

The original documents are located in Box 9, folder “Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments (7)” of the Loen and Leppert Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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2 pm CDT

APRIL 27, 1976

Office of the White House Press Secretary
(Shreveport, Louisiana)

THE WHITE HOUSE

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

On October 15, 1974, I signed into law the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974, which made far-reaching changes in the laws affecting Federal elections in election campaign practices. This law created the Federal Election Commission to administer and enforce a comprehensive regulatory scheme for Federal campaigns.

On January 30, 1976, the United States Supreme Court ruled that certain features of the new law were unconstitutional. The Court allowed a total of 50 days to "afford Congress an opportunity to reconstitute the Commission by law."

On February 16, I submitted legislation to reconstitute the Commission and urged Congress to enact quickly this required change so it could continue to operate through the 1976 election. This is the simple and fair thing to do.

Instead, Congress has already spent over 70 days in its attempt to amend the existing law in many unnecessary areas.

Because of this delay, campaigns which were planned in accordance with the funding and regulatory provisions of the election law, now lack funds and lack ground rules. The complex changes in the draft conference bill can only introduce added uncertainty in the law and thus create confusion for the candidates in the present campaigns and jeopardize the conduct of this year's Presidential election.

Accordingly, I again urge the Congress to immediately pass the simple corrections mandated by the Supreme Court and proposed by me. The American people want and deserve an independent and effective Election Commission. There must be a fair and clear law on the books to guide the campaigns. All Presidential candidates need the funds which are blocked by the Congressional inaction.

A Congressional conferees committee is still working on the details of the Federal Election Commission legislation. This legislation could have a major impact on how Presidential elections are conducted in this country. This is not a subject that any President can treat lightly, and I will not commit myself to sign or veto until the Congress completes definitive action on the bill.

There is no question that the Congressional conferees can adopt a bill which I can quickly sign into law. They should avoid objectionable and highly controversial provisions by moving toward simple reconstitution suggested by the Supreme Court and proposed by me in February.

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WILLIAM L. DICKINSON
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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

April 29, 1976

WALTER J. BAMBERG
FIELD REPRESENTATIVE

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The Honorable Gerald R. Ford
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Within a short period of time, the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1976 will be transmitted to you for your necessary action. I respectfully urge you to veto this legislation for the reasons which I have stated below.

The bill goes far beyond the simple extension of the Federal Election Commission which you have recommended. Needless to say, it goes far beyond any requirement of the Supreme Court's recent Buckley decision.

This legislation adds yet another layer of complexity to what is already a well-nigh incomprehensible Federal Election law. One of its effects will surely be to discourage many individuals across the country from entering politics.

The most cursory glance at this legislation reveals that it is a massive revision of our election laws in a year that features the full array of Federal elections. This amounts to changing the rules in the middle of the game, which is clearly unconscionable.

I have one additional fundamental objection to this legislation which I wish to bring to your attention. To my mind the Federal government has no business at all embarking on a massive regulation of our election process. This was one of my problems with the 1974 Amendments to the Federal Election Campaign Act. In my view, the 1976 Amendments compound this problem severalfold. What is needed is a simple law requiring total disclosure of contributions and expenditures and not the incredibly intricate statute that we have at the present time.

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford

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April 29, 1976

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Wm. L. Dickinson". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name.

WM. L. DICKINSON
Member of Congress

WLD:bw



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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 29, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM: CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *CLJ.*

SUBJECT: S. 3065 - Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1976

I have the following recommendations to the President on the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments conference report:

Representative John Rhodes

There are good reasons for the President to veto the conference report, such as the violence it does to an independent agency, the review of regulations, and actions of the Commission requiring a two-thirds vote, for which he does not believe there is precedent. On the other hand, there are reasons for the President to sign the conference report, principally the Sun-Pac provisions were handled as well as they possibly could be at this time and if you went back to the old law there would be the review of the decisions of the FEC which, in his judgment, is questionable.

Rhodes cannot make a hard recommendation because he does not know the violence the provisions of the conference report do to the prerogatives of the Executive. Also, the President has to consider what this conference report does to him personally and what effect a veto would have vis-a-vis denying money to the opposition.

Rhodes feels he will probably vote for the conference report, but cannot recommend that the President sign the bill because there are too many variables that the President must weigh for himself. Rhodes feels that the Pac provisions, even though there has been improvement in the provisions, are unconstitutional.

If the President should decide to veto the conference report, Rhodes feels that the possibilities of sustaining a veto in the House are very good. If the President does veto, Rhodes will vote to sustain the veto and work to sustain the veto. Rhodes says that it is his judgment that many Members do not like the whole concept of a Federal Election Commission and therefore would vote to sustain the veto. If the President does decide to veto the conference report, it is essential that his decision be communicated to the Hill and the Members prior to the vote on the conference report, as the President's decision and his reasons will impact upon how some Members will vote.

Rhodes says "Ol' buddy, you better call this one and I'll help you."

Representative Bob Michel

Michel says he really doesn't know, that he and Senator Griffin seem to be two of the strongest against the conference report. Michel will vote against the conference report. He is not satisfied with the provisions on the mailings and does not feel that this is spelled out clearly enough and does not trust the interpretation of that language to be beneficial to anybody except the unions. Michel feels that the Pac provisions are not worth "two hoots" because most of the Pacs, if they do have any money, support incumbents and the business community has not learned how to support their friends and build a Republican Party. The business community does not act like the unions, who go all out to support their friends and "screw their enemies". Michel says that the President may be better served by listening to the more academic arguments on this conference report because his are strictly political.

Michel says if the President decides to veto the conference report, he understands that Senator Scott has said that there is a possibility of sustaining a veto in the Senate. Michel does not think a veto can be sustained in the House, as the Members do not have the guts to vote no on this conference report now.

Michel will still vote against the conference report and label it "the incumbents' protection act", but does not have faith that the members would stand up and vote against the conference report.

If the President vetos the conference report, the President should get the word out and to the Members as it will bear heavily on how some Members vote.

Michel will not be on the floor of the House Monday, May 3, if the conference report is considered that day as he must be in his district for a speaking engagement.

Representative Chuck Wiggins

Wiggins states that the President should sign the conference report, it's not even a close call. The consequences of a veto are uncertain and if it is vetoed and the veto were sustained, you are back to the present law which, in his judgment, is unconstitutional in some aspects and the present law is not as good as the bill embodied in the conference report.

The Democrats will not send a bill to the President that does not deal with the Sun-Pac decision.

Wiggins states that Reagan is both ill-advised and ill-informed on the provisions of the bill and that the union advantages were put into the law back in 1971 and that the conference report is the first time that there is any chipping away at the union advantages. If the President vetos the conference report, the override or sustaining of that veto will be impacted by the President's decision and reasoning. If the President says nothing and lets the chips fall where they may, Wiggins predicts that there will be only 75 votes against the conference report. If the President is to veto and signals a veto to the Members, there will be, in Wiggins' judgment, only 130 votes to sustain.

Wiggins states that his information is that a veto cannot be sustained in the Senate.

Representative Bill Dickinson

Dickinson will oppose the conference report for several reasons, but feels the bill is better than it was before. Recommends that the President veto the bill, as he would like to see the whole thing (FEC) killed. Dickinson has trouble with the people appointed to the Commission, considers them activists, and feels that they did not do or act

as they were supposed to under the law. Dickinson understands that the President will renew the present appointments to the Commission and he opposes that. Dickinson feels that the biggest objection to the bill on the lists has been cured by the conference report.

