The original documents are located in Box 40, folder "Reagan - Unauthorized Delegate Committees" of the Ron Nessen Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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President Ford Committee

1828 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 457-6400

April 14, 1976

Loren Smith, Esquire General Counsel Citizens for Reagan 1835 K Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Smith:

The purpose of this letter is to bring to your attention certain activities of the Texas Citizens for Reagan Committee and another affiliated organization in that State operating under the name of "Delegates for Reagan". These activities raise serious questions regarding the continued operation of "Delegates for Reagan" as a group of unauthorized delegates within the meaning of that term as determined by the Federal Election Commission.

Accordingly, we want to express our deep concern that the nature of these activities may constitute a violation of the Federal election campaign laws and may expose your committee and your delegates to complaints before the Federal Election Commission. Any such violation may, of course, result in substantial fines and possible imprisonment for such persons. Moreover, in view of the uncertainty regarding the immediate reconstitution of the FEC and the extent of its present powers, we believe that you bear the responsibility of immediately reviewing this situation and taking corrective action.

As you are aware, the Federal Election Commission issued a Policy Statement and Guidelines on Delegate Selection on February 10, 1976. The Guidelines state, inter alia, that an unauthorized delegate-candidate is one who has not been financially authorized by the Presidential candidate or his agents. In particular, the Commission pointed out the types of activities or actions which would change a previously unauthorized delegate-candidate into an authorized delegate-candidate. The Guidelines state:



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(1) who is authorized or requested by a Presidential
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Page Two Loren Smith, Esquire April 14, 1976

> a Presidential candidate for any expenditures made on behalf of the Presidential candidate; or (3) whose own delegate fund-raising or spending is subject to direct or indirect control by the Presidential candidate.--

COMMENT: Financial authorization of a delegate by a Presidential candidate is separate and distinct from any other authorization or approval which may be required under party rules or State law. The fact that a delegate has to secure the approval of the Presidential candidate before he/she can appear as a "Jones delegate" on the primary ballot does not alone constitute financial authorization by the candidate.

Examples of actions which would constitute authorization of a delegate include:

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 The Federal Election Commission Record, Vol. 2, No. 3 (1976)

It is our understanding that the 100 individuals running as delegate-candidates pledged to Mr. Reagan and the Texas Citizens for Reagan decided some months ago to conduct their primary campaign as "unauthorized delegates" acting together as "Delegates for Reagan". In particular, their

Page Three Loren Smith, Esquire April 14, 1976

campaign literature states that they have been officially endorsed by Ronald Reagan but are not authorized to expend or receive money on behalf of the Citizens for Reagan. This organization appears to be operating in a number of metropolitan areas, e.g., San Antonio, Fort Worth and Dallas.

Since the "Delegates for Reagan" is supposedly a group of unauthorized delegate-candidates, it may not under the aforementioned FEC Policy Statement and Guidelines coordinate fundraising, advertising or other financially-related activities with the Texas Citizens for Reagan. In this regard, the Executive Director for the Texas Citizens for Reagan, Ron Dear, noted on February 27, 1976 in a letter to "All Texas Reagan Campaign Officials", that " . . . the law requires that the official Texas Citizens for Reagan Campaign is not allowed to jointly plan or coordinate activities with the Reagan delegate-candidates . . . " (emphasis added). This statement recognizes that it is impossible for the Texas Citizens for Reagan to work together in such manner with unauthorized candidates without there being some financial effect and, therefore, de facto authorization. Moreover, it would appear, based on the facts set forth below, that the Delegates for Reagan and Texas Citizens for Reagan have been and are, for all practical purposes, operating as a single campaign organization in certain areas of Texas. Moreover, the delegate-candidates involved in such activity are now authorized delegates within the meaning of the Federal election campaign laws.

