--suggested that "what we need are great complexifiers--men who will not only seek to understand what it is they are about but who will also dare to share that understanding with those for whom they act."

I think that Professor Moynihan is correct. And I think that he has identified a void which can be filled by the Republican Party. We can address the nation's complex problems realistically--develop realistic solutions--and stand in stark contrast to a Democratic Party that teaches that all problems will melt away if we just spend enough money. Really--they haven't had a new idea since 1933.

Thomas Jefferson said that "the whole of government consists of the art of being honest." *That* is the role that I envision for the GOP. We have an unprecedented opportunity to discard time-worn political axioms and tell the American people the honest truth about their own destiny.

We meet at a time of serious trouble for the Republican Party. The fact that the other party has also suffered a slip-off in registration is small consolation.

Clearly--the Party needs to de-

velop a bold new strategy. Telling the people the truth--no matter how painful the truth may be--can be just the strategy we are looking for.

At the same time--almost ironically--it is clear that the country faces problems of unprecedented scope. The United States will also need a bold new strategy to get us out of the recession and make us energy self-sufficient.

President Ford is committed to providing that kind of leadership in the White House. We too--in the

bond on caring

The following are excerpts of the remarks of Missouri Gov. Christopher Bond, Chairman of the Republican Governors Association, before the Leadership Conference.

As the youngest Republican governor I fully appreciate the fact that I do not have all the answers to our Party's dilemma. At the same time, I am deeply troubled by what has happened to us, and in the spirit of this conference, which brings Republicans from all parts of America together in a kind of massive group therapy session, I would like to share a few thoughts with you this morning.

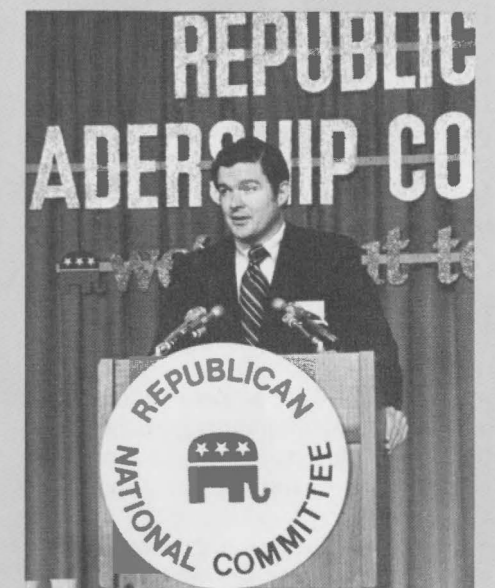
In my judgment, at the conclusion of this conference we will have spent about as much time and money as we can afford talking among ourselves and trying to examine and analyze the attitudes of that growing number of people who are non-Republicans. It is time for *action*.

The people of this country want to know how a government run by Republicans can help them. They are waiting to see whether or not we are prepared to give them a piece of the action. They want to see government that is more effective, more efficient and more honest. They want some hard evidence that we understand their needs, that we care about their needs, and that we have the ability to *do something* about those needs.

One astute Washington political writer referred to us last Sunday as "The Party of the Comfortable." He may be right; I hope not. But how much *do* we care?

Congress--at the National Committee--and in the states--must join that effort.

It may be that the Republican Party and the United States will come together in a recognition of mutual need. If we do our work well now--we will have done great things for the future of our Party--as well as for the future of the Republic and her people. To me--*both* goals are worthy and important and I eagerly look forward to working with all of you in the months ahead.



Gov. Kit Bond

How much do we care about the young factory worker who wants a decent home in a safe neighborhood for himself and his family; who wants a good school for his kids and a chance for them to get the education he doesn't have; who wants a park or a campsite within range of his home where he can take his family on weekends?

How much do we care about the elderly couple living in a substandard nursing home, lacking adequate medical care, watching their meager savings being eaten away by inflation?

How much do we care about the young widow, who must work to support her family but who cannot find adequate day care services, and is discriminated against in employment, in seeking credit, and in a whole host of other ways?

These are the *real* problems of our people, and they are only a few of them. If we, as Republicans are to succeed in the future, we will have to convey to the people of America that

[Continued on page 18]

rockefeller:

[Continued from page 15]

then we accept that the majority should win and the minority in that debate is preserving itself to fight another day, hoping that it will win its cast. But when we finish, let us close ranks and let us go forward united because that is what we need in this country.