If the President vetos the conference report, Dickinson says the possibilities of sustaining a veto in the House are zilch. Dickinson says that the Chowder and Marching Society talked about it yesterday, that Senator Brock said it was too close to call in the Senate, Bob Michel said there's not a prayer to sustain it in the House, and Dickinson feels that sustaining of a veto ultimately depends on the vote on the conference report. Dickinson feels the conference report will pass the House like a greased pig and that most Members recognize that the bill is much better than what they voted on previously.

Representative John Anderson

Anderson is not happy with some of the provisions of the conference report. Anderson says on balance he thinks the President should sign the conference report. He feels the public will not understand the objections to the bill and there are many political risks, and if vetoed the President would be considered as playing dog in the manger because his campaign has financing whereas the other candidates do not. Anderson feels that the unions will not rest if the bill is vetoed and will not deal with the Sun-Pack provisions as lightly as they have on this occasion. Anderson feels that to veto the bill would run the risk and possibility of getting into a deadlock and the potential loss of the FEC, and therefore hopes the President will, even if reluctantly, sign the conference report.

If the President vetos the conference report, Anderson says the chances are not too good on sustaining the veto. Anderson said that in discussing it with Representative Lagomarsino, that Lagomarsino said that it would be hard to vote against the conference report and then have to go home and face the charge that you are against clean elections. If the bill is vetoed, the President should send his decision to the Members before the vote on the conference report.

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Frenzel says that the President doesn't have much choice. The bill is not a good bill and not a bad bill. He says that we have come out better with regard to the Sun-Pac provisions than he believed we could, feels that the fears of the business community are not well-founded; on the other hand, there are good reasons to veto the bill, such as the impact on the independence of the Commission. At the same time, there are many more reasons for the President to sign the bill, the foremost of which is the disclosure of union spending.

On balance, Frenzel supports the bill and hopes the President will sign it. Frenzel says that the conference report should pass the House by more than a two-thirds vote.

If the bill was vetoed, Frenzel feels the President will take a lot of crap from the press. If he vetoes the bill, Frenzel feels that the President needs some awfully good reasons to do so and doesn't think the President has those awfully good reasons. However, whatever the President's decision, it should be done promptly, within a day or so after he receives the bill. While Frenzel feels the President has been in a perfect position on this bill by requesting a simple extension of the Commission and his reasons therefor, he feels that a veto of the conference report will be overridden by the House. If the President signs the bill, he continues in a posture of having considered it objectively and exercising leadership and being a good guy.

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Waggoner says a veto would be overridden, that there would be trouble sustaining a veto on the conference report because of the pressure building on the other candidates for money.

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When the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments bill, H. R. 12406, was considered in the House, the vote on the motion to recommit was 153 ayes to 246 nays and the vote on final passage of the bill in the House was 241 ayes to 155 nays.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Date:

4/29/76

TO:

Charlie Leppert

FROM: Max L. Friedersdorf

For Your Information X

Please Handle _____

Please See Me _____

Comments, Please _____

Other

APR 29 1976

GRIFFIN

He again stated he thought if a veto is forthcoming that Congress should have early notice. Congress, after all, will not get conference report until next week and either body could reject the report and send it back to conference. He feels that it will be tougher now to veto because of time lapse and fact that President has not come out against conference bill previously. He is not at all sure that veto can be sustained. Incidentally he said Baker talked about bill at Policy Lunch and said he is opposed to bill because it institutionalizes the labor vs. business fight.

SCOTT

He thinks President should sign the bill. There is more good than bad in it. Our fund raisers say they can live with it. If President vetoes bill it will unite Democrats for first time and they will use it politically against the President. Scott would have difficulty reversing himself since he has signed report. Thinks that a veto, whether sustained or overridden, is a no win situation. Thinks veto would be overridden.

HATFIELD

Recommends signing since it is best bill possible at this time. If it were vetoed there would be greater political repercussions than necessary. He believes the votes are there to override and that Dems would be in position to exploit a veto politically.

PACKWOOD

Advises that President should sign the FEC bill. He will vote to override if bill is vetoed. He believes veto will be overridden in the Senate for these reasons: (1) Honorarium provision which increases honorarium from 1 to 2 thousand with a 25,000 top. (2) The PAC are now acceptable with the corporate list problem resolved. (3) Any subsequent bill would be worse, not better than the present bill.

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Date: 4-30-76

Question: S. 3065 - Sustain veto

Western and Plains (Talcott)

Midwestern States (Myers)

| | Yes | No | Und. | N/R |
|----------------------------|-----|----|------|-----|
| California | | | | |
| Bell | | | / | |
| Burgener | | | / | |
| Clausen | | | / | |
| Clawson | | | / | |
| Goldwater | | | / | |
| Hinshaw | | | / | |
| Ketchum | | | / | |
| Lagomarsino (ARW) | | | / | |
| McCloskey <i>leaning</i> | | / | | |
| Moorhead | | | / | |
| Rousselot | / | | | |
| Talcott <i>see note</i> | / | | | |
| Wiggins | / | | | |
| Wilson <i>leaning</i> | / | | | |
| Petis | / | | | |
| Alaska | | | | |
| Young | / | | | |
| Arizona | | | | |
| Conlan <i>OT</i> | | | / | |
| Rhodes | / | | | |
| Steiger | / | | | |
| Colorado | | | | |
| Armstrong (ARW) | ? | | / | |
| Johnson <i>leaning</i> | | / | | |
| Idaho | | | | |
| Hansen | / | | | |
| Symms | / | | | |
| New Mexico | | | | |
| Lujan | / | | | |
| Washington | | | | |
| Pritchard | / | | | |
| Kansas | | | | |
| Sebelius | / | | | |
| Shriver | / | | | |
| Skubitz <i>ill</i> | / | | | |
| Winn | / | | | |
| Nebraska | | | | |
| McCollister | / | | | |
| Smith | / | | | |
| Thone (ARW) | / | | | |
| North Dakota | | | | |
| Andrews | / | | | |
| Oklahoma | | | | |
| Jarman | / | | | |
| South Dakota | | | | |
| Abdnor | / | | | |
| Pressler | / | | | |
| Total | 11 | 3 | 15 | 6 |
| Total pages 1 and 2 | 55 | 14 | 46 | 29 |

| | Yes | No | Und. | N/R |
|------------------|-----|----|------|-----|
| Indiana | | | | |
| Hillis | / | | | |
| Myers | / | | | |
| Iowa | | | | |
| Grassley | / | | | |
| Michigan | | | | |
| Broomfield | / | | | |
| Brown | / | | | |
| Cederberg | / | | | |
| Esch | / | | | |
| Hutchinson | / | | | |
| Ruppe | / | | | |
| Vander Jagt | / | | | |
| Minnesota | | | | |
| Frenzel (ARW) | / | | | |
| Hagedorn | / | | | |
| Quie | / | | | |
| Wisconsin | | | | |
| Kasten | / | | | |
| Steiger | / | | | |
| Ohio | | | | |
| Ashbrook | / | | | |
| Brown (ARW) | / | | | |
| Clancy | / | | | |
| Devine | / | | | |
| Gradison | / | | | |
| Guyer | / | | | |
| Harsha | / | | | |
| Kindness | / | | | |
| Latta | / | | | |
| Miller | / | | | |
| Mosher | / | | | |
| Regula | / | | | |
| Stanton | / | | | |
| Whalen | / | | | |
| Wylie | / | | | |
| Illinois | | | | |
| Anderson | / | | | |
| Crane | / | | | |
| Derwinski | / | | | |
| Erlenborn | / | | | |
| Findley (ARW) | / | | | |
| Hyde | / | | | |
| Madigan | / | | | |
| McClory | / | | | |
| Michel | / | | | |
| O'Brien | / | | | |
| Railsback | / | | | |
| Total | 17 | 5 | 10 | 9 |