Over twenty of the allegedly "unauthorized" delegate-candidates pledged to Mr. Reagan are members of the official Texas Citizens for Reagan campaign organization. In this regard, some of the delegate-candidates serve as Co-Chairmen of the Texas Citizens for Reagan Committee, Regional Chairmen and Congressional District Chairmen of that Committee, and Members of the Texas Citizens for Reagan Executive Committee. In particular, it is our understanding that the following activities have taken place or will, in the near future, take place which raise serious questions regarding the continued operation of the Delegates for Reagan as an "unauthorized" group of delegate-candidates with no expenditure limitations during the Primary election:

Page Four Loren Smith, Esquire April 14, 1976

- I. ADVERTISING -- It appears that in some areas of Texas, e.g., San Antonio and Dallas, the Delegates for Reagan are producing flyers and related campaign material which request voters to go to the polls for Reagan delegates in the Primary. These materials also note the "Reasons for Reagan" which is set forth in the same type and appears to be exactly the same copy as the Citizens for Reagan campaign materials distributed in Texas (Attachment A). By utilizing this copy, the Delegates for Reagan accomplish the same advertising goal as the Citizens for Reagan. However, the Citizens for Reagan apparently do not pay for these materials nor do they report such expenses as campaign expenditures.
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III. INSTRUCTIONS TO REAGAN DELEGATE-CANDIDATES -- Prior to the selection of delegates by the statutorily required delegate selection committee for the 21st Congressional District, Willard King, Chairman of the Citizens for Reagan in that District sent a letter to the "Republican Leadership" in his area which apparently included individuals who are now delegate-candidates pledged to Mr. Reagan. In that letter he stated:

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Page Five Loren Smith, Esquire April 14, 1976

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IV. JOINT USE OF HEADQUARTERS AND RELATED OFFICE EQUIPMENT -It has come to our attention that in both Fort Worth and Dallas,
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Page Six Loren Smith, Esquire April 14, 1976

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In conclusion, we trust that you understand that this letter is being sent as a result of our sincere desire for Republican Party unity in Texas, as well as the rest of the country, and with the hope that you will take immediate action to rectify these matters in accordance with the Federal election campaign laws. Your prompt response with regard to these matters would be appreciated so that we are not forced to take other action which we might deem appropriate.

Sincerely,

Robert P. Visser General Counsel

TINK

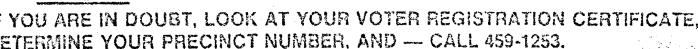
T. Timothy Ryan Assistant General Counsel

Attachments

CC: John Sears, Esquire
William Cramer, Esquire
Ray Hutchison, Esquire
Hon. Ernest Angelo, Jr.
Mrs. William Staff
Hon. Ray A. Barnhart
Mr. James E. Lyon
Mr. Ronald B. Dear
Mr. L. E. Thomas

If You Want To Elect Gov. Ronald Reagan President — YOU MUST

- 1. Vote in the <u>Republican</u> Primary on Saturday, May <u>1st</u> — and
- 2. Vote for Each of the Four Delegates pledged to Gov. Reagan:



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Reasons for Reagan:

e Inflation. "The one basic cause of inflation is government spending more than it takes in When Washington runs in the red, year after year, it cheapens every dollar you earn; it makes a profit on your cost-of-living wage increases by pushing you into higher tax brackets; it borrows in the capital market to cover its deticits, cutting off business and industry from that capital which is needed to fuel our economy and create jobs, it robs your savings of value; and it denies retired comes.

The cure a balanced budget. The federal govern-

IN CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT 10 Mark your ballot four times as shown below:

- ark your bailot four times as shown below: 三R. Miller Hicks, delegate for RONALD REAGAN
- ☐ Rhoda Benson, delegate for RONALD REAGAN
- ☐ Judge St. John Garwood, delegate for RONALD REAGAN
- ☐ Sue Briscoe, delegate for RONALD REAGAN
- Energy. The one thing we shouldn't forget is this. If we relax government controls on natural gas, nuclear plants and demestic sources of oil, we won't have to



- Wellare. "For years there has been a group of people calling for a Federal takeover of welfare. Actually we should do the apposite—and decentralize welfare. "If Joe Doaks is using his welfare money to go down to the pool half and drink beer and gamble, and the people on his block are paying the bill directly, Joe is apt to undergo a change in his lifestyle."— or get off.
- Social Security. "Social Security must be strengthenes and improved. The program needs to be retorned. But any reform must have as its first priority the guarantee that all those counting on Social Security will continue to receive their monthly check and that their benefits won't decline in purchasing power, but will keep pace with initiation.