We believe in a free society with a democratic government and we have what I think is the most wonderful system.

We believe in free enterprise, private enterprise, where an individual, an association or corporation has the freedom to use that initiative, that imagination, that creativity, the genius which has been America, to build a society which has achieved a standard of living that is unheard of in the history of civilized man.

We want to preserve this system which the free citizen or where the free citizen operates within a framework of laws. I think we have to get back a little more to the framework of

laws and government of laws and less a government of men, maybe men and women now, where arbitrary decisions are made and where it is very difficult for everybody to plan because an individual, a family, the housewife, the husband or if the husband is at home, the wife is working, whichever way it happens to be now--to plan their own home life, to plan their business. They have to have some understanding of what the rules of the game are.

We are getting to a situation where there are so many decisions being made by dedicated government servants, let us put it, that you don't know what decisions they are going to make tomorrow, therefore you can't plan today.

Now in the process--and I know I don't have to tell you because you know--this is what the President is dedicated to; it is what the Party is dedicated to, but in the process, those who cannot do for themselves, and it

was Abraham Lincoln who first described it, government should only do things for people which they can't do for themselves. That was a very clear, simple objective and I think we want to stick to that and we want to help those who need help.

So, let us all do the best thinking we can. Let us seek out new answers to new problems. Let us not be afraid of change, ladies and gentlemen. Let us be sure we shape change so that it serves our interest and does not overwhelm us.

I think this is very fundamental. We have change and it is outside our borders that a lot of it is taking place. So we have no control over the fact that there is going to be change. We can't stop it; but we can shape it so that it is going to be a stronger America, better America, to meet the needs of the people of this country and to fulfill our responsibilities in the world to preserve the concept of freedom and dignity, which we live in and which we live by. This is our objective.

reagan on the mandate

Former California Gov. Ronald Reagan spoke to the Leadership Conference March 8. His remarks are excerpted here.

Those who see us as huddling in the stern of a sinking ship while the band plays "Nearer My God to Thee" are, curiously enough, the same ones who could not see the resemblance between the Democratic convention in Kansas City and the Tower of Babel.

It is true that, for us, the last election was disastrous, but no more for us than for the nation. Only the politically myopic will interpret that election as a repudiation of what we stand for. The meaning of that election will be found among those who stayed home. It was a greater percentage virtually than in any other election in our history.

I don't say our path is easy, but if we are wise enough to understand what the non-voters were telling us, and if we have the courage to act on that knowledge, it is we who can find reason for optimism in the last election.

Of our victorious opponents, how many can you name who ran as liberals?

bond:

[Continued from page 17]

we are men and women of *compassion* and *competence*. And the only way that we can convey those qualities is by our *actions*.

Our challenge as Republicans is to maintain our distinct identity and our historic principles while appealing to the major segments of our society. I believe it can be done. At our best, the Republican Party has great principles to offer the American people: A commitment to strong state and local government rather than heavy reliance on the Federal bureaucracy; a commitment to preserving the essential mechanisms of a free market economy; a commitment to maximum individual freedom and to full equality for every citizen. Of course, they are broad principles, but they can be given specific meaning by our actions. If we can apply those principles in meeting the people's needs, if we can show them that Republican principles



Ronald Reagan

My optimism does not go so far as to lead me to believe we have witnessed a mass conversion on the part of last fall's Democratic victors. Let us not be naive. The significant thing is that when we wet our fingers and hold them up to test the political wind, we find the people of this country are no longer buying the social and economic tinkering that sold so well for so many years.

work in solving their problems, they will respond.

Obviously, we are all discouraged by the results of this fall's elections, but frankly I am optimistic about the future. If President Ford can show the American people some success in dealing with their problems, they will re-elect him and I believe they will re-elect him. If those of us in office now can produce tangible results, they will re-elect us. And if we can recruit thoughtful, sensitive candidates who offer people real hope, they will elect them.

The years ahead will not be easy ones for any of us, but they will be full of opportunity to show people that Republicans can make government work for them. The future of our Party, and indeed the future of our country, depend upon how well we meet that challenge. ■

Our task, if we don't want to self-destruct in five seconds, is to make the people aware that the post-election deeds of most of those Democrat victors differ from their pre-election promises. Already, the young idealists of November have turned on their own party veterans and cut them down with a political blood lust that is quite revealing.

