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Where's the Rest of Ronald Reagan?

by Jules Witcover
and
Richard M. Cohen

Would you buy a used car from this man?
Of course you would.
That's the problem



Ronald "Dutch" Reagan is at the mike. He's wearing a three-piece tweed suit and holding a pipe. Behind him are the radio station's call letters, WHO, with little lightning bolts through the "H." Reagan is pretending to call the Chicago Cubs game from Chicago, except he is in Des Moines and the action is coming to him in dull play-by-play reports over a Western Union ticker. Reagan is twenty-one years old—and glib. In mid-pitch, the ticker breaks down, but Reagan keeps up the patter: Billy Jurgens of the Cubs fouls the ball off. The pitcher, Dizzy Dean of the Cards, picks up the rosin bag and tosses it down; he shakes off a sign from the catcher and then another; he winds up and lets go, and Jurgens fouls it off again, this time behind third base, where two kids fight for the souvenir. Finally, the ticker resumes its cadence and Reagan grabs for the message: Jurgens popped out on the first pitch and has been on the bench most of the time Reagan had him fouling off balls. No matter, it sounded damn good.

Forty-three years later, Ronald Reagan is standing before Washington journalists and announcing to them and anyone with a television set that he is a Presidential candidate. He tells them that he's running because big government takes a whopping forty-four percent of the average American's personal income. It's a startling figure—Reagan concocted it while governor of California, and it includes admission to state-university football games and the price of postage stamps—but nobody quibbles. Reagan boards a chartered jet and flies around the country. In Charlotte, North Carolina, he's asked whether blacks in the South needed to demonstrate to get the right to vote. Reagan ponders for a minute and harkens back to his early days as a remote-control sportscaster: "At that

time, the opening lines of the Official Baseball Guide read, 'Baseball is a game for Caucasian gentlemen.' " What changed that, he says, was his and others' "editorializing" against it over the air. He makes no mention of Jackie Robinson, who broke the major leagues' color barrier fully ten years after Reagan left Des Moines. As for the opening line in the Baseball Guide, in St. Louis, Editor Joe Marcin takes out one guide from the 1930's, and then another, but he can't find the sentence. Finally, he says, "That's bullshit." Too bad, it made a nice story.

Reagan goes on about racial segregation, this time turning to the military, which, in the Gospel According to Ronald Reagan, began to see the light on the historic day of December 7, 1941: "... When the first bombs were dropped on Pearl Harbor, there was great segregation in the armed forces. In World War Two this was corrected. It was corrected largely under the leadership of generals in the Pacific like MacArthur and General Eisenhower, supreme commander in the European theater, and in the Navy. ... I think of the moment that reveals a change was occurring. When the Japanese dropped the bombs on Pearl Harbor, a Negro sailor whose total duties involved kitchen-type duties—cooking and so forth—cradled a machine gun in his arms, which is not an easy thing to do, and stood on the pier blazing away at Japanese airplanes that were coming in and strafing, and that was all changed." That was all changed in 1948, when President Truman—not Eisenhower or MacArthur—ended segregation in the armed forces. Good story, though.

By now, Reagan has left Charlotte. His plane is heading west, toward Los Angeles and the Burbank airport. He is up in the front first-class compartment and he is talking about his campaign and why he is not just another Barry Goldwater. As he speaks, the words come out conversationally, but with a polish and precision that sounds a lot like a recording. Reagan says he has examined what it was about Goldwater that spooked people. "Barry tried to tell us a number

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of things that a number of years ago we weren't ready to hear. He was possibly a little ahead of his time. He was John the Baptist. There had to be a Barry Goldwater."

Down on the ground, the Reagan staff has left the L.A. headquarters and is gathering at the airport. A lone secretary remains at the office. The phone rings. It's Richard Nixon. For twenty minutes, he discusses campaign strategy with the nonplussed young woman. In this and other phone calls, the man who made Gerald Ford President says the Reaganites are doing everything just right.

The truth is that Ronald Reagan was born to campaign just as surely as an eagle was born to fly. He first discovered this at Eureka College, when he made a protest speech that ignited a student strike. Then came radio in the Midwest and later Hollywood, where he became president of the Screen Actors Guild and made more speeches, and then still more speeches as a touring pitchman for General Electric. Finally, there was the famous speech for Barry Goldwater in 1964 that brought in a million dollars and put Ronald Reagan on the political map.

Along the way, Reagan had thrown himself into the Hollywood subversive battles of the late 1940's and 1950's, keeping Tinseltown safe for the American way of life. He was drifting to the right, but he was no reactionary; and his politics, whatever they might

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have been, had no room for character assassination. He appeared as a friendly witness before the House Un-American Activities Committee all right, affirming his contempt for Communism, but he left the committee with this admonition: "I hope that we are never prompted by our fear of Communism into compromising any of our democratic principles." This was not the stuff of McCarthyism, but neither was it the stuff Reagan was originally inspired by—New Deal liberalism. In his conversion from New Dealer to conservative, he says, his own speeches showed him the way: "Eventually what happened to me was, because I always did my own speeches and did the research for them, I just woke up to the realization one day that I had been going out and helping to elect the people who had been causing the things I had been criticizing. So it wasn't any case of some mentor coming in and talking me out of it. I did it in my own speeches."

By then, though, Hollywood had changed on Reagan. He was a washed-up movie star, the million-dollar, seven-year Warner Bros. contract a bygone thing. He had come to town in 1937 for spring training with the Cubs on Catalina Island and won the contract with ease simply for being good-looking. Competent but never outstanding as an actor, he found parts harder

and harder to get, the pictures eventually slipping down the alphabet from B-grade. He turned to television and an offer from General Electric. From 1954 to 1962, he hosted the *General Electric Theater* and toured the country on behalf of his employer. Progress might have been G.E.'s most important product in those days, but the corporation was a conservative outfit. Reagan picked up the beat, making as many as fourteen speeches a day, hitting all one hundred thirty-five G.E. plants and what he estimates to be a quarter of a million employees. He said some things G.E. didn't like to hear—he called refrigerators by the brand name of a competitor, Frigidaire—but he also said a lot of things it liked. He incessantly attacked big, bad, restrictive government. He was now a full-fledged conservative, having left the New Deal—but not Franklin Roosevelt—far behind. For Roosevelt, he retains an admiration, not for the programs, but for the packaging of them: "I still believe when F.D.R. was first inaugurated, if he didn't do anything else, he gave to the people of this country their courage. But I now have to look back and see that the panaceas that were offered didn't solve the problems."

By the Goldwater campaign, Reagan was one of the nation's most accomplished, if obscure, speakers. The 1964 campaign changed that, bringing Reagan to the fore with a masterful pitch for the hapless Republican candidate. Suddenly, there was Ronald Reagan, the faded movie star, come back as the velvet voice of conservatism. He was good, and he was crafty. He confined himself to generalities, rattling no swords, threatening no social-welfare programs—transforming conservatism from a threat to a promise. He would lift government from the backs of the people and set them free. And he said it all so nicely, crooning the words into the mike, abandoning the bombastic school of oratory to those who had cut their political teeth in echo chambers of union halls, not sound studios. Even when the words were strong, the delivery was mild. The day Reagan kicked off his Presidential campaign in New Hampshire, for instance, the wife of the mayor of Dover reluctantly came to hear him, knowing in her heart that he was too conservative for her. But afterwards she told her husband: "He's not conservative. That's common sense he's talking."

But Ronald Reagan is conservative—just as conservative as Goldwater. He believes, for instance, that if welfare were to be abandoned neighbor would provide for neighbor. He has suggested an income-tax program where everyone—regardless of income—would pay the same percentage in taxes, say five percent. Once, in a conversation with Robert Moretti, the former Democratic speaker of the California House, he cited as a model the tax system in Switzerland, where his friend and best man at his second wedding, William Holden, had negotiated his own taxes with the government. When he was governor, Reagan attempted to return surplus taxes in the proportion in which they were paid, a scheme that would have favored the rich and ignored the contribution to the surplus made by the sales tax.

Reagan's bias toward the rich is only natural: he amassed a fortune before the cameras and in real estate (he sold a Malibu ranch for a \$1,800,000 profit

in 1966). On the political circuit as governor, he demanded—and received—a maximum \$25,000 speaking fee, and in the time between leaving Sacramento and declaring his candidacy he became a one-man conglomerate—speeches at a maximum of \$5,000, a newspaper column and a five-a-week radio show that would have grossed \$500,000 a year had Reagan not deserted the mike for the stump. From the way Reagan acts, there is every indication that he would like to take it with him. A former aide describes him bluntly as “tight”—a man who, although image-conscious, prefers to make do with a serviceable, but limited, wardrobe of 1960 vintage. Reagan was astounded at the negative public reaction when it was disclosed that, having sheltered his income in cattle investments, he paid no state income tax in 1971. When the story broke, his usual good political sense left him entirely. Questions on the subject made him red-faced with anger—“an invasion of privacy,” he snapped and dismissed the queries at that, knowing in time people would forget.

Privacy has always been an imperative in Reagan's life, as actor and as politician, and he has been adept at protecting it. Lyn Nofziger, among the first to board the Reagan campaign train in 1965, stumbles when asked about Ronald Reagan the private man. This veteran of the Reagan years in Sacramento, this voluble man with a press secretary's patter, is at a loss to provide the little details that are a publicist's stock-in-trade. Ask Nofziger who Reagan's close personal friends are, and he replies that one was Robert Taylor—a man dead seven years now. Reagan is described by those who worked with him as a man with a transparent shell around him, “sort of a celluloid barrier,” one of them says—a barrier effective against enemies and admirers alike. And so, in a way made all the more ominous by Watergate, Reagan is as scary to some of his old associates as Barry Goldwater was to a retiree on social security. “I feel that I know Barry Goldwater better than I know Ronald Reagan and I've met Reagan a hundred or more times,” says Robert Finch, California's former lieutenant governor and Richard Nixon's first Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. “The thing is, I'm never sure what Ronald Reagan is, because he won't let you in.”