Date:

Question: *Vote to sustain*

Tally Sheet

Border and Southern (Young)

New England and Mid-Atlantic (McDade)

| | Yes | No | Und. | N/R |
|----------------------------|-----|----|------|-----|
| <i>Maryland</i> | | | | |
| Gude | / | / | | |
| Holt | / | | | |
| Bauman | / | | | |
| <i>Missouri</i> | | | | |
| Taylor (ARW) | / | | | |
| <i>Kentucky</i> | | | | |
| Carter <i>go w/ Rhodes</i> | / | | | |
| Snyder | / | | | |
| <i>Tennessee</i> | | | | |
| Beard | / | | | |
| Duncan | / | | | |
| Quillen | / | | | |
| <i>Florida</i> | | | | |
| Bafalis | / | | | |
| Burke | | | | / |
| Frey | | | | / |
| Kelly | | | | / |
| Young | / | | | |
| <i>North Carolina</i> | | | | |
| Broyhill | / | | | |
| Martin | / | | | |
| <i>South Carolina</i> | | | | |
| Spence | / | | | |
| <i>Virginia</i> | | | | |
| Butler | / | | | |
| Daniel | / | | | |
| Robinson | / | | | |
| Wampler | / | | | |
| Whitehurst (ARW) | / | | | |
| <i>Alabama</i> | | | | |
| Buchanan | / | | | |
| Dickinson (ARW) | / | | | |
| Edwards | / | | | |
| <i>Arkansas</i> | | | | |
| Hammerschmidt | / | | | |
| <i>Louisiana</i> | | | | |
| Moore | / | | | |
| Treen | / | | | |
| <i>Mississippi</i> | | | | |
| Cochran | / | | | |
| Lott | / | | | |
| <i>Texas</i> | | | | |
| Archer | / | | | |
| Collins | / | | | |
| Steelman | / | | | |
| Paul | / | | | |
| Total | 19 | 2 | 7 | 6 |

| | Yes | No | Und. | N/R |
|-----------------------|-----|----|------|-----|
| <i>Connecticut</i> | | | | |
| McKinney | | / | | |
| Sarasin | | / | | |
| <i>Delaware</i> | | | | |
| duPont | | / | | |
| <i>Maine</i> | | | | |
| Cohen | | / | | |
| Emery <i>Leamy</i> | | / | | |
| <i>Massachusetts</i> | | | | |
| Conte (ARW) | | / | | |
| Heckler | | / | | |
| <i>New Hampshire</i> | | | | |
| Cleveland | | / | | |
| <i>New Jersey</i> | | | | |
| Fenwick | | / | | |
| Forsythe | / | | | |
| Rinaldo | | / | | |
| <i>Vermont</i> | | | | |
| Jeffords | | / | | |
| <i>New York</i> | | | | |
| Conable | | / | | |
| Fish | | / | | / |
| Gilman | | / | | |
| | | | | |
| Horton | / | | | |
| Kemp | / | | | |
| Lent | / | | | / |
| McEwen | / | / | | |
| Mitchell (ARW) | / | / | | |
| Peysner | / | | | |
| Walsh | / | | | |
| Wydler | / | | | |
| <i>Pennsylvania</i> | | | | |
| Biester | | / | | |
| Coughlin | | / | | / |
| Eshleman | | / | | / |
| Goodling | | / | | |
| Heinz | | / | | / |
| Johnson (ARW) | / | / | | |
| McDade | / | / | | |
| Myers | / | | | / |
| Schneebeli | | / | | / |
| Schulze | / | | | / |
| Shuster | / | | | |
| Total | 8 | 4 | 14 | 8 |

(Rev. Mar. 1975)

*going - depending on notice from the.
Looking - thought the net political disaster*



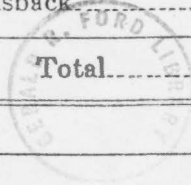
Question: S. 3065 - Conference Report

Western and Plains (Talcott)

Midwestern States (Myers)

| | For 70 | Ag 70 | Und. | N/R |
|--------------------------|-----------|----------|------|-----|
| California | | | | |
| Bell | | | / | |
| Burgener | | | / | |
| Clausen | | | / | |
| Clawson | | | / | |
| Goldwater | | | / | |
| Hinshaw | | | / | |
| Ketchum | | | / | |
| Lagomarsino (ARW) | / | learning | | |
| McCloskey | / | | | |
| Moorhead | | | / | |
| Rousselot | | | / | |
| Talcott see note | | | / | |
| Wiggins | / | | | |
| Wilson | | ? | | |
| Pettis learning | | | / | |
| Alaska | | | | |
| Young | | | / | |
| Arizona | | | | |
| Conlan o/T | | | / | |
| Rhodes | | | / | |
| Steiger | | | / | |
| Colorado | | | | |
| Armstrong (ARW) | | ? | / | |
| Johnson learning against | | | / | |
| Idaho | | | | |
| Hansen | | | / | |
| Symms | | | / | |
| New Mexico | | | | |
| Lujan | | | / | |
| Washington | | | | |
| Pritchard | | | / | |
| Kansas | | | | |
| Sebelius | / | | | |
| Shriver | / | | | |
| Skubitz ill | / | | | |
| Winn | / | | | |
| Nebraska | | | | |
| McCollister | | | / | |
| Smith | | | / | |
| Thone (ARW) | | | / | |
| North Dakota | | | | |
| Andrews | ? | | | |
| Oklahoma | | | | |
| Jarman | | | / | |
| South Dakota | | | | |
| Abdnor | | | / | |
| Pressler | | | / | |
| Total | 6 | 11 | 10 | 9 |
| Total pages 1 and 2 | 31 | 46 | 32 | 35 |