And, they are full of exotic ideas. Some freshman members of the House Agriculture Committee have already informed the committee that food is "a natural resource" and should be collected by the government and distributed equally among the people. Let them try to convince the American farmer that his investment in machinery and fertilizer is unnecessary, and that food and fiber will spring from the earth without any help.

In the 1972 election, we had a New Majority--a long overdue realignment based not on party labels, but on basic philosophies. The tragedy of Watergate and the traumatic experiences following it have obscured the meaning of the 1972 election. But the mandate still remains. The people are unchanged philosophically. We must make them see that what we stand for is akin to their own hopes and dreams of what this country can and should be.

The leadership of the Democratic Party is still out of step with the people, including the membership of their own party. The leaders still offer the shopworn panaceas that have

proved so futile these past 40 years. Indeed, these panaceas have in large part brought on the problems we face today.

There is a great nation with even more territory than ours; rich in natural resources and with 250 million capable people. It has had more than 50 years to fully implement a national system of socialism without hindrance or interference. We could be just like them, but it would take a little doing on our part.

cut and tear

We'd have to start by cutting our paychecks 75 percent; move 60 million workers back to the farm; abandon two-thirds of our steel making capacity; destroy 40 million television sets; tear up 14 of 15 miles of highway; junk 19 out of 20 autos; tear up two-thirds of our railroad track; knock down 70 percent of our houses; rip out nine out of 10 telephones. Then, all we'd have to do is find a capitalist country willing to sell us wheat on credit to keep us from starving!

Double--no triple--our troubles and we'd still be better off than any other people on earth.

The American people are hungry to feel once again a sense of mission and greatness.

Hardly had the last ballots been counted last November when some among us were demanding changes, declaring that the disastrous defeat could somehow be laid to what the

Party represents. We were told we must broaden the Party's base. Well, no one can quarrel with the idea that a political party hopes it can attract a wide following, but does it do this by forsaking its basic beliefs? By blurring its image so as to be indistinguishable from the opposing party? Does any Republican seriously believe that any Democrats who subscribe to the profligacy, the Big Government policies of the present Democratic leadership will be won over to our side if we say these are our policies too?

May I suggest I speak from some personal experience on this matter. I was an active, working Democrat for the greater part of my adult life. I became a Republican precisely because there was a difference between the parties, not because they were the same. I could no longer follow or support the philosophy of the Democratic leadership.

lost principles

A most loyal Republican, the late Senator Robert Taft, in 1953, told the Republican National Committee, "The only parties that have died are those which have forgotten or abandoned the principles on which they were founded. A party can live only if it represents a great principle or set of principles. A party kills itself and removes any excuse for its existence when it adopts the principles of its opponents."

morton on running second

The following are excerpts from an address by Secretary of the Interior and former Republican National Chairman Rogers C.B. Morton.

Have we perfected the art of running second? Let me tell you something. There is no place money in politics.

Why can't we get out in front? Is our philosophy so negative? We should be the planners. We should be the people who are shaping the dimensions of tomorrow. We should be the people who are looking in the eye of the person who will make his living from what he does, not from what he owns.

We should encourage his skills.

We should encourage him to participate in something that is better than we can shape. I spent a lot of time in Congress opposing some things and I look back on that not as wasted years, but as an education, and now I am not as interested in the opposition as I am in creating something.

What will our land look like? What will our cities look like? What will our homes look like? How will we relate where we live to where we work, to where we have an opportunity for recreation? Are we going to let others do the planning and us do the criticizing? No. We have the talent, brains and energy. Let us shape tomorrow and let somebody else criticize it. ■

Yes, we must broaden our base--as we broadened it in 1972. Millions of Democrats and Independents ignored party lines because of, not in spite of, the obvious differences between the parties. Those Americans are still out there looking for a banner around which to rally.

We have what they are seeking, but they don't know that, and sometimes I wonder if we know it. Young people, we are told, are registering as Independents in overwhelming numbers, rejecting both parties, but ours most of all. Is this because of what we represent or what they think we represent?

less interference

In a recent poll of 35,000 college students, 80 percent said they wanted less interference from government in their private lives. Isn't that what we want?