Finch's words haunt interviews concerning Reagan. *He won't let you in.* This bothers those who have worked with him. It bothers some to the extent that they have chosen to side with President Ford in the current contest for the 1976 Republican nomination. “Even a member of his family confessed to me that he didn't know him any better than I did,” says a former Reagan aide who has bolted to Ford. “The point of it all is, who really knows him? Watergate had a different impact on different people. One of the things it sure as hell says to me is that more important than what you say is the kind of person you are. And I don't know who he really is.”

Others are not similarly troubled. Some, like his former wife, Jane Wyman, saw him as a man obsessed with politics and, she implied in her divorce papers, a crashing bore. To his political enemies, he is simply an actor, smart and shrewd to be sure, but an actor nonetheless. Former Speaker Moretti describes meetings between Reagan and the leaders of the legis-


lature in which Reagan would have well-timed temper tantrums. “He would stand up and say, ‘Don't give me that bullshit,’ and walk out,” Moretti says. “We started to pick up this technique. We started to program our tantrums. We would say, ‘Forty-five minutes from now, stand up and scream and walk out.’”

This is not the Ronald Reagan the public sees. Instead, he is always the voice of sweet reason, of common sense, as the lady from Dover says. Creating that impression is the ultimate triumph of the message Reagan has been tinkering with since the 1940's, the thing he fine-tuned through every G.E. plant in the country until it emerged as his most formidable weapon—The Speech.

Rather than a static thing worked ragged by repetition, The Speech is more like the seasons—constantly changing, constantly infused with the nourishment of new phrases, one-liners, comfortable homilies, biting sarcasm that thrills true believers and even some skeptics. But if you ask for a copy of The Speech, Reagan would have to tell you that there isn't one. It exists on hundreds of index cards, never used in precisely the same order. As a result, The Speech comes in as many versions as Reagan can produce by shuffling his deck. He will not use a text. He does not do well with one and he feels it robs him of audience eye contact. So he works the index cards like worry beads.

“I've seen it a hundred times,” a former Reagan aide recalls. “Say we were flying back East to do a speech. We would put him in a seat and just forget about him. He would work with a felt-tip pen. From his briefcase he would take two cards out of the Cincinnati speech and one card out of the Cleveland speech and two from some other speech and that would be his next speech. You could take the cards and put them down on the typewriter and it's nothing. It's incomplete sentences. He would continue to work until he got to the hotel. He'd rest, take a shower and work on the cards. He'd get into the elevator and work on the cards again. He'd go to a staging area and work the cards some more. He wants to do well. He wants to be perfect.”

And most of the time he is. Most of the time he warms up the audience with one-liners; some are just plain funny and some, like the one about the bureaucrat at the Bureau of Indian Affairs who became disconsolate when his Indian died, make a point about government. Then the other cards come out and Ronald Reagan begins The Speech, holding his audience with his eyes, speaking softly into the mike, building the rhythm, making unvarnished conservatism sound like aphorisms from an old almanac. And all the while he is Ronald Reagan who is still handsome, still tall, still

 Will Ronald Reagan get the part? Will he continue to play successfully before national audiences or will he get the hook? Answers follow as this piece continues on page 150.

Where's the Rest of Ronald Reagan?

(Continued from page 93) the wooer of Barbara Stanwyck in *Cattle Queen of Montana*; Patricia Neal in *John Loves Mary*, winning them with broad shoulders, dimples and, above all, that clear, firm voice.

The Speech is the Reagan centerpiece, but it has been merely a vehicle for obtaining power, not for exercising it. That's something Reagan leaves for those who have the stomach for it, preferring instead to enunciate the big themes and leave the execution to others. He learns what he has to learn and he can do it quickly, sopping up the information and calculating all the while how to simplify and reduce it to his index cards. A former aide who was present when Reagan was briefed by his state finance director, Caspar Weinberger, described it this way: "Reagan would start to give it back and the words he was using were the words of a communicator. What he was saying was not so much the merits of what Cap

was saying, but how he could pitch it—'How am I going to get this down on a four-by-six card?' " When he first announced for governor in 1965, for instance, Reagan had himself tutored by Charles Conrad, a veteran state legislator who had once worked as a bit player in the movies with Reagan. "In a motion-picture sense," Conrad says, "I was a technical adviser. I would tell him the mechanics of handling a bill." But Reagan's old political managers are blunter in their recollections: "Reagan had no knowledge, very little background on the substance of state issues. Charlie Conrad had to give him a basic civics course on the Sacramento scene—'Here's the state capital, here's the legislature, here's what the governor does, here's where the bathroom is.' " Reagan did learn the basics, but he went no further unless he had to, his former aides say, caring nothing about governing unless conservative philosophy was at stake.

For Reagan, the routine was usually the same: he sat around polishing the lines. Other politicians, whose training ground was the big-city ward and the bar at the neighborhood political club, were accustomed to eating, sleeping and breathing the stuff of politics in the company of their peers or the press. They talked politics all day, and then for relaxation, they drank and talked politics all night. Not Reagan. He was a nine-to-five governor who would turn off the lights and go home. "He would get pissed off if he had to come in at night for something like a budget bill," one former aide recalls. Nor did he seem to enjoy the camaraderie that usually goes with the job. "He was governor for eight years and I can't think of another governor who is a good friend of his," says a former Republican leader of the California legislature. "He'd go to a governors' conference and have his presence felt, but you never had the feeling that there were two or three other governors who would come up to the room, break out a bottle of Jack Daniel's and talk about things." A governor who attended governors' conferences with Reagan was more direct: "Ronald Reagan? I can only visualize an empty chair."

Reagan remained just as distant to the Republican and Democratic legislative leaders in Sacramento. He almost never socialized with them, and when he did have them to his house it was at the urging of his staff. Most of them now say that such affairs were disasters. At one, Reagan hired a mariachi band to play by the pool—and handed out autographed pictures of himself. At nine-forty-five or so, his wife, Nancy, sent out signals that the party, gentlemen, was over.

In smaller, private gatherings with staff or his businessmen friends at which he could relax and not have to talk politics, he could be a gracious host, regaling his guests with old dialect or show-business yarns. Yet those who have seen him under these circumstances report him strangely "on," studiously relaxed rather than carefree. All his stories were well-rehearsed bits, like the one about an old-time comedian named Joe Frisco who was nailed with a federal tax bill of \$75,000. As he's leaving the office of an Internal Revenue agent, a broken-down old vaudevilian comes in and starts to beef about his own tax troubles. "They tell me I owe a hundred and twelve dollars," he says. Whereupon Frisco turns to the I.R.S. agent and says: "Put it on my tab."

Sitting around hotel rooms with his political aides, Reagan has none of the regal, wait-on-me manner of a Lyndon Johnson or a Richard Nixon. If the phone rings and he's nearby, he's likely to pick it up himself; if the group decides to have food sent up, he will get on the phone himself with the orders.

But in the governor's chair, as in all those years at Warner Bros., he was waiting for direction. "That's the biggest reason he didn't do better up there, and why he shouldn't be elected President," one of his old political directors

says. "He just doesn't have it in him to lead and innovate. He's a guy who will sit at his desk and look like a President and act like a President, but he would not be a President and would not think like a President. He's incapable of making a phone call on his own. He makes calls at the request of his staff. My question under those circumstances would be, 'Who's running the country? Who's the President? Or Presidents?' He's a great counterpuncher, but he can't throw a punch. He can react, but he can't act. He would be incapable of creating any kind of plan in his own head and carrying it through. He's just not a leader, and it has nothing to do with his conservatism."

California legislative leaders of both parties say he would never call them in or even get them on the phone to discuss something; they would always have to ask for a meeting. "Even on the little things, it showed," one former aide says. "Holmes Tuttle [Reagan's friend and a leading fund raiser] was seriously ill in the hospital. During the whole time he was there, as far as I could find out, Ron never called. Why? Nobody told him to. It had nothing to do with his compassion. It had to do with his thought processes."

Elevated by the people of California from star to both star and director of the state government, he clung to his familiar on-camera role and delegated the direction to others. Virtually everything, including the making of appointments, usually a jealously guarded prerogative of the executive, was delegated to his staff—from judges to the horse-racing commissioners. Tuttle, a Ford dealer advertised merely as the resident angel, actually was the key member of the Reagan kitchen cabinet; if Tuttle favored an appointment, Reagan favored it; if Tuttle balked, Reagan balked. "He was a total delegator, and I mean a total delegator," says a former Reagan political and staff lieutenant. "In two years, I proposed two hundred people for appointment—all the way from judge to county-fair board—and I don't think he rejected or argued with any of these. I had no rejections." Reagan even passed up the chance to call an appointee and tell him he had the job. The staff did that, too.

Firing was the same as hiring; the staff did it. Early in the Reagan administration, his security people discovered homosexual activity among the Sacramento staff. Reagan, facing the political facts of life, knew the aides had to go. He prevailed on Tuttle and his own lawyer and friend, William French Smith, to wield the ax. The discharged aides simply dropped from sight and it wasn't until Lyn Nofziger later leaked the facts to political reporters that the reason for the departures became known. Reagan, personally solicitous of his former aides, was described as appalled by Nofziger's leak but did nothing. It was only when Nancy Reagan insisted that Nofziger was bounced. (He was rehired for the current Presidential bid.) Nancy, aides say, continues to look with disfavor on Nof-

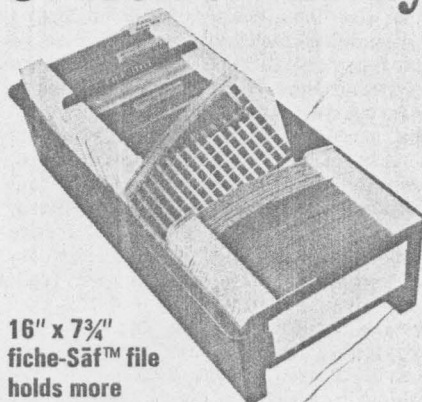
ziger, the epitome of the disheveled political pro. "Yeah," says an old colleague, "the cigar, the shirt sticking out—it just didn't go with what she thought the image should be."