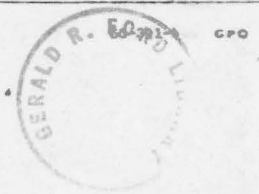
| | For 70 | Against 70 | Und. | N/R |
|---------------|-----------|---------------|------|-----|
| Indiana | | | | |
| Hillis | | | / | |
| Myers | | | / | |
| Iowa | | | | |
| Grassley | | | / | |
| Michigan | | | | |
| Broomfield | / | | | |
| Brown | | | / | |
| Cederberg | | | / | |
| Esch | | | / | |
| Hutchinson | | | / | |
| Ruppe | / | | | |
| Vander Jagt | | | / | |
| Minnesota | | | | |
| Frenzel (ARW) | / | | | |
| Hagedorn | / | | | |
| Quie | / | | | |
| Wisconsin | | | | |
| Kasten | / | | | |
| Steiger | / | | | |
| Ohio | | | | |
| Ashbrook | | | / | |
| Brown (ARW) | | | / | |
| Clancy | | | / | |
| Devine | ? | | / | |
| Gradison | | | / | |
| Guyer | | | / | |
| Harsha | | | / | |
| Kindness | | | / | |
| Latta | | | / | |
| Miller | | | / | |
| Mosher | ? | | / | |
| Regula | | | / | |
| Stanton | | | / | |
| Whalen | | | / | |
| Wylie | | | / | |
| Illinois | | | | |
| Anderson | / | | | |
| Crane | | | / | |
| Derwinski | | | / | |
| Erlenborn | / | | | |
| Findley (ARW) | | | / | |
| Hyde | | | / | |
| Madigan | | | / | |
| McClory | | | / | |
| Michel | | | / | |
| O'Brien | | | / | |
| Railsback | | | / | |
| Total | 11 | 12 | 6 | 11 |



Date:
Question:

| Border and Southern (Young) | | | | | New England and Mid-Atlantic (McDade) | | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|---------------------------------------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|
| | Yes | No | Und. | N/R | | Yes | No | Und. | N/R |
| <i>Maryland</i> | | | | | <i>Connecticut</i> | | | | |
| Gude | / | | | | McKinney | / | | | |
| Holt | | / | | | Sarasin | / | | | |
| Bauman | | / | | | <i>Delaware</i> | | | | |
| <i>Missouri</i> | | | | | duPont | | | / | |
| Taylor (ARW) | | / | | | <i>Maine</i> | | | | |
| <i>Kentucky</i> | | | | | Cohen | / | | | |
| Carter <i>go w/ photos</i> | | | / | | Emery | / | | | |
| Snyder | | | / | | <i>Massachusetts</i> | | | | |
| <i>Tennessee</i> | | | | | Conte (ARW) | | | / | |
| Beard | | / | | | Heckler | | | / | |
| Duncan | | / | | | <i>New Hampshire</i> | | | | |
| Quillen | | / | | | Cleveland | / | | | |
| <i>Florida</i> | | | | | <i>New Jersey</i> | | | | |
| Bafalis | | / | | | Fenwick | | | / | |
| Burke | | | | / | Forsythe | | / | | |
| Frey | | | | / | Rinaldo | / | | | |
| Kelly | | | | / | <i>Vermont</i> | | | | |
| * Young | / | | | | Jeffords | | | / | |
| <i>North Carolina</i> | | | | | <i>New York</i> | | | | |
| Broyhill | | | / | | Conable <i>depends on Pres</i> | | | / | |
| Martin | | / | | | Fish | | | / | |
| <i>South Carolina</i> | | | | | Gilman | | | / | |
| Spence | | / | | | | | | / | |
| <i>Virginia</i> | | | | | Horton | | | / | |
| Butler | | | / | | Kemp | | | / | |
| Daniel | | | / | | Lent | | | / | |
| Robinson | | | / | | McEwen | | | / | |
| Wampler | | | / | | Mitchell (ARW) | / | | | |
| Whitehurst (ARW) | | | / | | Peyser | / | | | |
| <i>Alabama</i> | | | | | Walsh | | / | | |
| Buchanan <i>o/T on Monday</i> | | / | | | Wydler | | / | | |
| Dickinson (ARW) | | / | | | <i>Pennsylvania</i> | | | | |
| Edwards | | / | | | Biester | / | | | |
| <i>Arkansas</i> | | | | | Coughlin | | | / | |
| Hammerschmidt | | | | / | Eshleman <i>o/T</i> | / | | | / |
| <i>Louisiana</i> | | | | | Goodling | / | | | / |
| Moore <i>see note</i> | | / | | | Heinz | | | / | / |
| Treen | | / | | | Johnson (ARW) | | | / | / |
| <i>Mississippi</i> | | | | | McDade | / | | | / |
| Cochran | / | | | | Myers | | | / | / |
| Lott | | | | / | Schneebeil <i>w/ fellow ldschp</i> | | | / | / |
| <i>Texas</i> | | | | | Schulze | | | / | / |
| Archer | | / | | | Shuster | | / | | |
| Collins | | / | | | | | | | |
| Steelman <i>o/T - mon</i> | | / | | / | | | | | |
| Paul | | / | | | | | | | |
| Total | 3 | 17 | 7 | 7 | Total | 11 | 6 | 9 | 2 |

* Young. If known in advance it will be retold.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 1, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF
FROM: CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *CLJ.*
SUBJECT: S. 3065 - Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1976.

This is an addendum to my April 29 memo concerning recommendations from Members of Congress to the President on the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments Conference Report.

Representative Guy Vander Jagt

Recommends that the President sign the bill even though he recognizes it is a complicated and exceedingly important decision for the President. Vander Jagt says this despite the erroneous contention of the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce that the bill reported by the Conference gives labor advantages over the business community.

Vander Jagt says the President's option is to take this bill or go back to the 1974 law as impacted by the Supreme Court decision. Vander Jagt says he voted against the '74 bill and will vote against this conference report.

Vander Jagt says that speaking strictly political that the impact of business and industry PAC's on the outcome of elections is minimal at best. So even if all PAC were stopped it is not that much of a problem. The best evidence available to the House Congressional Campaign Committee shows that the PAC's help the Democrats more than Republicans. In 1974 the PAC's contributions went 5% to Republican challengers and 55% to Democratic incumbents.

On the issue of the requirement making lists available to unions, Vander Jagt says this is in his judgement a misreading of the bill and is nonsense.

If the President vetoes the bill, he should do so not on the basis that the bill gives advantages to unions and screws industry. He should veto the bill on the basis that the bill strips the FEC of its independence over the

regulation of federal elections. It puts the "rabbits in the cabbage patch." It undoes any political campaign reform by taking out the Justice Department and others normally associated with the enforcement of clean elections and makes the FEC totally subservient to the Congress.

If the bill is vetoed, there is a shot at sustaining the bill in the House, Vander Jagt says. However, he states that most Members are pleased that the criminal sanctions are taken out because this bill as reported by the conferees protects Members from going to jail.

The conferees made the bill good enough to make it a close call and much harder to sustain a veto.

Vander Jagt says my best private counsel is that the President should sign the bill. But whatever he does, I'll support him.