Freedom, individualism--libertarianism, if you will--are at the very heart of our philosophy.

There is one additional thing our banner must proclaim: our belief that government's first responsibility is the protection of its citizens. On the domestic front, we stand for holding accountable for their misdeeds, those who would prey on others. And we serve notice abroad that we shall maintain whatever level of strength is necessary to preserve our free way of life. ■



Secretary Morton

voice of the people...

As much as the 2,700 Leadership Conference participants came to listen, they came to talk. And, they had the perfect opportunity. The Conference Friday afternoon schedule was devoted to 10 "breakout sessions." Each session was led by a distinguished panel and each discussed a question of vital importance to the future of the GOP.

The following are brief samplings from those 10 sessions. The voices are those of grassroots Republicans.

1. Can we involve the under-35, non-college voter in the Republican Party and, if so, how?

The panelists: Mary Crisp, Arizona National Committeewoman, moderator; Ambassador Thomas Melady; Pam Powell, Director, Youth Services--White House, and Karl Rove, Chairman, College Republican National Committee.

You have to approach the problem of not talking down. And, I've seen a lot of talking down today, and I resent it. These people will not listen. They hear it in the media all day and they're not going to listen to it. We've got to say: "We want you in our Party. You can contribute something." That's how you're going to get them involved.

Part of it is just saying we're an open party, but, secondly, is being in fact open and that is having the most fractious discussions of issues--whether it's marijuana or ending the war, or what have you. We should not be a party that is exactly the same thing in Connecticut that it is in Texas... We should not compel people to take an exclusionary kind of ideological position on the issues... That's happened too many times at the national level; that's happened too many times locally.

2. How should the Republican Party reach out to and involve the minority voter in its daily affairs?

The panelists: Bob Carter, District of Columbia National Committeeman, moderator; Richard Rosenbaum, New York GOP Chairman; Fernando De Baca, Special Assistant

to the President; Elaine Jenkins, Washington business consultant, and Thaddeus Garrett, Ohio State Board of Education.

No, the Republican Party doesn't have to change its philosophy. It has to go back to develop programs in keeping with its philosophy. What the Party has to do is get back to the principles that made it great and that through it helped to make America great.

We can win in 1976 and we can win in Black communities but we are going to do so only by realizing two things: One, we have got to offer realistic programs because, believe me, we will never succeed in out-promising and out-lying the Democrats. There is expertise we can never hope to equal. And the other thing we have to remember is that while we would like to get votes, there are certain things for which we should stand.

3. What should the role of the Republican Party be in re-establishing the confidence of the American people in elected leadership?

The panelists: Tom Evans, Delaware National Committeeman, moderator; Rep. John Rhodes of Arizona, House Minority Leader; Rep. Bill Cohen of Maine, and Paul Newman, political consultant.

You know, total honesty is such a dynamic thing and I am really proud it is coming out of the Republican Party, but what I want to know, sir, anyone on the panel, is the public ready for this and if so, why do we have the Congress full of demagogues like we do? I think that straight, honest talk, not intellectual sentiment that can be easily twisted by ideological politicians, is what we need. What we need to do is start talking honestly.

I know we have many problems and we all have our own thing that we want answered, but for heaven's sake, the Democrats fight among themselves, but sometime between Fri-

day and Tuesday, they get it together. They are rah-rah-rah, one big party.

Let us do the same thing; let us unite.

4. Should the Republican Party be involved in ongoing development and advocacy of issues and, if so, how?

The panelists: Martha Moore, Ohio National Committeewoman, moderator; Rep. John Rousselot of California; Bill McLaughlin, Michigan GOP Chairman, and Sen. Jacob Javits of New York.

What you ought to do is to keep your ear close to what the people are saying. The people are actually talking about these issues; they're writing to readers' columns in the papers; they are letting themselves be heard in the community. And what we need to do is to get out and see where these middle-road people are, what they are talking about, and then adjust ourselves to that.

...I really believe that the issue process is an important process... In my opinion, it will revitalize us. We're adult people; we can disagree; we disagree in our own families, and we still remain a family. I don't think that we have to be afraid or over-concerned about stress and strain.