Reagan's total reliance on staff could have gotten him into deeper trouble had he been after anything much as governor. But he didn't want much of anything from the legislature, so it didn't really matter. Moretti calls him "a total negativist," the architect of a program that consisted mostly of saying no to the legislature. Wilson Riles, the black Democrat elected state superintendent of public instruction, gives Reagan extremely high marks on minority appointments and on funding elementary and secondary education but makes essentially the same point: "The way to deal with the legislature is in compromise. But in order to have true compromise, each side has to want something. Reagan didn't want anything. He just wanted the legislature to stop doing things, so he didn't have to offer anything in compromise. It infuriated and frustrated them."

Always more important from Reagan's perspective was not whether it worked, but whether it played. In his first campaign for governor, he promised to make an across-the-board state budget cut of ten percent. A. Alan Post, the state's longtime nonpartisan legislative analyst, tried to point out that there were numerous uncuttable items in the budget, such as school-bond interest payments. But after his election, Reagan confronted Post with the ten-percent cut anyway. "I said, 'You can't do that,'" Post recalls. The Reagan rhetoric, as often was the case, had to do with the realities. Despite the promises, taxes went up. Over his eight years, however, Reagan did come in with tax surpluses that permitted an \$82,000,000 income-tax credit in 1970, \$235,000,000 in income-tax credits in 1971, credits of twenty to thirty-five percent on 1973 state income taxes and elimination of all such 1973 taxes for families earning less than \$8,000.

In the major legislative battles of his two administrations, though, rhetoric was always bumping up against reality. But as a salesman, Reagan knew that of the two, the rhetoric was the coin of the mass political marketplace. He spent it extravagantly and effectively in perhaps the most famous of his gubernatorial fights—his successful effort to gain control of California's vast university and college system. Over the years, the system had become the state's pride; the excellence of its curriculum was matched only by its lobbying prowess. But then in the fall of 1964, the campus at Berkeley exploded with the Free Speech Movement, which began as a challenge to restrictions on the campus distribution of political literature. For months university officials were unable to maintain order. A main campus building, Sproul Hall, was occupied and Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, father of the present California governor, had to send in the police. For all the dramatics, few of Berkeley's 25,000 students

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participated and some who did were students at all.

On television, though, they all looked like students. Californians were shocked and receptive to the Reagan campaign argument that their tax dollars were underwriting anarchy, not to mention what he called sex orgies. In 1966, now in Sacramento, Reagan took action, slashing the university's budget and locking horns with its hyper-political board of regents. In two of the rare times in his career, Reagan lost his cool: at one meeting he jumped from his chair and stormed around the conference table, clenching his fist and threatening one of the opposing regents; at another, he looked out the window at the rambunctious students and gave them the finger. But even with all the tension, Reagan always managed to look on-camera perfect: his full head of brown hair, either miraculously or cosmetically without a trace of grey, was always immaculately coiffed, the pompadour wave in place. At one regents meeting, one of his contact lenses popped out; he asked the regents to look away while he reinserted it.

One of the next targets of Reagan's rhetoric was that bogeyman of all conservatives, the able-bodied male on welfare. Democratic Speaker Moretti and the legislature eventually hammered out a package that tightened the welfare eligibility rules. The case load plummeted by 364,630 persons in the three years after the plan went into effect. Reagan naturally takes credit and lists the result in a booklet of his administration's accomplishments. Others say, however, that the reduction in the welfare rolls reflected more a leveling of the state's population, an improved economy and the effect of widespread availability of birth-control methods. "He fought birth control and then he took credit for what it had done," one analyst says. "It had nothing to do with welfare reform." But the important thing from Reagan's perspective was that his welfare cuts played well with the public.

The one major Reagan effort that didn't play, to his great disappointment, was his scheme to translate his rhetoric on economy in government into a constitutional mandate. In 1973, he proposed an initiative to California's voters to amend the state constitution to limit state taxes and hence expenditures. On the surface, the idea had the usual Reagan appeal, but he relied excessively on his rhetorical talents to sell it, neglected to recruit legislative allies, especially Moretti, and stumbled over poor staff work. Moretti rallied his Democratic troops and for once beat Reagan at his own game, going to the people with the more persuasive pitch.

No matter how influential any staff aide may seem to be, he plays second fiddle in matters political as well as personal to Reagan's second wife, Nancy. After his divorce from Jane Wyman in 1948, Reagan met the former Nancy Davis, an actress, in the

course of his Screen Actors Guild duties, helping her to get off a subversive list on which she had mistakenly been placed.

By all accounts, they are virtually inseparable. A former political aide tells of Reagan's onetime insistence on traveling everywhere by train, out of fear of flying, and the train-side scenes it produced: "She would always come down to the station to say good-bye. She would give him the longest goddamn kiss I ever saw. It would go on for five minutes. I said to myself at first, 'He's putting me on.' But it was real. And he'd only be going for two or three days."

In Miami on the day last November when he announced for the Presidency and was threatened with a toy pistol, she clung to his hand like a frightened schoolgirl as they walked into a press conference ten minutes after the incident. When he speaks, a transported look seizes her, her saucer eyes glued to his face, the way Lenore Romney used to fix on her George in his disastrous Presidential bid of 1967-68. In conversation, Nancy Reagan calls him Ronnie and defers to him in everything. She denies emphatically the reports that she is his closest political adviser and a political force in his life: "I remember when Ronnie first was running for governor, and I was supposedly responsible for changing him from a Democrat to a Republican. I couldn't change anybody about anything. I didn't know enough. I learned everything from him."

Others who have been associated with the Reagans in politics insist, however, that Nancy is hardly the retiring creature she claims to be. One recalls a phone call from her about a campaign sign in Los Angeles when her husband was running for governor: "We were at our headquarters on Wilshire. We had just put up this sign and the next morning I get a call from Nancy. 'The color of the sign is terrible,' she says. 'It's ugly. It's just not Ronnie.' So I ask, 'Well, what colors are Ronnie?' She insisted we paint it over, and Ron even got on and asked that we do it to please her." She would also call individual campaign-staff members to complain about her husband's schedule. One morning the switchboard operator, forgetting to close the incoming-call switch, announced, "The bitch is on the phone again." Recalls one aide: "Nancy played it cool, but she quit calling every morning."

In Sacramento, Nancy Reagan by all accounts eschewed the limited and provincial social scene, doing only what was required of her and focusing her social life instead on the Los Angeles business types who first promoted her husband's candidacy. "Eventually," says a former close aide, "the well-heeled L.A. crowd learned that the way to get to the governor was to get to Nancy. They played to her social-climbing proclivities. She loved the glamorous and the rich. It would drive the staff up the wall. He wouldn't be caught dead dining with a politician.

They would always be going to dinner with some rich guy." Nancy Reagan says that a big night for the governor was to come home at five, shower, have a supper of his favorite macaroni and cheese, get into his pajamas, watch television for a while, then turn in early with some homework from the office.

The Reagan children—Maureen and adopted son Michael in the marriage to Jane Wyman, Patricia and Ron Jr. (called Skipper) with Nancy—are said to be of varying closeness to their father, and to Nancy. Associates say that Maureen, the oldest and herself an actress and radio-TV personality, shares Reagan's temperament and gets along best with him. She remembers riotous trips to the family ranch when she was a kid, with her father at the wheel of a station wagon full of neighbors' children, leading them in singing college songs. "I was twenty," she says, "before I realized that a rambling wreck from Georgia Tech wasn't a *heck* of an engineer." In those days, she says, he would amuse the kids by pretending to be able to hear conversations over telephone wires they passed on the road. And there were the inane make-believe roles he played. "One of my favorites," Maureen says, "was his cold germ. The cold germ was when penicillin first came into use. He would be flitting from lung to lung, having a fine time, until this mold showed up. That was the end of the cold germ."

Michael, in his early thirties and just married, sells large boats south of Los Angeles. Skipper is in high school and will be going to college next fall. That leaves Patty, who apparently has been the problem child. During the 1966 gubernatorial campaign, according to Reagan aides at the time, she would run away from her boarding school and would have to be brought back by a hired agent. She and Nancy did not get along and had arguments in the presence of campaign aides. "The kid wanted to be independent and Nancy wanted her to toe the line," a former aide says. Patty now lives in Los Angeles and wants to become a singer.

The expectation among Reagan's present and former aides is that he will not plunge recklessly into campaigning. Ronald Reagan is no Hubert Humphrey and with his sixty-fifth birthday just eighteen days before the New Hampshire primary there are some who contend he is beginning to show his age. In fact, his stamina or lack of it has always been a point of contention. In his 1966 primary campaign, he inexplicably stormed out during a debate before a black community group, angrily charging primary opponent George Christopher with making what Reagan thought was a charge of racial bigotry. Aides later attributed the episode to overscheduling. "He was tired as hell," one recalls. "His lips got thin and he got a certain tight expression on his face. We just had to ease off to make sure he got enough rest."

Says an associate in Sacramento: "He realizes more than most that nine-

ty percent of campaigning—in California or in the country—is media, how you get exposed, and no one is better at it than he is.” In this regard, Reagan has an equally knowledgeable and experienced political director in John P. Sears, an intimate in the 1968 Richard Nixon strategy of assuming a statesmanlike pose and embracing the trappings of heavy campaigning while actually undertaking a very limited and controlled schedule, pegged specifically for maximum television exposure. Reagan’s two-day swing through five primary states kicking off his campaign in late November, directed by Sears, was a model of the Nixon style. While the schedule provided the appearance of a candidate dashing frantically up and down the East Coast and then cross-country, Reagan spent most of the time seated comfortably in his first-class cabin, reading, working over his Speech index cards, chatting with his staff. Each airport stop took place in a city and at a time permitting easy dispatch of news film by air for the evening news shows. At each stop the message was vintage Reagan, the delivery system vintage Nixon.