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ROLL NO. 223

S 3065

YEA-AND-NAY

CLOSED 3 MAY 1976 1:40 PM

AUTHOR(S): HAYS OF OHIO

AGREEING TO CONFERENCE REPORT

FEDERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN ACT AMENDMENTS

| | YEA | NAY | PRES | NV |
|------------|-----|-----|------|----|
| DEMOCRATIC | 218 | 27 | | 42 |
| REPUBLICAN | 73 | 54 | | 18 |
| OTHER | | | | |
| TOTAL | 291 | 81 | | 60 |



ROLL NO. 223

DEMOCRATIC

OTHER

REPUBLICAN

ALABAMA

BEVILL YEA
 FLOWERS NV
 JONES (AL) NV
 NICHOLS NV

BUCHANAN NV
 DICKINSON NV
 EDWARDS (AL) NV

ALASKA

YOUNG (AK) NAY

ARIZONA

UDALL NV

CONLAN NV
 RHODES NAY
 STEIGER (AZ) NV

ARKANSAS

ALEXANDER YEA
 HILLS YEA
 THORNTON YEA

HAMMERSCHMIDT NAY

CALIFORNIA

ANDERSON (CA) YEA
 BROWN (CA) YEA
 BURKE (CA) YEA
 BURTON, JOHN YEA
 BURTON, PHILLIP YEA
 CORMAN YEA
 DANIELSON YEA
 DELLUMS YEA
 EDWARDS (CA) YEA
 HANNAFORD YEA
 HAWKINS YEA
 JOHNSON (CA) YEA
 KREBS YEA
 LEGGETT YEA
 LLOYD (CA) YEA
 MC FALL YEA
 HILLER (CA) YEA
 KINETA YEA
 HOSS YEA
 PATTERSON (CA) YEA
 REES YEA
 ROYBAL YEA
 RYAN NAY
 SISK YEA
 STARK NV
 VAN DEERLIN YEA
 WAXMAN YEA
 WILSON, C. H. NV

BELL NV
 BURGNER YEA
 CLAUSEN, DON H. NAY
 CLAWSON, DEL NAY
 GOLDWATER NAY
 HINSHAW NV
 KETCHUM NAY
 LAGOMARSING YEA
 MC CLOSKEY YEA
 MOORHEAD (CA) YEA
 PETTIS YEA
 ROUSSELOT NAY
 TALCOTT YEA
 WIGGINS YEA
 WILSON, BOB YEA

COLORADO

EVANS (CO) NV
 SCHROEDER YEA
 VIRTH YEA

ARMSTRONG NAY
 JOHNSON (CO) NV



ROLL NO. 223

DEMOCRATIC

OTHER

REPUBLICAN

CONNECTICUT

COTTER YEA
 BODD YEA
 GIAIMO NV
 HOFFETT YEA

MC KINNEY YEA
 SARASIN YEA

DELAWARE

DU PONT YEA

FLORIDA

BENNETT YEA
 CHAPPELL NAY
 FASCELL NV
 FUQUA YEA
 GIBBONS YEA
 HALEY YEA
 LEHMAN YEA
 PEPPER NV
 ROGERS YEA
 SIKES YEA

BAFALIS YEA
 BURKE (FL) NAY
 FREY YEA
 KELLY NAY
 YOUNG (FL) YEA

GEORGIA

BRINKLEY NV
 FLYNT YEA
 GINN YEA
 LANDRUM NAY
 LEVITAS YEA
 MATHIS YEA
 MC DONALD NAY
 STEPHENS YEA
 STUCKEY NV
 YOUNG (GA) YEA

HAWAII

MATSUNAGA YEA
 NINK YEA

IDAHO

HANSEN NAY
 SYMMS NAY



ROLL NO. 223

DEMOCRATIC

OTHER

REPUBLICAN

ILLINOIS

ANNUNZIO YEA
 COLLINS (IL) NY
 FARY YEA
 HALL YEA
 METCALFE YEA
 MIKVA YEA
 MURPHY (IL) YEA
 PRICE YEA
 ROSTENKOWSKI YEA
 RUSSO YEA
 SHIPLEY YEA
 SIMON YEA
 YATES YEA

ANDERSON (IL) YEA
 CRANE NAY
 DERWINSKI YEA
 ERLNBORN YEA
 FINDLEY NAY
 HYDE NY
 MADIGAN YEA
 MC CLORY NAY
 MICHEL NY
 O'BRIEN NAY
 RAILSBACK YEA

INDIANA

BRADENAS YEA
 EVANS (IN) NY
 FITHIAN YEA
 HAMILTON YEA
 HAYES (IN) NY
 JACOBS YEA
 MADDEN NY
 ROUSH YEA
 SHARP YEA

HILLIS YEA
 MYERS (IN) NAY

IOWA

BEDELL YEA
 BLOUIN YEA
 HARKIN YEA
 HEZVINSKY YEA
 SMITH (IA) NAY

GRASSLEY NAY

KANSAS

KEYS YEA

SEBELIUS NAY
 SHRIVER YEA
 SKUBITZ NAY
 WINN YEA

KENTUCKY

BRECKINRIDGE YEA
 HUBBARD YEA
 MAZZOLI YEA
 NATCHER YEA
 PERKINS YEA

CARTER YEA
 SNYDER NAY

LOUISIANA

BOGGS YEA
 BREAUX YEA
 HEBERT NAY
 LONG (LA) YEA
 PASSMAN YEA
 WAGGONER NAY

MOORE NAY
 TREEN NAY



ROLL NO. 223

DEMOCRATIC

OTHER

REPUBLICAN

MAINE

| | |
|-------|-----|
| COHEN | YEA |
| EMERY | YEA |

MARYLAND

| | |
|---------------|-----|
| BYRON | NAY |
| LONG (MD) | YEA |
| MITCHELL (MD) | YEA |
| SARBANES | NV |
| SPELLMAN | YEA |

| | |
|--------|-----|
| BAUMAN | NAY |
| GUDE | YEA |
| HOLT | NAY |

MASSACHUSETTS

| | |
|------------|-----|
| BOLAND | YEA |
| BURKE (MA) | YEA |
| BRINAN | YEA |
| EARLY | YEA |
| HARRINGTON | YEA |
| MACDONALD | NV |
| MOAKLEY | YEA |
| O'NEILL | YEA |
| STUDDS | YEA |
| TSONGAS | NV |

| | |
|--------------|-----|
| CONTE | YEA |
| HECKLER (MA) | YEA |

MICHIGAN

| | |
|-------------|-----|
| BLANCHARD | YEA |
| BRODHEAD | YEA |
| CARR | YEA |
| CONYERS | NV |
| DIGGS | YEA |
| DINGELL | YEA |
| FORD (MI) | YEA |
| HEDZI | YEA |
| O'HARA | NV |
| RIEGLE | NV |
| TRAXLER | YEA |
| VANDER VEEN | YEA |

| | |
|-------------|-----|
| BROOKFIELD | YEA |
| BROWN (MI) | NAY |
| CEDERBERG | YEA |
| ESCH | NV |
| HUTCHINSON | NAY |
| RUPPE | NV |
| VANDER JAGT | NAY |

MINNESOTA

| | |
|----------|-----|
| BERGLAND | YEA |
| FRASER | YEA |
| KARTH | YEA |
| HOLAN | YEA |
| OBERSTAR | YEA |

| | |
|----------|-----|
| FRENZEL | YEA |
| HAGEDORN | YEA |
| QUIE | YEA |

MISSISSIPPI

| | |
|------------|-----|
| BOWEN | NAY |
| MONTGOMERY | NAY |
| WHITTEN | YEA |

| | |
|---------|-----|
| COCHRAN | NV |
| LOTT | NAY |



ROLL NO. 223

DEMOCRATIC

OTHER

REPUBLICAN

MISSOURI

BOLLING YEA
 BURLISON (MO) YEA
 CLAY YEA
 HUNGATE NY
 ICHORD NAY
 LITTON YEA
 RANDALL NAY
 SULLIVAN YEA
 SYMINGTON NY

TAYLOR (MO) NAY

MONTANA

BAUCUS YEA
 MELCHER YEA

NEBRASKA

MC COLLISTER YEA
 SMITH (NB) YEA
 THONE YEA

NEVADA

SANTINI NY

NEW HAMPSHIRE

D'AMOURS YEA

CLEVELAND YEA

NEW JERSEY

DANIELS (NJ) YEA
 FLORIO YEA
 HELSTOSKI YEA
 HOWARD YEA
 HUGHES YEA
 MAGUIRE YEA
 MEYNER YEA
 MINISH YEA
 PATTEN (NJ) YEA
 RODINO NY
 ROE YEA
 THOMPSON YEA