There are inequities that must be corrected affecting women, people 65-and-over who want to continue to work, and younger workers. But reforms must be made with care so that they don't jeopardize those already retired, those now working, or those who will enter the work force in the tuture.

- e Crime. "We must remember that the principal reasons for looking up criminals are punishment and isolation to keep them from hunting law-apicing otivens and to serve as a deterrent to others. It does no good to take guns from the law abiding. The most effective gun control is mandatory sentences for those who commit crimes with guns in their possession. When a would be laworeaker knows he can kill without facing the utimate penalty, when he knows that parolo or probation may come easy for him, we cannot say we have effective doterrents to increased crime."
- **◆ Delente.** Through detents we have sought peace with our adversaries. We should continue to do so, but must make it plain that we expect a stronger indication that they also speak a lasting peace with us. Too often we so as it a concession on our side with none by them is automatically beloful to the process as a whole. Delente will work only it it is a two-way street something for something."
- ◆ Defense. A decade ago we had military superiority Today, we are in danger of being surpassed by a hation that has never made any effort to hide its hostility to everything we stand for As a nation, we must commit ourselves to spend whatever is necessary to remain strong. To be second is to be last."

REMEMBER: There is no voter registration by party in Texas. You may vote in the Republican priniary regardless of political affiliation.



"Together we can make those decisions which will restore confidence in our way of life and release that energy that is the American spirit."

"Together we can renew the greatness of America!"

Rand Reagan

Delegates for Reagan
R. MILLER HICKS
RHODA BENSON
JUDGE ST. JOHN GARWOOD
SUE BRISCOE

REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT HDQTRS.
3009 North Lamur

Texas Citizens For Reagan

4721 Richmond Ave. Houston, Texas 77027 Faid for by Citizens for Reagan, Senator Paul Laxalt, Chairman; Henry M. Buchanan, Treasurer

"A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C."

Researce for Resosin Attachmont

Reagan plans visit to FW area

Presidential candidate Ronald Reagan will land at Meacham Field at 11.15 a m Thursday on one leg of his campaign four of Texas to gather support for the May 1 Republican primary.

At the airport, he will be met by his Tarrant County coordinator, Mrs. Pat Jacobson; county GOP chairwoman Mrs. Anna Mowery; State Sen Betty Andujar, and other area GOP leaders. He will receive the key to the city from Mayor. Clif. Overcash.

Other meetings the former California governor is scheduled to attend include a noon rally at Burnet Park downtown and a fund-raising reception at 1:15 p.m. in the Times Square Ballroom at the Hilton Inn.

Mrs Gordon Fitzgerald, a Reagan volunteer campaign worker, said tickets to the reception will be \$50 each.

She said they may be obtained by contacting Miss Jane Sims at Reagan Head-quarters, 1920 W. 7th St., or by cailing 731-1508, 731-1523 or 335-6243.

Tickets also may be purchased at the door in the Hilton, she said, and checks should be made payable to "Delegates for Reagan."

Reagan is scheduled to leave from Meacham at 2.45 p.m.

Hosts of the reception will be Mrs. Andujar and her busband. Dr. John J. Angujar: Mrs. Jacobson and ber husband. Dr. Bruce Jacobson: Mr. and Mrs. Eddie Chiles. Mr. and Mrs. James Criobs. Mr. and Mrs. James Garvec. Mr. and Mrs. John Howell. Dr. and Mrs. Paul Laurd. Mr. and Mrs. Bob Leonard Sr., Mr. and Mrs. Bob Leonard Jr., Dr. and Mrs. William McKinney and Mr. and Mrs. William McKinney and Mr. and Mrs. W. A. Moneriet Sr.