If necessary, Reagan can debate extemporaneously as well as deliver his show. He might do to an opponent what he did to Robert F. Kennedy in 1967, when he took on the late New York Senator before a television audience and clobbered him. Kennedy, no slouch at that sort of thing himself, was furious. Later, when he had occasion to get mad at his press secretary, Frank Mankiewicz, he had one biting reminder: “You’re the guy who got me into that Reagan thing.” Bobby Kennedy learned, as California Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown learned, that Ronald Reagan is no patsy, that the fact that he was a movie actor is no longer a handicap in American politics but an asset. For television has made actors out of most of our politicians, and their staffs talk now like admen. Cities are now “media markets” where “media events” are staged. The campaign, of course, is the largest media

event of them all, and for that Reagan is ready.

The test ahead will be whether Reagan can continue to sell his message as effectively on the national scene, under the immense pressures of a drive to oust an incumbent President receiving saturation coverage from the television networks and the nation’s major newspapers and magazines. “He’s going to find campaigning nationally is tough,” says a former aide now supporting Ford. “The national press isn’t going to serve up lollipops. He’s going to find it a real hardball game, and if they let him get tired, he’s going to blow someplace—a Muskie-type thing.” But another Californian, also supporting Ford, warns against such wishful thinking. One of Reagan’s great assets, he says, is “the constant ability of his foes to underestimate him.” And still another Californian who observed Reagan up close in Sacramento says: “Nobody ever laid a glove on him in press conferences here and nobody will lay a glove on him anywhere. He’s the best man I’ve ever seen in a press-conference setting, and he knows how to use that TV medium better than any politician, including John Kennedy. He’s the quintessential McLuhanesque pol.”

But perhaps the most telling observation comes from California’s most respected non-politician, Alan Post, the nonpartisan legislative analyst who crossed paths with the substance of Ronald Reagan most directly in Sacramento for eight years. “He was a pretty good governor in a negative sense,” Post says. “He inherited a good state with a good tax base, but my feeling is that he really had very little impact on California. His mission in life was to keep the lid on the expenses of government, and he kept as tight a lid as anyone could have expected. But he didn’t change the pot any. He just held down the lid.” Post, at age sixty-two, concludes: “I shouldn’t be talking this way. But I’m an old man and ready to retire, and people ought to know what sort of man is running for the Presidency of the United States.” #

Affidavit of Ronald Reagan

Candidate for the Republican Presidential Nomination

[March 1976?]
CC
Werner
Werner
D-

I, Ronald Reagan, served as Governor of California from 1967 to 1975. On July 14, 1975, I authorized a political committee, Citizens for Reagan, to organize and accept contributions in my name. Such committee and authorization was required for the filing and disclosure purposes of the Federal Election Act and Amendments of 1971 and 1974. On the 20th of November, 1975, I formally declared my candidacy for the Republican Presidential nomination. On the 17th of December, I formally responded, in writing, to the Federal Election Commission, that my campaign agreed to all of the requirements for the receipt of federal matching funds. On the 23rd of December, the Federal Election Commission formally certified that Citizens for Reagan was qualified to receive federal matching funds. Between January 2 and March 22, 1976, Citizens for Reagan received \$1,679,124.19 in federal matching funds. At the present time, Citizens for Reagan has pending with the Federal Election Commission requests for over \$400,000 in matching funds. In addition, our committee has in house another approximately one and a half million dollars in contributions legally qualified for federal matching funds. These are currently being processed by our committee for submission to the Federal Election Commission in the coming weeks.



Due to the severe contribution ceilings imposed by 18 U.S.C. sec. 608 (b) (1) our committee has been forced to rely on federal matching funds for a significant portion of its total revenue. As of the present date, matching funds would account for over 29.8% of all our revenue, if all requests presently submitted were paid. As is, they account for 25.5% of our revenue.

As a result of the promise of federal matching funds and the contribution ceilings, in the current law, our committee has had to rely in large part on extensive direct mail efforts. This was necessary to raise the vast amounts of money required for a national presidential campaign. Direct mail is very expensive, and given the

\$1,000.00 contribution limit, it is not a very efficient way to raise money, except that there is no other means available to raise large amounts of funds on a broad national basis. The only other potential vehicle, T.V., is not generally available to political candidates for a party's nomination.

Thus, the current legislative scheme has forced our committee to rely largely on direct mail fundraising. This system is workable and can raise the required net funds only because of matching funds payments. Without matching funds, there is no feasible or economic way for most political candidates to raise enough net funds through direct mail. The only alternative to this would be a ruling by the courts that the contribution ceilings violated the First Amendment rights of candidates and their supporters.

To further illustrate this point, it should be noted that the early stages of direct mail barely pay for themselves with only a modest surplus. Assuming a return of 2 to 1, which is very realistic if not optimistic, it would take \$6,545,000 in fundraising expenditures to generate the total allowable campaign budget of \$13,090,000. Thus, only \$6,545,000 would be left for the entire national campaign expenditures. This amount was clearly recognized as insufficient when Congress established the 18 U.S.C. sec. 603 (c) ceiling, now at \$10,910,000. With the addition of matching funds, the ratio changes from 2 to 1 to almost 4 to 1. Under those figures a committee need only spend \$3,272,500 to raise its total budget. This is far closer to the realistic total of net money a national campaign against an incumbent must have. Thus, with matching funds, broad based direct mail becomes a viable fundraising method. Without matching funds, it could not raise the new money needed to mount an effective challenge to an incumbent President, as long as the contribution limits of 603 (b) (1) are in force.

A campaign against an incumbent involves the primary task of speaking directly to the public. It requires the challenger's

campaign to explain why it can do a better job and where it disagrees on the issues. Needless to say, this speech is largely presented through printed campaign literature, paid T.V. speeches and commercials, radio advertising, personal appearances across the country, and other forms of advertising and advocacy that all require money. Free news media attention is at best a very partial supplement to this effort.

Our campaign has been hindered by either the lack of matching fund payments since March 22, 1976, or the contribution ceilings in several very important ways:

1. We have not been able to sign contracts for convention expenses at the Republican National Convention, whose preliminary meetings begin in early August, 1976.
2. We have not been able to purchase as much media as we would otherwise have in such critical April and May primaries as Wisconsin and Texas.
3. We have been forced to reduce the use of our campaign plane, and thus our ability to bring our message to people in different parts of the country.
4. We have been forced to limit the amount of mailing our committee had planned to undertake in the last month.
5. We have been unable to make any firm or stable plans for our campaign budget in the coming two months. This makes it virtually impossible to decide how much money we, as a campaign, must raise between now and August 1976. This limits our ability to campaign.

To illustrate this last point and summarize, we are faced with a cruel dilemma. If we count on matching funds, and they are not received, then we will be denied valuable opportunities, perhaps critical opportunities, to present our views to the public. If we base our plans on not receiving any matching funds, then by the time they are paid we will not be able to accept or use them due to having used up our spending limitations under 18 U.S.C. sec. 603 (c). If

matching funds are not received and of certain continuity in the very near future, then our campaign has as a practical matter been denied an important right on a permanent basis. It should also be noted that in preparation for matching fund payments and in reliance on their promise, we have developed a system geared to them and made financial commitments that we would not otherwise have made. We estimate that to date we have spent about \$75,000 on compliance with matching fund regulations and in response to the matching fund system. This money cannot be unspent.

VERIFICATION

STATE OF GEORGIA
COUNTY OF CHATHAM

) SS

Ronald Reagan, being duly sworn deposes and says that
the foregoing affidavit is true and correct to the best of his
knowledge, information and belief.

Ronald Reagan
Ronald Reagan

Subscribed and sworn to before me this
01 day of April, 1976.

Maurice D. Walker
Notary Public

My commission expires:

Sept. 1979
Notary Public
Chatham County, Ga.
(Seal)

3/1/76

TR --

With regard to RR's tax base on properties owned:

<u>Pacific Palisades</u> --	Assessed at 1/4 of FMV --	\$53,750
	Homeowner's Exemption	1,750
		<u>\$52,000</u>

Tax Base - \$14.2892 per \$100 of Assessed Value

Address -- 1669 San Onofre Drive

<u>Santa Barbara</u> --	Assessed at 1/4 of FMV --	\$11,550
-------------------------	---------------------------	----------

5 parcels involved -- Tax Rate Area -- Tax Base per \$100 of AV

81-040-03	90-001	\$10.6852
81-040-37	90-005	10.0705
81-040-42	"	"
81-040-46	"	"
81-050-11	62-025	9.7500

(need assessed value of specific parcels)
Part of Wilson Trust - 500

Riverside County (Need an Address -- not listed under Reagan's name)



3/1/76

2

TR --

With regard to RR's tax base on properties owned:

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81-040-42	"	"
81-040-46	"	"
81-050-11	62-025	9.7500

(need assessed value of specific parcels)
Part of Wilson Trust - 500

Riverside County (Need an Address -- not listed under Reagan's name)



March 8, 1976

Mr. David Packard
26580 Taaffe Road
Los Altos Hills, California 94022

Dear Dave:

Section 9003(b)(2) of the Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act provides that the candidate of a major party in a Presidential election shall certify to the Commission, under penalty of perjury, that no contributions to defray qualified campaign expenses have been or will be accepted by such candidates or any of their authorized committees. The purpose of the certification, of course, is for such major party nominee to receive the government's \$20,000,000 check for the general campaign.

Governor Reagan's contribution envelope indicates that his committee is only accepting individual contributions up to \$1,000 prior to a nominating convention, but that this solicitation may be repeated following the convention. As indicated above, if he were to accept such funds at this time, he would be prohibited from certifying for such payment. His suggestion that they may seek additional contributions at a later date, therefore, would appear to be merely superfluous language and of no force and effect unless they were actually currently accepting such contributions for the general election.

We very much appreciate your assistance in this regard.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Robert P. Visser
General Counsel

RPV:jr



DAVID PACKARD
26580 TAAFFE ROAD
LOS ALTOS HILLS, CALIFORNIA 94022

February 24, 1976

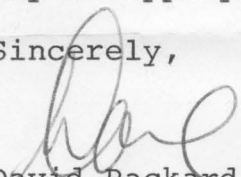
Mr. Robert P. Visser
General Counsel
The President Ford Committee
1828 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Bob:

Here's a copy of the Citizens for Reagan solicitation which I discussed with you on the phone today. You will note they specifically say, "Citizens for Reagan may accept individual contributions up to \$1,000 prior to a nominating convention; and may be repeated following the convention."