FENWICK YEA
 FORSYTHE YEA
 RINALDO YEA

NEW MEXICO

RUNNELS NAY

LUJAN NAY



ROLL NO. 223

DEMOCRATIC

OTHER

REPUBLICAN

NEW YORK

ABZUG YEA
 ADDABBO YEA
 AMBRO YEA
 BADILLO NY
 BIAGGI YEA
 BINGHAM YEA
 CHISHOLM YEA
 DELANEY YEA
 DOWNEY (NY) YEA
 HANLEY YEA
 HOLTZMAN YEA
 KOCH YEA
 LAFALCE YEA
 LUNDINE YEA
 MC HUGH YEA
 MURPHY (NY) NY
 NOWAK YEA
 OTTINGER YEA
 PATTISON (NY) YEA
 PIKE YEA
 RANGEL YEA
 RICHMOND YEA
 ROSENTHAL YEA
 SCHEUER YEA
 SOLARZ YEA
 STRATTON YEA
 WOLFF YEA
 ZEFERETTI YEA

CONABLE YEA
 FISH YEA
 GILMAN YEA
 HORTON YEA
 KEMP YEA
 LENT NY
 MC EWEN NY
 MITCHELL (NY) YEA
 PEYSER YEA
 WALSH NY
 WYDLER NY

NORTH CAROLINA

ANDREWS (NC) YEA
 FOUNTAIN YEA
 HEFNER YEA
 HENDERSON YEA
 JONES (NC) NY
 NEAL YEA
 PREYER YEA
 ROSE YEA
 TAYLOR (NC) YEA

BROYHILL YEA
 MARTIN YEA

NORTH DAKOTA

ANDREWS (ND) NY



ROLL NO. 223

DEMOCRATIC

OTHER

REPUBLICAN

OHIO

| | |
|-------------------|-----|
| ASHLEY | YEA |
| CARNEY | YEA |
| HAYS (OH) | YEA |
| MOTTL | NAY |
| SEIBERLING | YEA |
| STANTON, JAMES V. | NV |
| STOKES | YEA |
| YANIK | YEA |

| | |
|---------------------|-----|
| ASHBROOK | NAY |
| BROWN (OH) | NAY |
| CLANCY | NAY |
| DEVINE | NAY |
| GRADISON | YEA |
| GUYER | YEA |
| HARSHA | NAY |
| KINDNESS | NV |
| LATTA | NAY |
| MILLER (OH) | NAY |
| MOSHER | YEA |
| REGULA | YEA |
| STANTON, J. WILLIAM | YEA |
| WHALEN | YEA |
| WYLIE | YEA |

OKLAHOMA

| | |
|-------------|-----|
| ALBERT | |
| ENGLISH | NAY |
| JONES (OK) | NAY |
| RISENHOOVER | NAY |
| STEED | NAY |

| | |
|--------|-----|
| JARMAN | NAY |
|--------|-----|

OREGON

| | |
|-------------|-----|
| AUCOIN | YEA |
| DUNCAN (OR) | YEA |
| ULLMAN | YEA |
| WEAVER | YEA |

PENNSYLVANIA

| | |
|---------------|-----|
| DENT | YEA |
| EDGAR | YEA |
| EILBERG | YEA |
| FLOOD | YEA |
| GAYDOS | YEA |
| GREEN | NV |
| MOORHEAD (PA) | YEA |
| MORGAN | YEA |
| MURTHA | YEA |
| NIX | NV |
| ROONEY | YEA |
| VIGORITO | YEA |
| YATRON | YEA |

| | |
|--------------|-----|
| BIESTER | YEA |
| COUGHLIN | YEA |
| ESHLENAN | NV |
| GOODLING | YEA |
| HEINZ | NV |
| JOHNSON (PA) | YEA |
| MC DADE | YEA |
| MYERS (PA) | YEA |
| SCHNEEBELI | NAY |
| SCHULZE | YEA |
| SHUSTER | NAY |

RHODE ISLAND

| | |
|------------|-----|
| BEARD (RI) | YEA |
| ST GERMAIN | YEA |



ROLL NO. 223

DEMOCRATIC

OTHER

REPUBLICAN

SOUTH CAROLINA

| | |
|----------|-----|
| DAVIS | YEA |
| DERRICK | YEA |
| HOLLAND | YEA |
| JENRETTE | YEA |
| MANN | NY |

SPENCE NAY

SOUTH DAKOTA

| | |
|----------|-----|
| ABDNOR | YEA |
| PRESSLER | YEA |

TENNESSEE

| | |
|------------|-----|
| ALLEN | YEA |
| EVINS (TN) | YEA |
| FORD (TN) | NY |
| JONES (TN) | NY |
| LLOYD (TN) | YEA |

| | |
|-------------|-----|
| BEARD (TN) | NAY |
| DUNCAN (TN) | NAY |
| QUILLEN | NAY |

TEXAS

| | |
|---------------|-----|
| BROOKS | YEA |
| BURLESON (TX) | NAY |
| DE LA GARZA | NY |
| ECKHARDT | NY |
| GONZALEZ | YEA |
| HIGHTOWER | YEA |
| JORDAN | YEA |
| KAZEN | NAY |
| KRUEGER | NY |
| MAHON | NAY |
| MILFORD | YEA |
| PICKLE | YEA |
| POAGE | NAY |
| ROBERTS | NY |
| TEAGUE | NAY |
| WHITE | NY |
| WILSON (TX) | YEA |
| WRIGHT | YEA |
| YOUNG (TX) | YEA |

| | |
|--------------|-----|
| ARCHER | NAY |
| COLLINS (TX) | NAY |
| PAUL | NAY |
| STEELMAN | NY |

UTAH

| | |
|--------|-----|
| HOWE | YEA |
| MC KAY | YEA |

VERMONT

JEFFORDS YEA

VIRGINIA

| | |
|--------------|-----|
| DANIEL, DAN | NAY |
| DOWNING (VA) | YEA |
| FISHER | YEA |
| HARRIS | YEA |
| SATTERFIELD | NAY |

| | |
|---------------|-----|
| BUTLER | YEA |
| DANIEL, R. W. | YEA |
| ROBINSON | YEA |
| WAMPLER | YEA |
| WHITEHURST | YEA |



ROLL NO. 223

DEMOCRATIC

OTHER

REPUBLICAN

WASHINGTON

| | |
|------------|-----|
| ADAMS | NV |
| BONKER | YEA |
| FOLEY | YEA |
| HICKS | YEA |
| MC CORMACK | YEA |
| NEEDS | YEA |

PRITCHARD YEA

WEST VIRGINIA

| | |
|--------------|-----|
| HECHLER (WV) | NV |
| MOLLOHAN | NV |
| SLACK | YEA |
| STAGGERS | YEA |

WISCONSIN

| | |
|-------------|-----|
| ASPIN | YEA |
| BALDUS | YEA |
| CORNELL | YEA |
| KASTENMEIER | YEA |
| OBEY | NAY |
| REUSS | YEA |
| ZABLOCKI | YEA |

KASTEN YEA
STEIGER (WI) NAY

WYOMING

RONCALIO YEA

* * * * * END OF REPORT * * * * *

REPUBLICAN CLERK'S
REFERENCE COPY
JOE BARTLETT
H-220, U. S. CAPITOL



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 10, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF

THROUGH: CHARLES LEPPERT, JR. *CL*

FROM: TOM LOEFFLER *TL*.