May 20, 1976

MEMORANDUM

TO: Ron Nessen

Press Secretary The White House

FROM:

Bob Visser

General Counte

RE: May 4, 1976 News Conference

It has recently been brought to my attention that in your news conference on May 4, 1976, you are reported as stating that "Perhaps some places 80 percent of the advertising for former Governor Reagan is paid for by groups which say they are unauthorized or unofficial and, therefore, they don't have to report their spending." (Emphasis supplied) In addition, you indicated that you did not believe that there had been any response to my letter of April 14, 1976, to Loren Smith, Counsel for the Reagan Committee.

These statements are inaccurate and I would like to clarify the factual circumstances regarding these matters. First, any such "unauthorized" groups of delegates would be required to file quarterly reports with the FEC on FEC Form 5. The next report for activities conducted during the period from April through June would be required to be filed on July 10, 1976. The fundamental

Memo to Ron Nessen May 20, 1976 Page Two

basis of our objection to such so-called unauthorized activities is that such expenditures which were actually conducted with the advice, consent and/or cooperation, direct or indirect, of the Citizens for Reagan Committee would not be reported by the Reagan Committee as campaign expenditures and therefore directly chargeable to its expenditure limitations. Moreover, in the event that such allegedly "unauthorized" expenditures are actually authorized expenditures, contributions by individuals to such a group would be limited by the individual contribution limitation of \$1,000. Second, attached hereto is a copy of the reply I received from Loren Smith, dated April 20, 1976, regarding this matter.

As you know, these matters were informally brought to the attention of the Federal Election Commission during the period in which they had been stripped of their investigatory and civil enforcement powers by the recent Supreme Court decision in <u>Buckley</u> v. <u>Valeo</u>. Although I have urged Secretary Morton to consider filing a formal complaint in this matter once the Commission has been reconstituted, it is now my opinion that the Commission may institute such an investigation on its own initiative and that a formal complaint would be counter productive and unnecessary at this time.

I shall keep you advised of any further developments with regard to these matters.

cc: Rogers Morton

President Ford Committee

1828 E STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 457-6400

April 14, 1976

Loren Smith, Esquire General Counsel Citizens for Reagan 1835 K Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Mr. Smith:

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T. Timothy Ryan!
Assistant General Counsel

Attachments

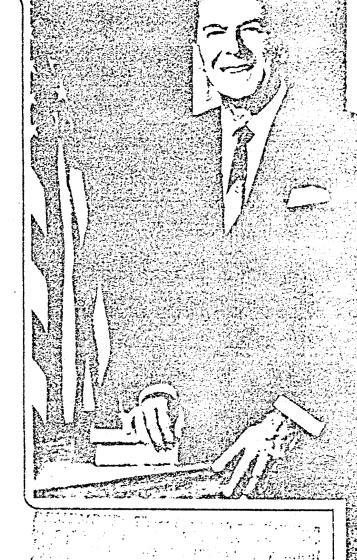
CC: John Sears, Esquire
William Cramer, Esquire
Ray Hutchison, Esquire
Hon. Ernest Angelo, Jr.
Mrs. William Staff
Hon. Ray A. Barnhart
Mr. James E. Lyon
Mr. Ronald B. Dear
Mr. L. E. Thomas

M You Want To Elect Gov. Ronald Reagan President - You Musi

- 1. Vote in the <u>Republican Primary</u> on Saturday, May <u>1st</u>
 and
- 2. Vote for <u>Each</u> of the <u>Four</u>

 <u>Delegates</u> pledged to <u>Gov.</u>

 Reagan:



IF YOU ARE IN DOUBT, LOOK AT YOUR VOTER REGISTRATION CERTIFICATE, DETERMINE YOUR PRECINCT NUMBER, AND — CALL 459-1253.