I will leave it up to you to bring this to the attention of whomever you think may be appropriate.

Sincerely,


David Packard

DP/ns
Encl.

Please make necessary changes if label attached
to reverse side is incorrect.



"THE SPIRIT OF '76!"

SEND YOUR CHECK TODAY.

Are you interested in helping to form citizen committees in your community?
If so, please indicate and note your political position _____.

INDIVIDUAL POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS ARE TAX-DEDUCTIBLE UP TO A TOTAL
OF \$100 PER YEAR OR \$200 ON A JOINT RETURN.

**I want to help the "Citizens for Reagan" committee put Ronald Reagan in the
White House.**

My contribution is enclosed:

☐ \$1,000 ☐ \$500 ☐ \$100 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$25 ☐ \$ _____ **Other**

***Make all checks payable to Citizens for Reagan and return in this pre-paid
envelope.***

OCCUPATION _____

BUSINESS ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

In accordance with federal legislation, we are not able to accept either (a) any corporate checks
whatever, or (b) any personal contributions over \$1,000. Citizens for Reagan may accept individual
contributions up to \$1,000 (for example, a husband and wife may each give \$1,000) prior to a
nominating convention; this may be repeated following the convention. A copy of our report will be
filed with the Federal Election Commission and will be available for purchase from that office in
Washington, D.C.

This Federal Statute requires us to request the above information from you.

If you receive more than one copy of this appeal ...
Please understand that we are using many mailing lists in
this important project and that occasional duplications
will occur. Won't you share any extra copies you receive
with a friend? Thanks for your understanding and con-
tinued support.

Make necessary corrections in address shown below

FEB 13 1976

MR DAVID PACKARD
26580 TAAFFE RD R127
LOS ALTOS HILLS CA 94022

FIRST CLASS

Permit No.

72124

Washington, D.C.

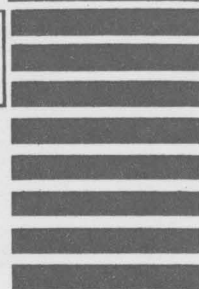
BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

No Postage Stamp Necessary if Mailed in the United States

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY:

CITIZENS FOR REAGAN

Suite 340
2021 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036



(CAMPAIGN FUND)

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- RONALD REAGAN'S PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN IS ALMOST \$500,000 IN DEBT, WHILE THE PRESIDENT FORD COMMITTEE HAS A RESERVE OF ALMOST \$1 MILLION, OFFICIAL SPENDING STATEMENTS SHOWED TODAY.

REAGAN'S CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE FILED ITS MARCH 1 STATEMENT WITH THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMITTEE SHOWING DEBTS TOTALING \$688,084 AGAINST A CASH BALANCE OF ONLY \$197,606. MOST OF THE DEBT WAS FOR FUND RAISING EXPENSES.

FORD ON THE OTHER HAND SHOWED A CASH BALANCE OF \$949,212, WITH DEBTS OF ONLY \$27,000.

REAGAN CONTINUED TO BE ABLE TO RAISE MORE MONEY THAN THE PRESIDENT, ALTHOUGH FOR THE FIRST TIME FORD WAS SHOWING SIGNS OF CATCHING UP. REAGAN HAS RAISED AND SPENT ABOUT \$5.5 MILLION, INCLUDING \$1.2 MILLION IN FEDERAL MATCHING MONEY, WHILE FORD HAS RAISED \$5 MILLION, INCLUDING ABOUT \$1 MILLION IN FEDERAL MONEY.

THE CAMPAIGN REPORTS ALSO SHOWED THAT REAGAN HAD OUTSPENT FORD IN THE EARLY PRIMARY STATES -- INCLUDING NEW HAMPSHIRE, MASSACHUSETTS AND FLORIDA WHERE THE FORMER CALIFORNIA GOVERNOR LOST TO THE PRESIDENT.

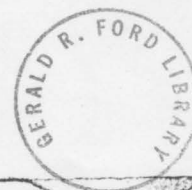
REAGAN SPENT \$115,000 IN NEW HAMPSHIRE, WHILE FORD SPENT \$94,000. FORD WON BY 1,500 VOTES. IN MASSACHUSETTS, WHERE NEITHER CANDIDATE CAMPAIGNED PERSONALLY AND WHERE FORD WON EASILY, REAGAN OUTSPENT HIS OPPONENT \$130,000 TO \$86,000.

IN FLORIDA, WHERE FORD WON AN UNEXPECTEDLY EASY PRIMARY VICTORY A WEEK AGO, REAGAN SPENT \$520,000 AND THE PRESIDENT \$405,000.

IN ILLINOIS, REAGAN HAD SPENT \$337,000 THERE AS OF MARCH 1, COMPARED WITH \$251,000 FOR FORD.

UPI 03-15 06:52 PES

3/15/76



Presidential Campaign Financing

Reports filed with the Federal Election Commission show:

- President Ford has out-raised Ronald Reagan in contributions received through February by \$725,000 and for the month of February alone received more than twice the amount of contributions made to Reagan.

- Ronald Reagan borrowed \$1,088,000 to finance his campaign in February from a National bank. He repaid \$924,000 of this loan from matching fund receipts from the U.S. Treasury, however the unpaid balance of \$164,000 ~~does not~~ is not included ^{as an outstanding debt} on his report to the Government.

- Ronald Reagan, in his losing effort through five primaries, has spent \$5 million versus President Ford's \$4 million, leaving Reagan almost \$700,000 in debt including the unreported bank loan.

- Reagan's reports to the Federal Election Commission for the months of January and February 1976 do not agree either in detail or in total with the cumulative year to date figures reported at the end of February and the discrepancy amounts to several hundred thousand dollars.

Note:
needs
verification
as to whether
Reagan filed
an financed
Jan. Report

Reagan Report Discrepancies

Line		Total of Separate <u>Jan - Feb Repts</u>	Cuml. End <u>Feb Rept</u>
15	Contributions	2,518,766.56	2,519,852.56
16	Loans	1,088,000.00	1,088,000.00
17	Refunds	46,270.79	49,924.79
18	Transfers In	220,417.53	8,478.03
19	Total Receipts	3,873,454.88	3,666,255.38
20	Operating Expend.	2,543,914.72	2,554,634.85
21	Loan Repayments	924,200.00	924,200.00
22	Fund Raising	404,037.43	404,037.43
23	Transfers Out	214,439.50	2,500.00
24	Total Expenditures	4,086,591.65	3,885,372.28

Summary Page

14 Feb. 14(a) should agree with line 6 on Schedule 3C -
(It doesn't - Instead it agrees with an entirely different figure)

14(c) should be the total of lines 14(a)
and 14(b). It isn't - 14(b) has
been subtracted rather than added

MEMORANDUM

March 15, 1976

Tim-Fly
Reagan *②* *D-*

TO: Stu Spencer, Peter Kaye , Bob Visser

FROM: Paul Haerle

Re: SUGGESTION OF THE WEEK

I suggest that, on Monday, if at all possible, we try to get into the press and on the national TV something on the state of Reagan's finances - assuming, as I do, that the news is negative from his standpoint.

I think this would nicely offset any damage that might have accrued because of the news regarding Bo.

dp

March 15, 1976



MEMORANDUM

March 30, 1976

TO: Stu Spencer
FROM: Tim Ryan
RE: Reagan Media

Ronald Reagan has just purchased a 30-minute segment on WISN TV, Milwaukee, Wisconsin for \$420.00. (WISN is a CBS affiliate.) The tape will be shown on Sunday, April 4th from 1:30 P.M. - 2:00 P.M.

The Station's Sales Manager, Jim Norton, called to inform us of this buy and to offer us a 30-minute segment on the same day from 12 Noon - 12:30 P.M. The cost would be \$420.00. Norton needs a reply by April 1st.

cc: Bruce Wagner

Tim -
Why are we
involved in such
memos?
Bob
RV
Because
the man
called
me



MGMWSHT HSB
2-028505E090 03/30/76
ICS IPMBNGZ CSP
4143428812 MGM TDBN MILWAUKEE WI 100 03-30 1203P EST

 **Mailgram**
western union



▶ HOWARD CALLAWAY
1828 L ST NORTHWEST SUITE 250
WASHINGTON DC 20036

RECEIVED MAR 31 1976

AS PER CONVERSATION TODAY WITH TIM RYAN WISN-TV IS OFFERING YOU ONE
HALF HOUR OF TIME SUNDAY APRIL 4 12-1230PM AT \$420
WE MUST HAVE YOUR DECISION BY CLOSE OF BUSINESS THURSDAY APRIL 1 1976
THANK YOU FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION
JAMES E NORTON WISN-TV

12:03 EST

MGMWSHT HSB



TO REPLY BY MAILGRAM, PHONE WESTERN UNION TOLL FREE ANY TIME, DAY OR NIGHT:

ALABAMA 800 325 5300
 ARIZONA 800 648 4100
 ARKANSAS 800 325 5100
 CALIFORNIA 800 648 4100
 COLORADO 800 325 5400
 CONNECTICUT 800 257 2211
 DELAWARE 800 257 2211
 DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA 800 257 2211
 FLORIDA 800 325 5500
 GEORGIA 800 257 2231
 IDAHO 800 648 4100
 ILLINOIS 800 325 5100
 INDIANA 800 325 5200
 IOWA 800 325 5100
 KANSAS 800 325 5100
 KENTUCKY 800 325 5100
 LOUISIANA 800 325 5300
 MAINE 800 257 2231
 MARYLAND 800 257 2211
 MASSACHUSETTS 800 257 2221
 MICHIGAN 800 325 5300
 MINNESOTA 800 325 5300
 MISSISSIPPI 800 325 5200
 MISSOURI 800 342 5700
 MONTANA 800 325 5500
 NEBRASKA 800 325 5100
 NEVADA 800 992 5700
 NEW HAMPSHIRE 800 257 2221
 NEW JERSEY 800 632 2271
 NEW MEXICO 800 325 5400

NEW YORK

Areas 315, 518, 607 & 716 800 257 2221
 Areas 212, 516 & 914 800 257 2211
 Except Manhattan 962 7111
 Bronx 962 7111
 Queens 459 8100
 Brooklyn 459 8100

NORTH CAROLINA 800 257 2231

NORTH DAKOTA 800 325 5400

OHIO 800 325 5300

OKLAHOMA 800 325 5100

OREGON 800 648 4100

PENNSYLVANIA

Areas 215 & 717 800 257 2211

Areas 412 & 814 800 257 2221

RHODE ISLAND 800 257 2221

SOUTH CAROLINA 800 257 2231

SOUTH DAKOTA 800 325 5300

TENNESSEE 800 325 5100

TEXAS 800 325 5300

UTAH 800 648 4100

VERMONT 800 257 2221

VIRGINIA 800 257 2221

WASHINGTON 800 648 4500

WEST VIRGINIA 800 257 2221

WISCONSIN 800 325 5200

WYOMING 800 648 4500

OR DIAL WESTERN UNION'S INFOMASTER SYSTEM DIRECTLY:

FROM TELEX 6161

FROM TWX 910 420 1212

Bo
F9D
3D-
M/Wk Sentinel 4/1/76

Conservative Unit Buying Reagan Ads

M. Stanton Evans, chairman of the American Conservative Union, a Washington-based conservative political group, said Wednesday the ACU will conduct an independent campaign in Wisconsin on behalf of GOP challenger Ronald Reagan.