SUBJECT: Recommendation from
Rep. Jim Collins (R. -Texas)

Jim Collins asked that I express his strong recommendation that the President veto S. 3065, the FEC legislation. Jim believes very strongly that this legislation is strictly a labor written bill designed to provide protection for sitting "liberal" Members of Congress.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 3, 1976

Information from Indiana, phoned in by Bob Wolthuis, 12:00 noon:

The President, as previously stated, favors a simple reconstitution of the FEC consistent with the Supreme Court decision.

However, the President will carefully review the Congressional approach and make a decision consistent with the orderly and responsible conduct of the election process.

WK.



May 11, 1976

5:30 P.M.

Proposed Signing Statement: FEC

After extensive consultation and review, I have decided that the Federal Campaign Act Amendments of 1976 warrant my signature.

I am therefore signing those amendments into law this afternoon. I am also submitting to the Senate for its advice and consent the nominations of six persons to serve as members of the reconstituted Commission. All but one of these individuals has served previously on the Commission, so ~~that~~ the Senate should be able to confirm all six nominees expeditiously.

Shortly after the Supreme Court ruled on January 30 that the Federal Election Commission was invalid as then constituted, I made it clear that I favored a simple reconstitution of the Commission because efforts to amend and reform the law could cause massive confusion in election campaigns that had already started.

The Congress, however, was unwilling to accept my straightforward proposal and instead became bogged down in a controversy that has now extended beyond 100 days in length.

In the process, there was also an effort to add several provisions to the law which I thought were thoroughly objectionable. These suggested provisions would have further tilted the balance of political power to a single party and to a



single element within that party. I could not accept those provisions under any circumstance and I so communicated my views to Members of the Congress.

Since that time, to my gratification, those features of the bill have been modified so as to avoid in large measure the objections I had raised.

In fact, in weighing the merits of this legislation, I have found that the amendments as now drafted command widespread, bipartisan support in both Houses of Congress and by the Chairpersons of both the Republican National Committee and the Democratic National Committee.

I still have serious reservations about certain aspects of the present amendments. For one thing, the changes now incorporated will force the Commission to take additional time in considering the effects of the present amendments on its previously issued opinions and regulations.

More fundamentally, these amendments jeopardize the independence of the Federal Election Commission by permitting either House of Congress to veto regulations which the Commission, as an Executive agency, issues. This provision not only circumvents the original intent of campaign reform but, in my opinion, violates the Constitution. I have therefore directed the Attorney General to challenge its constitutionality at the earliest possible opportunity.



Recognizing these weaknesses in the bill, I have nevertheless concluded that it is ^{the} better part of wisdom to sign this legislation. Great effort has been invested by members of both parties to make this bill as fair and reasonable as possible.

Moreover, I think we have to recognize that further delay would undermine the fairness of elections this year to the U.S. Senate, to the House of Representatives and to the Presidency. Effective regulation of campaign practices depends fundamentally on having a Commission with valid rule-making and enforcement powers. It is critical that we maintain the integrity of our election process for all Federal offices so that all candidates and their respective supporters and contributors are bound by enforceable laws and regulations which are designed to overcome questionable and unfair campaign practices.

I look to the Commission, as soon as it is reappointed, to do an effective job of administering the campaign laws equitably but forcefully and in a manner that minimizes the confusion which is caused by the added complexity of the present amendments. In this regard, the Commission will be aided by a newly provided comprehensive and flexible civil enforcement mechanism designed to facilitate voluntary compliance through conciliation agreements and to penalize non-compliance through means of civil fines.



In addition, the new legislation refines the provisions intended to control the size of contributions from a single source by avoiding proliferation of political action committees which are under common control. Also, this law strengthens provisions for reporting money spent on campaigns by requiring disclosure of previously unreported costs of partisan communications intended to affect the outcome of Federal elections.

Following the 1976 elections, I will submit to the Congress legislation that will correct problems created by the present laws and will make additional needed reforms in the election process.

In addition to my approving this bill, I am submitting to the Senate the following nominations for the terms specified: Marlow W. Cook, and Neil Staebler, ~~for terms expiring April 30, 1977~~ Vernon Thomson, and Thomas E. Harris, ~~for terms expiring April 30, 1979~~, and Joan D. Aiken and Robert O. Tiernan, ~~for terms expiring April 30, 1981~~

I urge the Senate to act quickly to confirm all these nominees at the same time.



May 11, 1976

5:30 P.M.

Proposed Signing Statement: FEC

After extensive consultation and review, I have decided that the Federal Campaign Act Amendments of 1976 warrant my signature.

I am therefore signing those amendments into law this afternoon. I am also submitting to the Senate for its advice and consent the nominations of six persons to serve as members of the reconstituted Commission. All but one of these individuals has served previously on the Commission, so ~~that~~ the Senate should be able to confirm all six nominees expeditiously.

Shortly after the Supreme Court ruled on January 30 that the Federal Election Commission was invalid as then constituted, I made it clear that I favored a simple reconstitution of the Commission because efforts to amend and reform the law could cause massive confusion in election campaigns that had already started.

The Congress, however, was unwilling to accept my straightforward proposal and instead became bogged down in a controversy that has now extended beyond 100 days in length.

In the process, there was also an effort to add several provisions to the law which I thought were thoroughly objectionable. These suggested provisions would have further tilted the balance of political power to a single party and to a

single element within that party. I could not accept those provisions under any circumstance and I so communicated my views to Members of the Congress.

Since that time, to my gratification, those features of the bill have been modified so as to avoid in large measure the objections I had raised.

In fact, in weighing the merits of this legislation, I have found that the amendments as now drafted command widespread, bipartisan support in both Houses of Congress and by the Chairpersons of both the Republican National Committee and the Democratic National Committee.

I still have serious reservations about certain aspects of the present amendments. For one thing, the changes now incorporated will force the Commission to take additional time in considering the effects of the present amendments on its previously issued opinions and regulations.

More fundamentally, these amendments jeopardize the independence of the Federal Election Commission by permitting either House of Congress to veto regulations which the Commission, as an Executive agency, issues. This provision not only circumvents the original intent of campaign reform but, in my opinion, violates the Constitution. I have therefore directed the Attorney General to challenge its constitutionality at the earliest possible opportunity.

Recognizing these weaknesses in the bill, I have nevertheless concluded that it is ^{the} better part of wisdom to sign this legislation. Great effort has been invested by members of both parties to make this bill as fair and reasonable as possible.

Moreover, I think we have to recognize that further delay would undermine the fairness of elections this year to the U.S. Senate, to the House of Representatives and to the Presidency. Effective regulation of campaign practices depends fundamentally on having a Commission with valid rule-making and enforcement powers. It is critical that we maintain the integrity of our election process for all Federal offices so that all candidates and their respective supporters and contributors are bound by enforceable laws and regulations which are designed to overcome questionable and unfair campaign practices.