5. How should the Republican Party, if it should, hold Republican office-holders accountable to the Party platform?

The panelists: Iantha LeVander, Minnesota National Committeewoman, moderator; Rep. Barber Conable of New York, Chairman, House Republican Policy Committee, and Jack Ranson, Kansas GOP Chairman.

I think the candidates who are serving and who are elected on the basis of platforms know very well what that platform is. I believe that they are accountable for it.

I can't conceivably forgive any elected official from running on the basis of a platform getting into office and forgetting it and coming back in

two, four or six years and trying to redeem himself for something he has not done, or hasn't lived up to, in the interim period.

I don't think that there is any platform that any person could accept in its totality. He must have in very good conscience, exceptions from the standpoint of his own personal beliefs, from the standpoint of his own constituency which may be quite different from that of, say, of a state constituency -- if you are talking about a state legislative race.

6. What should the Republican Party's relationship be with organized labor?

The panelists: Eunice Howe, Massachusetts National Committeewoman, moderator; Rep. Gary Myers of Pennsylvania; Vic Kamber, AFL-CIO, and Bill Banowsky, California National Committeeman.

I heard the head of the AFL-CIO in one state tell me that his council had submitted proposals to both parties in the state for their platforms, that the treatment that he had received at the hands of the Republican leaders in that state had turned them off so that they no longer even bothered to go through the motions with the Republican Party.

It occurs to me that skilled union craftsmen can't afford to be Democrats. We haven't really explained this to them. We haven't told them how little they can afford to be Democrats. They're homeowners, they're going to send their kids to college... I don't know how we can get this message across to these union people.

7. Should the Republican Party undertake basic structural changes and, if so, in what way?

The panelists: Edith Holm, Alaska National Committeewoman, moderator; John McDonald, Iowa GOP Chairman; Bobbi Kilberg, Vice Chairperson, National Women's Political Caucus, and John Haugh, Arizona National Committeeman.

Now, if we get into a situation in these structural changes whereby the RNC is dictating to the state, you may have a unified party in one sense coming out of Washington, but I think you

are going to have tremendous disaffection in many parts of the country and particularly in those areas that are more conservative.

Now, how can a National Committee... begin to tell us on a local level what to do. How can they support us not so much in the way of rules, although that is a part of it, but in telling us ways of how to turn our organization into organizations like Iowa's, like Fairfax County's? To me that is the question. I think that in terms of structure there has to be a way of communicating and a way of reaching out. So that we really can begin a building effort... that everyone is talking about.

8. Is there still a role for patronage in a modern political party and, if so, is such a role consistent with the ethical standards now expected by the American people?

The panelists: Richard Obenshain, RNC Co-Chairman, moderator; Rep. Ed Derwinski of Illinois; Tom Milligan, Indiana GOP Chairman, and Mike Causey, columnist for the Washington Post.

In terms of our ethical standards, I think that ethical standards go to how something is delivered, goes more or less to its acceptability, rather than substance... Political institutions generally have been under fire, and certainly since 1960 we have seen... a deepening of alienation between the general public and the Parties. When political parties are taking to hiding from the public, then naturally, patronage will take that same hiding.

To the extent that political parties can provide better government, that means they are also providing, through patronage relationships and patronage considerations, better government.

Many people who have served the party or its candidates feel that they should have some reward or recognition at the least, while many others feel that the reason they work hard is to institute policy changes in the government, and in their minds, if the bad guys are not thrown out, and the "good guys" put in, then obviously, the whole thing has been an exercise in futility.

9. Should the Republican Party expand its base and, if so, in what areas?

The panelists: Carla Coray, Hawaii GOP Chairman, moderator; Sen. Charles Percy of Illinois; Clarke Reed, Mississippi GOP Chairman, and Anna Chennault, Vice Chairman, Republican National Heritage Groups Council.

...my comment is this, that I think that I really don't understand what broadening the base is going to mean, whether we are going to be changing the philosophical tenency of the Party or going out to include a different constituency of voters to support the tenents that we now have.

One thing we haven't communicated is the Republican stance.

We have got to get that message out because 75 percent of the American people are Republicans. They just don't know it yet.

Let's let them realize. Let's communicate the philosophy and let them realize that they are Republicans.