Paid by Coloques for Resign Commit. As Donks. Charmer: this is undorsed by CITIZENS FOR REAGAN, by him arthropies to excend or receive money on benefit of CITIZENS FOR REAGAN, but with arthropies to excend or receive money on benefit of CITIZENS.

Reasons for Reagan:

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The cure is balanced budget. The federal governtimilities a timetable is systematic plan, to balance

IN CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT 10

Mark your ballot four times as shown below:

- ☐ R. Millar Hicks, delegate for RONALD REAGAN
 ☐ Rhoda Benson, delegate for RONALD
 REAGAN
- ☐ Judge St. John Garwood, delegate for RONALD REAGAN
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- Wellare. "For years there has been a group of people calling for a Enderal taxeover of welfare. Actually we should do the apposite. And decentralize welfare "If Joe Doaks is using his welfare money to go down to the pool half and drink beer and gamble, and the people on his block are paying the bill directly, Joe is apt to undergo a change in his lifestyle." or get off welfare."
- Social Security. "Social Security must be strengthened and improved. The program needs to be retermed. But any reterm must have as its first pricrity the gusrantee that all those counting on Social Security will continue to receive their monthly check and that their benefits won't decline in purchasing power, but will keep pace with inflation.

"There are inequities that must be corrected affecting women, people 65-and-over who want to continue to work, and younger workers. But reforms must be made with care so that they don't jeopardize those already retired, those now working, or those who will enter the work force in the future."

- e Crime. "We must remember that the principal reasons for locking up criminals are punishment and isolation to keep them from hunting law-abiding others, and to serve as a deterrent to others, it does no good to take guns from the law abiding. The most effective gun control is mandatory sentences for those who commit crimes with guns in their possession. When a would be lawpreaker knows he can kill without facing the ultimate behalty, when he knows that parole or probation may come easy for him, we cannot say we have effective deterrents to increased crime."
- Detente. Through detents we have sought peacs with our adversaries. We should continue to do so but must make it brain that we expect a stronger indication that they also seek a lasting peace with us. Too other we aut as if a concession on our side with none by them is automatically helpful to the process as a whole Detents will work only if it is a two-way street something for something.
- ◆ Delense. 'A occade ago we had military superiority. Today, we are in danger of being surpassed by a nation that has never made any effort to hide its hostility to everything we stand for As a nation, we must commit ourselves to suend whatever is necessary to remain strong. To be second is to be last."

Reagan plans visit to FW area

Presidential candidate Ronald Reagan will land at Meacham Field at 11:15 a m Thursday on one leg of his campaign tour of Texas to gather support for the May 1 Republican primary.

At the airport, he will be met by his Tarrant County coordinator, Mrs. Pat Jacobson: county GOP chairwoman Mrs. Anna Mowery, State Sen. Betty Andujar, and other area GOP leaders. He will receive the key to the city from Mayor Chi Overeash.

Other meetings the former California governor is scheduled to attend include a noon rally at Burnet Park downtown and a fund-raising reception at 1:15 p.m. in the Times Square Ballroom at the Hilton Inn.

Mrs. Gordon Fitzgerold, a Reagan volunteer campaign worker, said tickets to the reception will be \$50 each.

She said they may be obtained by contacting Miss Jane Sims at Reagan Head-quarters, 1020 W. 7th St., or by calling 731-1508, 731-1528 or 335-6243.

Tickets also may be purchased at the door in the Hilton, she said, and checks should be made payable to "Delegates for Reagan."

Reagan is scheduled to leave from Meacham at 2 45

Hosts of the reception will be Mrs. Andujar and her husband. Dr. John J. Andujar: Mrs. Jacobson and her husband. Dr. Bruce Jacobson: Mr. and Mrs. Eddie Chiles. Mr. and Mrs. James Cribbs. Mr. and Mrs. James Garvey. Mr. and Mrs. John Howell. Dr. and Mrs. Paul Laird. Mr. and Mrs. Bob Leonard. Sr. Mr. and Mrs. Bob Leonard. Jr. Dr. and Mrs. William McKinney and Mr. and Mrs. William McKinney and Mr. and Mrs. W. A. Moncriet Sr.