I look to the Commission, as soon as it is reappointed, to do an effective job of administering the campaign laws equitably but forcefully and in a manner that minimizes the confusion which is caused by the added complexity of the present amendments. In this regard, the Commission will be aided by a newly provided comprehensive and flexible civil enforcement mechanism designed to facilitate voluntary compliance through conciliation agreements and to penalize non-compliance through means of civil fines.

In addition, the new legislation refines the provisions intended to control the size of contributions from a single source by avoiding proliferation of political action committees which are under common control. Also, this law strengthens provisions for reporting money spent on campaigns by requiring disclosure of previously unreported costs of partisan communications intended to affect the outcome of Federal elections.

Following the 1976 elections, I will submit to the Congress legislation that will correct problems created by the present laws and will make additional needed reforms in the election process.

~~In addition to my approving this bill, I am submitting to the Senate the following nominations for the terms specified: Marlow W. Cook, and Neil Staebler, for terms expiring April 30, 1977; Vernon Thomson, and Thomas E. Harris, for terms expiring April 30, 1979, and Joan D. Aiken and Robert O. Tiernan, for terms expiring April 30, 1981.~~

I urge the Senate to act quickly to confirm all these nominees at the same time.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

- PRESENT

Charlie --

the 7 Congressmen invited to
the meeting with the President
re FEC tomorrow have
accepted.

/ Rhodes */*
/ Michel */*
/ Anderson */*
/ Vander Jagt */*
/ Frenzel */*
/ Wiggins */*
/ Dickinson */*

5/11 -
Calls made by
CL - President
will signat 5:30

J.



5/3 House 291-81 - Passed

5/4 Senate 62-29 - Cleared for WH.

[S. 3065]

Signed 5/11/76



May 11, 1976

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

After extensive consultation and review, I have decided that the Federal Campaign Act Amendments of 1976 warrant my signature.

I am therefore signing those amendments into law this afternoon. I will also be submitting to the Senate for its advice and consent the nominations of six persons to serve as members of the reconstituted Commission.

Shortly after the Supreme Court ruled on January 30 that the Federal Election Commission was invalid as then constituted, I made it clear that I favored a simple reconstitution of the Commission because efforts to amend and reform the law could cause massive confusion in election campaigns that had already started.

The Congress, however, was unwilling to accept my straightforward proposal and instead became bogged down in a controversy that has now extended for more than three months.

In the process, efforts were made to add several provisions to the law which I thought were thoroughly objectionable. These suggested provisions would have further tipped the balance of political power to a single party and to a single element within that party. I could not accept those provisions under any circumstance and I so communicated my views to various Members of the Congress.

Since that time, to my gratification, those features of the bill have been modified so as to avoid in large measure the objections I had raised.

Weighing the merits of this legislation, I have found that the amendments as now drafted command widespread, bipartisan support in both Houses of Congress and by the Chairpersons of both the Republican National Committee and the Democratic National Committee.

I still have serious reservations about certain aspects of the present amendments. For one thing, the bill as presently written will require that the Commission take additional time to consider the effects which the present amendments will have on its previously issued opinions and regulations.

more



A more fundamental concern is that these amendments jeopardize the independence of the Federal Election Commission by permitting either House of Congress to veto regulations which the Commission, as an Executive agency, issues. This provision not only circumvents the original intent of campaign reform but, in my opinion, violates the Constitution. I have therefore directed the Attorney General to challenge the constitutionality of this provision at the earliest possible opportunity.

Recognizing these weaknesses in the bill, I have nevertheless concluded that it is in the best interest of the Nation that I sign this legislation. Considerable effort has been expended by members of both parties to make this bill as fair and balanced as possible.

Moreover, further delay would undermine the fair and proper conduct of elections this year for seats in the U.S. Senate, the House of Representatives and for the Presidency. Effective regulation of campaign practices depends upon the existence of a Commission with valid rulemaking and enforcement powers. It is critical that we maintain the integrity of our election process for all Federal offices so that all candidates and their respective supporters and contributors are bound by enforceable laws and regulations which are designed to control questionable and unfair campaign practices.

I look to the Commission, as soon as it is reappointed, to do an effective job of administering the campaign laws equitably but forcefully, and in a manner that minimizes the confusion which is caused by the added complexity of the present amendments. In this regard, the Commission will be aided by a newly provided civil enforcement mechanism sufficiently flexible to facilitate voluntary compliance through conciliation agreements and, where necessary, penalize noncompliance through means of civil fines.

In addition, the new legislation refines the provisions intended to control the size of contributions from a single source by avoiding proliferation of political action committees which are under common control. Also, this law strengthens provisions for reporting money spent on campaigns by requiring disclosure of previously unreported costs of partisan communications which are intended to affect the outcome of Federal elections.

Following the 1976 elections, I will submit to the Congress legislation that will correct problems created by the present laws and make additional needed reforms in the election process.

#



MAY 17, 1976

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

The President today announced his intention to nominate six persons to be members of the Federal Election Commission. These are new positions established by Public Law 94-283 of May 11, 1976, (Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1976). They are:

Joan D. Aikens, of Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, businesswoman, in women's retailing. She has been a member of the Commission since April 14, 1975.

Thomas Everett Harris, of Alexandria, Virginia, member of the staff of the AFL-CIO since 1955. He has been a member of the Commission since April 14, 1975.

Neil Staebler, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Fellow, Institute of Politics, Harvard University. He has been a member of the Commission since April 11, 1975.

William Springer, of Champaign, Illinois, appointed to the Federal Power Commission on June 4, 1974 and resigned December 1, 1975. This is a new appointment.

Vernon Wallace Thomson, of Richland Center, Wisconsin, former Representative from the Third District of Wisconsin. He has been a member of the Commission since April 14, 1975.

Robert Owens Tiernan, of Warwick, Rhode Island, former Representative from the Second District of Rhode Island. He has been a member of the Commission since April 14, 1975.

The purpose of the Federal Election Commission is to administer, seek to obtain compliance with, and formulate policy with respect to the Federal Election Campaign Amendments of 1976. The Commission shall transmit reports to the President and to each House of Congress. Each report shall contain a detailed statement with respect to the activities of the Commission in carrying out its duties, together with recommendations for such legislative or other actions as the Commission considers appropriate.

The Commission shall elect a chairman and vice chairman from among its members.

#

MAY 17 1976

May 17, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mr. Marsh
Mr. Friedersdorf
✓ Mr. Leppert
Mr. Kendall
Mr. Wolthuis
Mr. Cavanaugh
Mr. Speakes
Mr. Bennett

~~et~~
~~RR~~
~~AL~~
TH
HD
JA

The President has signed:

**NOMINATION of the following-named persons to be
Members of the Federal Election Commission for
the terms indicated: (New Positions)**

For terms expiring April 30, 1977:

William L. Springer, of Illinois
Neil Staebler, of Michigan

For terms expiring April 30, 1979:

Vernon W. Thomson, of Wisconsin
Thomas E. Harris, of Virginia

For terms expiring April 30, 1981:

Joan D. Alkens, of Pennsylvania
Robert O. Tiernan, of Rhode Island

The Press Office is being advised of these actions and the time of
release will, of course, be determined by that office.

Robert D. Linder