10. Should the Republican Party be in favor of and support public financing of campaigns?

The panelists: Rosemary Ginn, Missouri National Committeewoman, moderator; Rep. M. Caldwell Butler of Virginia, and Rep. John B. Anderson of Illinois, House Republican Conference Chairman.

After all, rightly or wrongly, the Republican Party today has got the label... as being the party of the fat cats, of being the party that is supported by the special interest groups. Well, now, that isn't a fair charge... The important thing is that's the way we are being perceived in the minds of a great many Americans... So, I think we ought to get with it, frankly, we ought to support a progressive proposal that is designed to tell the American people the Republican Party is out after that small contributor...

If the government puts its money in there, the government is going to have to control the use of its money... why should we think that if it gets more involved in the electoral process it's not going to have more and more say about how the money is going to be used? ■

first of four tv shows highlights conference

The first in a series of four special half-hour television programs on the GOP was shown March 9 (in most time zones) on the ABC Television network. The show, "Highlights of the Republican Leadership Conference," was produced by the Republican National Committee and designed to carry the message of the successful Conference in Washington to Party faithful who were unable to attend in person. Viewing audience for the show was estimated at close to 3 million people.

success

The program was edited from more than 19 hours of material, taken from the Conference as it unfolded over the two-day period. The idea was to clearly demonstrate to Republicans everywhere, that, despite some news coverage to the contrary, the Conference was a tremendous success. Hotel officials reported more than 2,700 dinners were served at the Presidential banquet. This represented well over a thousand more participants at the Conference than organizers had envisioned.

None of the conferees argued the value of the meeting. It was clearly a mammoth success and certainly

worthy of television coverage from the Republican point of view.

Later in the year, the National Committee plans to air three more specials--one on each of the major television networks.

Differing in format from the March program, these shows will present a Republican view of the news and will feature current happenings in the Administration and on Capitol Hill along with special emphasis on Republican accomplishments in statehouses and other areas.

A five-minute segment of the upcoming three shows will be set aside for state Republican committees to use if they choose.

As in the first show, viewers will be asked to contribute to the expense of producing the shows and buying network time. Contributions may be addressed to: Republican National Committee, P.O. Box 24077, Washington, D.C. 20024.

tape available

A video tape cassette of the March 9 "Highlights of the Republican Leadership Conference" is available to GOP organizations. The cas-



sette can be played on a standard cassette video tape player connected to a television set. The tape is available free but must be returned to the National Committee to avoid a \$45 fee.

More information is available by contacting Communications Division, RNC, 310 First St., SE, Washington, D.C. 20003. ■

training seminars slated for GOP workers

The most extensive series of Party training seminars yet is planned by the Republican National Committee this spring and summer. The seminars--to be held all over the nation--will ready GOP volunteers for a massive voter registration drive this fall and will assist in strengthening Party organization at every level.

Four Major City Seminars will be held for GOP workers in cities and counties over 100,000 population. The sessions will stress the organizational problems peculiar to districts of that size. Major City Seminars are scheduled: April 4 and 5 in Cherry Hills, N.J.; April 11 and 12 in Indianapolis; April 18 and 19 in Las Vegas and April 25 and 26 in Atlanta.

For workers in cities and counties of under 100,000 population, 12 regional seminars are planned. They are scheduled: May 2 and 3 in Windsor Locks, Conn., and Columbus, Ohio; May 9 and 10 in Raleigh and New Orleans; May 16 and 17 in Memphis and Oklahoma City; May 30 and 31 in Omaha and Madison, Wisc.; June 6 and 7 in Ontario, Calif., and Seattle,

and June 13 and 14 in Rapid City, S.D., and Albuquerque.

Five additional seminars are scheduled to train Party workers involved in finance and fund raising programs. They will be held: May 7 and 8 in New York City; May 14 and 15 in Birmingham; May 28 and 29 in Chicago; June 4 and 5 in San Francisco and June 17 and 18 in Denver.

Also, two Communications Seminars are in the planning stages--one in Washington and the other in Denver. Dates are yet to be announced.

Republican workers at all levels are encouraged to attend the seminars. More information is available from: Training and Programs Division, RNC, 310 First St., SE, Washington, D.C. 20003. ■



Americans have always had a sharp eye for quality in the products they buy. The American ideals of healthy competition and free enterprise have insured this. A product must have quality, credibility and dependability in order to sell. If it does not, someone will come up with a better idea.