REMEMBER: There is no voter registration by party in Texas. You may vote in the Republican primary regardless of political affiliation.



"Together we can make those decisions which will restore confidence in our way of life and release that energy that is the American spirit."

"Together we can renew the greatness of America!"

Rand Regen

Delegates for Reagan
R. MILLER HICKS
RHODA BENSON
JUDGE ST. JOHN GARWOOD
SUE BRISCOE

REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT HDQTRS. - 3009 North Lamir

Texas Citizens i-or Reagan

4721 Richmond Ave. Houston, Texas 77027 Faid for by Citizens for Reagan, Senator Paul Laxalt, Chairman; Henry M. Buchanan, Treasurer

"A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C."

Reasons for Reagan

CITIZENS FOR REAGAN

1835 K Street N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20006 • 202/452-7676

April 20, 1976

Robert P. Visser, Esquire General Counsel T. Timothy Ryan, Esquire Assistant General Counsel PRESIDENT FORD COMMITTEE Suite 250 1828 L Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Sirs:

After reading of your letter to me in the <u>Washington Post</u>, I actually received the same. I have reviewed it with some care and find the charges of no merit. While I respect your integrity as lawyers, I cannot help but believe that the charges embodied in your letter represented a political ploy to offset your candidate's questionable uses of the powers of the incumbency for purely political purposes.

In this post-Matergate era, it was my hope that all campaigns would recognize that basic changes had occurred in our system. Each campaign is under severe financial limitations. These limitations, however, become a mere mockery when an incumbent may use cabinet officers, making supposedly "non-political" speeches, at tampayer expense, to attack his opponent. We feel the whole practice of using the White House as an auxilliary campaign headquarters raises serious ethical and legal questions. We have so indicated to the Federal Election Commission as you may have noted.

Even though the primary purpose of your "charges" is political (I know how tight the contest is viewed over there), I feel I should respond to your letter.

Pursuant to Advisory Opinion 1975-12 and the Federal Election Commission's policy statement on delegate selection, which I am enclosing for your information, our committee decided that it would not financially authorize delegate candidates. Pursuant to this decision, our committee has acrupulously abided by both the letter and the spirit of those

Citizens for Reagan — Senator Paul Laxett, Chairman Henry M. Buchanen, Tressurge A copy of our report is filed with and available for purchase from the Federal Station Commission. Washington, O.C. 20088 documents, even though their current legal status is uncertain due to the decision in <u>Buckley v. Valeo</u>, January 30, 1976, Slip Opinion.

You may remember that under the Federal Election Commission's guidelines, an unauthorized delegate is one who is not financially authorized and whose campaign is not financially coordinated with the Presidential candidate's campaign. The Federal Election Commission inherently recognized a degree of political coordination when they removed the provision from their delegate statement requiring campaign officials running as delegates to run as authorized delegates. If a state chairman is running as a delegate, no doubt his campaign will know what the presidential campaign is thinking.

Your quarrel is not with our committee, but with Mr. Ford who signed a confusing and poorly drafted bill. I should further add that it is our policy to make campaign materials available to all individuals who wish to support Governor Reagan; we might even give you a couple of buttons and brochures to sway your votes. Our offices are consistently open to the public (which does include delegates I am told). While we have consistently presented our support, materials, positions, and views to all who would listen (I think to about 40 million individuals to date) we have not sought in any way to divert campaign funds from the delegates' campaigns into the Reagan campaign. In this regard I believe we have been scrupulous beyond what the Federal Election Commission's rules require.

I hope this letter is an appropriate response to your letter of the 14th of April.

Sincerely,

Loren A. Smith General Counsel

Swiff

CC: John Sears, Esquire
William Cramer, Esquire
Ray Hutchison, Esquire
Hon. Ernest Angelo, Jr.
Mrs. William Staff
Hon. Ray A. Barnhart
Mr. James E. Lyon
Mr. Ronald B. Dear
Mr. L. E. Thomas