"We are here in Wisconsin engaged in an independent campaign, an independent effort, on behalf of Ronald Reagan . . . stressing the differences between Ronald Reagan and President Ford," Evans

said at a press conference at the Pfister Hotel.

Evans, a syndicated columnist and radio commentator, said the ACU has about 80,000 members in 40 states working for "conservative advocacy on the issues."

ACU also conducted independent advertising campaigns on Reagan's behalf before the primaries in Florida and North Carolina, he said.

In North Carolina, where Reagan won his first primary, Evans said ACU spent about

\$18,000 for 33 newspaper and 882 radio advertisements.

"We would hope to do something comparable in Wisconsin," he said.

ACU, Evans said, believes Ford uses "conservative political rhetoric" but "has a very different record on the issues."

Evans said the group will try before the Tuesday primary to reach Wisconsin areas "where there are considerable concentrations of Republican

voters or Conservatives who might cross over. Obviously," he noted, "a great deal of our effort will be here in the Milwaukee area."

As an independent organization, he said the group is not bound by campaign expenditure limitations when it solicits funds.

"We will attempt to recruit (in Wisconsin) what we did in North Carolina," Evans said. "We think we can be very effective."



TTR

April 1, 1976

MEMORANDUM

TO: Stu Spencer
FROM: Bob Visser *RV*
RE: Ronald Reagan TV Speech



I was advised today that the "overnight" Neilson rating regarding the NBC telecast of Ronald Reagan reflected a dismal rating for that performance. In particular, the overnight rating, which as I understand reflects ratings in only the New York and Los Angeles regions, showed that:

1. In the New York region, which represents approximately 10% of the viewing public, 16% (i.e., approximately 63,000 people) of all television sets which were on that evening watched Mr. Reagan's performance.

2. In the Los Angeles region, which represents approximately 6% of the viewing public, 23% (i.e., approximately 82,000 people) of all television sets which were on that evening were watching the performance.

In order to put these figures in context, I am advised that in the Los Angeles region, 49% of all television receivers were off that evening and that, therefore, Reagan had a viewing audience representing only 23% of the 51% of the sets ^{which} were on or approximately 11.7%. *7*

(2)

In commercial TV terms, I am told that this rating would be lower than the lowest rating of any show NBC has put on this season. The official and complete Neilson ratings will be available approximately the middle of next week.

April 8, 1976

MEMORANDUM

TO: Rog Morton
Roy Hughes
Stu Spencer

FROM: Tim Ryan

RE: Demographics for Reagan Speech

- A. 17% of all sets on at time of speech were tuned to NBC.
 - (1) TV sets on at the time were 9.3% of all sets in U.S.
- B. 17% figure equals 6,000,000 sets.
- C. Total viewing audience -- approximately 12,000,000
- D. NBC would terminate any show that has fewer than 27% of the sets on at that time of day.

IR - put in
file -
do not
distribute



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 Washington Post, 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-Watergate 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 taxpayer expense, to attack his opponent. We feel the whole practice of using the White House as an auxiliary 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 scrupulously abided by both the letter and the spirit of those

Page 2.

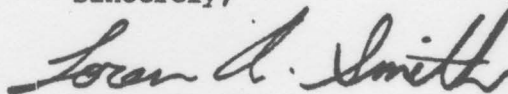
documents, even though their current legal status is uncertain due to the decision in Buckley v. Valeo, January 30, 1976, Slip Opinion.

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

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

April 27, 1976

MEMORANDUM

TO: Stu Spencer

FROM: Bob Visser
Tim Ryan

RE: ACU REAGAN PROJECT



The American Conservative Union (ACU) "Reagan Project" has sent out a mailing to "fellow Conservatives" dated March 26, 1976. This two-page solicitation letter has the traditional Reagan pablum; in addition, on page two of the letter, the ACU specifically notes:

" . . . the Supreme Court recently struck down the limits on independent expenditures by individuals and organizations--as long as they're not coordinated with the candidate's campaign. ACU--with your help--can conduct an unlimited effort on behalf of Governor Reagan--not subject to the Federal election law ceiling.

..We plan to do exactly that. The opportunity is too great, the issues too crucial, to settle for anything less than an absolute, all-out effort. ACU can give the extra push that will elect Ronald Reagan to the Presidency. (emphasis added)

Therein, the ACU Chairman, M. Stanton Evans, also reminds his fellow Conservatives that ". . . even if you have given the limit directly to the Reagan campaign, you can still contribute to the ACU effort." In the solicitation package is a card which should be filled out by prospective contributors for FEC reporting purposes. This card notes that the money is earmarked for the ACU Reagan Project. In addition, the card states that ". . . ACU must go all out to help elect Ronald Reagan President."

The law is quite clear that earmarked contributions to a political committee such as the ACU must be considered contributions to the specifically-named candidate--Ronald Reagan.

Memorandum for Stu Spencer
April 27, 1976
Page Two

The Federal Election Commission's proposed disclosure regulations published in the Federal Register September 29, 1975, note that contributions to or expenditures by a political committee (for example, the ACU), which are earmarked for a specific candidate must be reported by that candidate. Thus, the regulations state that:

"[e]armarking mean[s] any and all designations, instructions, or encumbrances (including but not limited to those which are direct or indirect, express or implied, oral or written) which cause or result in all or any portion of a contribution or expenditure being made to or expended for the benefit of a clearly identified candidate or political committee."

The regulation goes on to state that every political committee registered with the Federal Election Commission and every candidate for Federal office must file reports of contributions and expenditures pursuant to the regulations. In particular, the regulations are very specific with regard to the disclosure of earmarked contributions and expenditures such as contributions to the ACU Reagan Project which are earmarked for Mr. Reagan's candidacy.

Since the solicitation letter from M. Stanton Evans clearly indicates that funds received from this mailing will be used for Governor Reagan's candidacy, contributions to the ACU for Reagan Project would be considered earmarked contributions to the Reagan Committee. Thus, the regulations would require that contributions to the ACU Reagan Project must be reported by the Citizens for Reagan Committee and that any individual who contributes more than \$1,000 cumulatively to the Citizens for Reagan Committee and the ACU Reagan Project would possibly be in criminal violation of the law.

In Advisory Opinion 1975-74, the Commission responded to questions posed by the Republican National Committee which are relevant to this discussion. Therein, the FEC noted that it is of the view that/^{even} if an unearmarked contribution is made by a donor to a political committee (the ACU is a political committee for reporting purposes) which devotes the greater part of its resources to supporting a particular Federal candidate or a limited group of such candidates, then that contribution must be treated as earmarked by the donor and must be prorated against his \$1,000 per candidate contribution limits according to the number of candidates supported by the committee. In this situation, the Commission noted that there could be no question as to the ultimate destination of the contribution. Accordingly,

Memorandum for Stu Spencer
April 27, 1976
Page Three

regardless of the express wishes of the donor, his contribution must be construed as earmarked and reported to the Commission by the presidential candidate.

In conclusion, it is obvious that by the very message contained in this solicitation letter, there can be no question as to the ultimate destination of the contribution by any donor. Accordingly, any contribution to the ACU based on the March 26, 1976 ACU Reagan Project solicitation letter, must be considered earmarked to the Reagan campaign and reported by the Citizens for Reagan and, as noted above, any individual who contributes over \$1,000 in the aggregate to the Citizens for Reagan and the ACU Reagan Project would be in technical violation of a criminal statute.

TTR:jr

April 27, 1976

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bill Barrett, Chairman
Nebraska PFC

FROM: Tim Ryan

RE: Reagan Delegate Activity

In accordance with our telephone conversation of this date, enclosed are copies of our letter to Loren Smith, General Counsel of Citizens for Reagan, and his reply to same.

Best regards.

T.T.R.



April 28, 1976

MEMORANDUM

TO: Rog Morton
Stu Spencer

FROM: Bob Visser
Tim Ryan

RE: REAGAN ACTIVITY



We feel compelled, at this juncture, to bring certain very serious allegations to your attention and to suggest possible remedial action by the PFC. As you know, the Reagan campaign has for some time been utilizing the support of other supposedly independent committees to influence their candidate's election. Previously, we noted the activity of the Delegates for Reagan in Texas. This memorandum sets forth the activity of other such groups.

The American Conservative Union (ACU) "Reagan Project" has sent out a mailing to "fellow Conservatives" dated March 26, 1976. This two-page solicitation letter has the traditional Reagan pablum; in addition, on page two of the letter, the ACU specifically notes:

"... the Supreme Court recently struck down the limits on independent expenditures by individuals and organizations--as long as they're not coordinated with the candidate's campaign. ACU--with your help--can conduct an unlimited effort on behalf of Governor Reagan--not subject to the Federal election law ceiling.