The same holds true for the most important commodity of all--our government

But what happens when the competitive edge is removed? A monopoly develops. Given any kind of stranglehold on the market, the need for excellence in performance is gone, and the consumer, as always, is the loser in a big way.

The Democrats in Congress are moving into a monopoly status now--in a veto-proof way. Though you may not have thought of it that way, much of your privilege as a consumer to choose your product will be eliminated. You will just have to take whatever shoddy merchandise the Democrats ship out.

The Republican Party, like the merchants of old, takes pride in its products. It wants to continue to provide quality merchandise to the American public. But the Party needs your help, your interest, and your cooperation. Take an active interest in this consumer movement by sending in your 1975 Sustaining Membership right away. You probably know a lot of other careful shoppers who also want to see that good government still is available for selection. Encourage them to join you. Investment in a good political cause offers the best possible return to the consumer--good government.

If you're already a Sustaining Member but feel you could contribute more to the cause of political consumerism, please give us your current membership number in the blank provided so we can properly credit your contribution. Thank you.



Official National Republican Fund-Raising Organization

SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIP PROGRAM

310 First Street, Southeast Washington, D. C. 20003

Yes, I want to demonstrate my support and stand behind the Republican Party at this time. Here is my contribution for:

___ \$15 ___ \$50 ___ Other
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City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable to: Republican National Finance Committee.
(Corporation checks not acceptable)

A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Elections Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Elections Commission, Washington, D.C.

RNC Meeting

[Continued on page 6]

The National Committee first voted to strike the controversial paragraph from the Interpretation and then approved a compromise paragraph which read:

"Each state Party organization should submit by February 1, 1976, to the Republican National Committee, examples of the materials produced and activities undertaken which are designed to create the opportunity for participating in all Party activities for all people regardless of race, creed, national origin, religion, sex or age, including a program to educate the citizenry of the delegate selection process. In order to assist the states, and at the request of any state, the Republican National Com-

mittee shall review and comment on such state's program."

Since no rules changes are required, the Interpretation of Rule 32 as approved by the National Committee goes into immediate effect.

Commenting on the action of the National Committee, Chairman Mary Louise Smith said, "I am very pleased. The Interpretation as we adopted it

will serve as a good guideline to states. In fact," she said, "there are a number of recommendations in the Interpretation that I know already are in effect in a number of states. I think, overall, the Interpretation is unquestionable evidence that the Republican Party means business when we say we are open to participation by all Americans." ■

Other Actions...

In other action at its March 5-6 meeting, the Republican National Committee:

□ Ratified Chairman Smith's appointments to the Site Committee for the 1976 Republican National Convention. Appointed were: Edwin G. Middleton, National Committeeman for Kentucky, Vice Chairman; John Alsop, National Committeeman for Connecticut; Mrs. Grace Boulton, National Committeewoman for Oklahoma; Ody J. Fish, National Committeeman for Wisconsin; Mrs. Thelma Rogers, National Committeewoman for North Carolina, and Harry Rosenzweig, State Chairman for Arizona. The Chairman of the National Committee serves as Chairman of the Site Committee.

□ Approved the recommendation of the RNC Bicen-

tennial Gift Committee that in commemoration of the nation's 200th anniversary, the RNC purchase and donate to the White House the painting *Watch Meeting* which depicts slaves waiting for midnight December 31, 1862, the hour of their emancipation.

□ Elected Ben Clayburgh, National Committeeman for North Dakota, and Thomas Milligan, State Chairman from Indiana, to fill vacancies on the Executive Committee of the National Committee.

□ Resolved to commend President Ford and Vice President Rockefeller for their "great leadership in developing and proposing positive programs" to deal with the nation's problems.

Pass the Word

As noted in the message from National Chairman Mary Louise Smith on page two, **First Monday** readers are encouraged to pass on their copies of this magazine to friends and neighbors so we can "spread the word."

To assist in this effort, extra copies of the April edition of **First Monday** are available to our subscribers—five copies for a \$1 postage and handling charge.

Write: Campaign Materials Division, RNC, 310 First St., SE, Washington, D.C. 20003. Help us get the message across!

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