We plan to do exactly that. The opportunity is too great, the issues too crucial, to settle for anything less than an absolute, all-out effort. ACU can give the extra push that will elect Ronald Reagan to the Presidency. (emphasis added)

The ACU Chairman, M. Stanton Evans, also reminds his fellow Conservatives that "... even if you have given the limit directly to the Reagan campaign, you can still contribute to the ACU effort." In the solicitation package is a card which should be filled out by prospective contributors for FEC reporting

purposes. This card notes that the money is earmarked for the ACU Reagan Project. Further, the card states that "... ACU must go all out to help elect Ronald Reagan President."

The law regarding this type activity is quite clear. Earmarked contributions to a political committee such as the ACU must be considered contributions to the specifically-named candidate--Ronald Reagan. The Federal Election Commission's proposed disclosure regulations published in the Federal Register September 29, 1975, note that contributions to or expenditures by a political committee (for example, the ACU), which are earmarked for a specific candidate must be reported by that candidate. Thus, the regulations state that earmarking means that:

"[a]ny and all designations, instructions, or encumbrances (including but not limited to those which are direct or indirect, express or implied, oral or written) which cause or result in all or any portion of a contribution or expenditure being made to or expended for the benefit of a clearly identified candidate or political committee."

Since the solicitation letter from Evans clearly states that funds received from this mailing will be used for Governor Reagan's candidacy, contributions to the ACU Reagan Project would be considered earmarked contributions to the Citizens for Reagan Committee. Thus, contributions to the ACU Reagan Project must be reported by the Citizens for Reagan Committee and any individual who contributes more than \$1,000 cumulatively to the Citizens for Reagan Committee and the ACU Reagan Project would be in criminal violation of the law.

It is obvious that by the very message contained in this solicitation letter, there can be no question as to the ultimate destination of the contribution by any donor. Accordingly, any contribution to the ACU based on the March 26, 1976 ACU Reagan Project solicitation letter, must be considered earmarked to the Reagan campaign and reported by the Citizens for Reagan and, as noted above, any individual who contributes over \$1,000 in the aggregate to the Citizens for Reagan and the ACU Reagan Project would be in technical violation of a criminal statute.

It must be pointed out that certain individuals have contributed substantial sums of monies to each of the aforementioned organizations. It is our opinion, therefore, that contributors such as Mr. and Mrs. St. John Garwood (Chairman of the Reagan delegates in Austin, Texas), both of whom have given \$1,000 to the Citizens for Reagan and the Delegates for Reagan, and \$10,150 to the ACU, should be investigated by the FEC. If they knew at the time that their funds were all to be used for Reagan then they have wilfully violated a criminal statute. The preponderance of the evidence would lead any

reasonable man to the conclusion that they had knowledge of this activity. Others who have contributed heavily to a number of these organizations are Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Childes of Fort Worth--\$5,000, and Mr. and Mrs. John Brown--\$6,000, a Mr. McAllister who purchased 1/2 hour of TV time to show Reagan's stock 1/2 hour talk. Other examples will be available early next week.

In conclusion, we recommend that the PFC reverse its previous position of not filing complaints with the FEC against Reagan. Such action is essential at this point because the Reagan people, in coordination with the previously-named committees (ACU, Delegates for Reagan, Christians for Reagan, Florida Friends of Reagan), are apparently running rough shod over the Federal election laws. We suggest that individual complaints be filed with the Commission against such committees (and possibly the individuals involved), as soon as we have determined that there is probable cause that a violation of the law has taken place. We would propose that complaints be filed immediately, or at the latest on Monday, so that it does not appear political against the Citizens for Reagan, all Delegates for Reagan Committees in Texas, the ACU and Florida Friends of Reagan. Moreover, we would propose that additional complaints be filed as the facts and circumstances may warrant.

You should be aware that once a complaint is filed, we will be restricted from publicly commenting on the facts involved therein.

jr



CITIZENS FOR REAGAN

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

May 3, 1976

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

Dear Bob:

Enclosed please find a contribution from one of your people's "fat cats". He apparently knew the right address but the wrong candidate.

As you may note from the face of this one hundred cent check, it is a corporate contribution and so should be returned to the contributor. I hope all your contributors are both equally generous and equally competent.

Please note the date on the check, 4/2/76. The delay was either a delay on the part of the contributor or the post office. We were not holding up this check to hinder your Texas campaign by denying you badly needed funds.

Sincerely,

Loren A. Smith
General Counsel

Enclosure: 1 check
cc: T. Timothy Ryan



INV. NO.	AMOUNT

DR. WM. NEQUETTE & ASSOCIATES, LTD.
WM. L. NEQUETTE, D.D.S.
CHARLES W. MC CAULEY, D.D.S.
14021 WEST GREENFIELD AVENUE
NEW BERLIN, WI 53151 4-2 1976

1924

0759-1127

DAY
TO THE
ORDER OF

President Ford Election Committee

\$ 1. ⁰⁰/₁₀₀

one and 00/100

DOLLARS



**New Berlin
STATE BANK**
NEW BERLIN - WISCONSIN

Dr. Wm. Nequette

⑆0759⑆ 1127⑆

21⑆688⑆

May 11, 1976

MEMORANDUM

TO: Stu Spencer
Fred Slight

FROM: Tim Ryan

RE: Reagan Connection with Associated Builders & Contractors

The Associated Builders & Contractors (ABC), is a national organization made up of all non-Union construction firms in the United States. It has approximately 10,000 members and is dedicated to what they call the "merit shop" concept. If you translate this into Union terms, it means they are vehemently ANTI-UNION.

To all unionized construction workers, especially those in Michigan, the ABC is synonymous with unfair wages and the general right-to-work attitude.

It is my feeling that Ronald Reagan's relationship with the ABC could be utilized to our benefit in Michigan. Reagan was the key-note speaker for the ABC National Convention in October, 1975. (I am attempting to secure a copy of RR's remarks at that meeting.) The President of ABC is Joe Rogers, Reagan's ~~campaign~~ or finance chairman in Tennessee; I am not sure which.

If you could link Reagan to the ABC in Michigan and a general attitude of supporting a national right-to-work law, it would seriously impair his prospects with unionized cross-over voters.

T.T.R.



Tim -
Let me know!

Tim -
Any further info. Did
you check w/ Peter?
Remembering concept?

Bob
No
Shel Lytton
is checking facts
- may take
affidavit

May 12, 1976

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bob Visser ✓
FROM: Tim Ryan ✓
RE: Reagan Activity ✓

On Friday, May 7th, I spoke with Sal Guzzetta, a prior employee of Young & Associates, a political consulting firm on the West Coast. Guzzetta now has his own firm.

Guzzetta has been working for Ron Elersich, a candidate for State Assembly from the 39th District in the Los Angeles area. A number of weeks ago, Guzzetta and Elersich terminated their relationship. At the present time, Guzzetta's associate, Eunice McTyre, is working for Elersich. McTyre informed Guzzetta that sometime last week, Burt Buchanan, a known Reagan functionary in the L.A. area, approached Elersich and his committee members, Hal Bernson, Jerry Nordsgard and Larry Calamino, offering to give the Elersich campaign \$1,000 if the committee members and Elersich were to raise \$1,000 for Reagan. Buchanan told them that he has already given Reagan his \$1,000 and this would be the only way he could get more money into the Reagan campaign.

cc: Skip Watts



(POLITICAL CHARGES)

(BY CLAY RICHARDS)

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- RONALD REAGAN AND A RALPH NADER GROUP COMBINED TODAY TO CHARGE THAT PRESIDENT FORD'S CAMPAIGN HAS VIOLATED THE ELECTION LAW BY NOT PAYING FOR POLITICAL APPEARANCES BY SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER.

THE NADER GROUP JOINED REAGAN IN AN EARLIER COMPLAINT THE FORMER CALIFORNIA GOVERNOR FILED IN MARCH WITH THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION ASKING FOR AN INVESTIGATION OF THE MATTER. SINCE FEC COMPLAINTS ARE CONFIDENTIAL, THE MATTER HAD NOT SURFACED BEFORE.

THE REAGAN COMMITTEE IN ITS COMPLAINT SAID THAT BY NOT CHARGING KISSINGER'S "CURRENT ROUND OF POLITICAL STUMP SPEECHES" TO THE FORD CAMPAIGN, LIMITATIONS ON SPENDING IN THE ELECTION LAW WERE "A MERE MOCKERY".

PETER KAYE, PRESS DIRECTOR OF FORD'S CAMPAIGN, DISMISSED THE CHARGES.

"I JUST THINK IT'S A FRIVOLOUS ATTEMPT BY THE REAGAN CAMPAIGN AT GRABBING SOME HEADLINES," HE SAID. "DR. KISSINGER HAS NOT MADE ANY POLITICAL SPEECHES. ALL HE'S DONE IS SPEAK OUT ON FOREIGN POLICY."

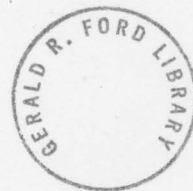
"WE MAKE A VERY CAREFUL DELINEATION OF WHAT IS A POLITICAL SPEECH BY AN ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL," HE SAID. "WE DO PICK UP THE EXPENSES OF CABINET OFFICERS WHEN THEY ARE ON POLITICAL TRIPS."

REAGAN'S LAWYER LOREN SMITH SAID IN A LETTER TO THE FEC: "IF AN INCUMBENT IS TO BE ABLE TO USE INDIVIDUALS LIKE DR. KISSINGER, PAID FOR BY THE PUBLIC, FOR CAMPAIGN PURPOSES, WHILE THESE INDIVIDUALS' EXPENSES ARE NOT CHARGED AGAINST THE INCUMBENT'S CAMPAIGN, THEN THE LIMITATIONS IN THE LAW ARE A MERE MOCKERY."

THE NADER GROUP, CALLED PUBLIC CITIZEN LITIGATION GROUP, SAID IN A LETTER TO FEC CHAIRMAN THOMAS CURTIS, THAT KISSINGER'S SALARY "WHILE HE ENGAGES IN ON-DUTY CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES," MUST BE CHARGED AGAINST THE SPENDING LIMITATIONS OF THE ELECTION LAW.

A SPOKESMAN FOR THE FEC ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE REAGAN COMPLAINT WAS FILED IN MID-MARCH, BUT SAID A WEEK LATER THE COMMISSION'S POWERS TO POLICE THE ELECTION LAW WERE DECLARED UNCONSTITUTIONAL BY THE SUPREME COURT, SO NO ACTION WAS TAKEN.

UPI 05-14 05:06 PED



May 20, 1976

MEMORANDUM

TO: Ron Nessen
Press Secretary
The White House

FROM: Bob Visser
General Counsel

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 Buckley v. Valeo. 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 Reg Morton

From the desk of

Nola Haerle

6/3/76

Tim,

Note local disclaimer -- are they
registered with FEC?

NH

*Nolan
Folder*

President Ford Committee

3309 SPENARD RD., ANCHORAGE, ALASKA 99503 (907) 276-3673

For Your Information

*mailed to
all delegates*

*Rec'd
5/17*

REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT

Alaska Republicans For Reagan
274-6328

Mailing Address: 1011 W. 12th Ave., Anchorage

Headquarters: 1011 W. 12th Ave., Anchorage

May 4, 1976

Dear Delegate:

I, like you, am concerned about the future of this country.

I, like you, had hoped that after Watergate Gerald Ford would lead us away from deficit spending, appeasement abroad, and military weakness. I have concluded he has not done this.

Instead he has fired a Secretary of Defense who disagreed with Kissinger's Detente, accepted America's status as the second strongest nation in the world, is acquiescing in the Give-Away of the Panama Canal Zone, and has presided over \$100 Billion in deficits in just two years. Ronald Reagan is my choice for President because He Promises A New Secretary of State, The Restoration of American Military Superiority, No Give-aways of American Territory Such As The Panama Canal Zone To Leftist Dictators, And, He Promises A Balanced Budget. If you Believe as I do that Strong Leadership Is Needed In The White House As We Enter Our Two-Hundredth Year, Then I Urge You To Vote For Ronald Reagan at our State Convention.

Sincerely,

Marilyn J. Gay

Marilyn J. Gay
State Co-Chairman



Please make your check payable to "Alaska Republicans For Reagan"

Executive Committee

Del Allison David Asplund Senator W.E. Bradley State Rep. Glenn Hackney Frank W. Harris Bertha Midyett Marie Mahnke Hope Alexander Marilyn Gay



CITIZENS FOR REAGAN

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

June 30, 1976

Honorable Mary Louise Smith
Chairman, Republican National Committee
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D. C. 20003

HAND DELIVERED

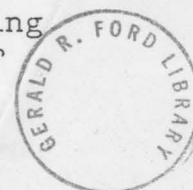
Dear Mrs. Smith:

In recent days, as you know, we have sought to obtain equitable treatment from the Republican National Committee regarding rooms and convention tickets at the Republican National Convention for Citizens for Reagan, the official presidential campaign organization of Ronald Reagan. Because we have been unable to obtain equal treatment through amicable negotiations, Citizens for Reagan is insisting that the Republican National Committee fully comply with its legal obligation, under 26 U.S.C. Section 9008(c), to stage a national convention that does not benefit any Republican candidate for the nomination in any way over any other candidate.

As you, of course, know, this year for the first time the national convention of our party is fully funded by the taxpayers. Through a system of equal payments to both major parties, a public decision has been made to take the funding of this part of the nominating process out of private hands. In so doing, however, the legal mandate is clear: the convention shall not be a vehicle to advance the candidacy of any one person over another.

In Federal Election Commission Advisory Opinion - 1975 - 72, which you requested, the Federal Election Commission dealt with the problem of a political party benefiting only one candidate for its nomination. In that Advisory Opinion, the Commission found that it would be presumed an impermissible campaign contribution to pay Mr. Ford's travel to party events after January 1, 1976. Before that date the Commission noted:

"In the period prior to January 1, 1976, during which the Republican National Committee paid over



three hundred thousand dollars in Ford travel expenses⁷, the RNC will accord equitable treatment to all of its presidential candidates." 40 Fed. Reg. 56589 (1975).

If the Republican National Committee is going to do something for one candidate, it must do it for every candidate for that same office.

Our committee is concerned about preferential treatment given by the convention managers and the Republican National Committee to the White House and, therefore, to the Ford Committee. The allocation of a quota of rooms and passes to the White House is grossly improper. Currently, 388 hotel rooms are allocated to the Ford campaign and White House, while only 100 rooms are allocated to the Reagan campaign. The Ford groups have received 650 gallery passes, while the Reagan campaign has received only 300. We must demand absolute numerical equality in all of these areas.

~~The White House and the incumbency have no proper role in this convention. Any special functional role granted to the White House officially recognizes a serious misuse of government funds and the incumbency by the Ford campaign.~~

I recognize that these are strong words, but they express deep concerns for a fair and honest convention. I am having this letter hand-delivered so we may resolve this matter this week. I will call you at 11:00 A.M. Friday hoping that this matter can be resolved. If we do not reach a mutually acceptable solution at that time, then I'm afraid we will have no recourse but to initiate litigation or complaint proceedings before the Federal Election Commission.

Sincerely,



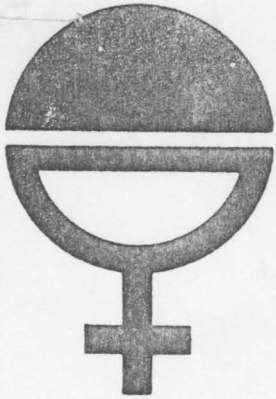
Loren A. Smith
General Counsel

cc: Honorable Ody J. Fish, Vice Chairman
Arrangements Committee, Republican National Committee

William C. Cramer, Esq., General Counsel
Republican National Committee

Robert P. Visser, Esq., General Counsel
President Ford Committee





NORTH DAKOTA

Right to Life

ASSOCIATION

BOX 551 - BISMARCK, NORTH DAKOTA 58501 - PHONE 258-3811

*Reagan
File*

July 2, 1976

My dear Friend,

Let me congratulate you on being selected as a delegate to the North Dakota State Republican Convention. As such, you are playing a vital role in the American political process in democratic government. You have a great responsibility, not only to your party but to the American people and to our beloved nation, the United States of America, as you select the national delegates who will journey to Kansas City later this summer and there select the presidential nominee of your party.

I do not intend to tell you whom you should support. However, you must understand that in the end it will be the American people, voters such as myself, including Independents, Democrats and Republicans, who will make the decision as to who will be the next president of the United States.

For the past ten years I have had the opportunity to work within the North Dakota Right to Life Association as we have fought to control abortion. As I am sure you know, we believe that abortion is the taking of a human life, that abortion should never be done except to save the life of the mother. The people of North Dakota spoke clearly on the subject of abortion in the 1972 referendum. In this referendum they agreed with us that abortion is immoral. That vote was 78% in favor of our position.

In January 1973, the Supreme Court nullified our state law and approved abortion on demand throughout the entire nine months of pregnancy. There is no effective way to control abortion by the legislative process. Our state legislature in a near unanimous vote approved a memorialization calling upon the United States Congress to pass a Human Life Amendment which would guarantee the right to life of the unborn child. To date, 25 states have passed such a memorialization and other states are in the process of doing so.

Because of our interest in this issue, we are concerned as to who is selected as president of the United States. Even though the legislative branch of government will be the one who will eventually pass an amendment, leadership from the Executive branch in the form of presidential leadership will play an important part. Your two principle candidates are Mr. Gerald Ford and Mr. Ronald Reagan. Let us look briefly at how both of these gentlemen feel about abortion.

Mr. Ford has said that he believes that abortion is wrong. He further states that he believes that the Supreme Court went too far in their



decision in Roe vs Wade. He has said that he believes the states should have the right to control abortion within each of their jurisdictions but, most important, he has said that he does not intend to advocate or support a Human Life Amendment. This appears to me to be a fuzzy position. On the one hand, he believes the Court was wrong - he is opposed to abortion, but intends to do nothing about it as president of the United States. His statement that he would favor a states rights approach is totally unacceptable to the anti-abortion movement. A states rights amendment would simply write into the Constitution of the United States the right of the state to either abolish abortion or to condone it. Because the Constitution of the United States guarantees the right to life of every individual, including the unborn, as clearly stated in the Fourteenth Amendment, abortion should be outlawed in North Dakota as well as in New York, Hawaii or any other state. The state should not have the right to decide whether it would permit abortion or not, but rather should be mandated to protect the life of the unborn.

This is a serious matter. Over one million unborn children have been destroyed during this past year, most of them for no other reason than the fact that their mother did not want them.

Mr. Reagan has made his position crystal clear. He calls abortion immoral. He favors the passage of a Human Life Amendment which would outlaw abortion except to save the life of the mother. This position is clear - this position is logical because it is the only position that will ever guarantee the right to life for the unborn. This position clearly protects the mother as well as the unborn child, and places America in a strong moral position. My organization feels that Mr. Reagan has shown great courage in taking this position and he has indicated by taking it that he understands the abortion issue. I believe that this clarity of understanding in this area indicates that he does have the moral courage and the informational background to take equally clear, concise positions on other critical issues facing our nation.

This is what America needs today. Both parties have the dark cloud of immorality surrounding them. The Republican Party must carry the burden of Watergate and Mr. Nixon. The Democratic Party has the almost unbelievable sex scandals hanging as an albatross around their neck.

There is no question in my mind that the American people want morality, forthrightness and honesty in government, and they are prepared to vote for the man whom they think embodies these principles.

I would ask you to carefully ponder this matter, to read and re-read this letter, and consider our viewpoint before you select the delegates who are committed to either Mr. Ford or Mr. Reagan.

Sincere best wishes for an open convention, and once again I remind you that the decision as to whom you will support is yours at this moment in history, but in the November election the American people will make the decision.

Sincerely yours,

Albert H. Fortman M.D.

Albert H. Fortman, M.D.
Chairman
North Dakota Right to Life Association
Box 551
Bismarck, North Dakota 58501

PHILIP M. CRANE
MEMBER OF CONGRESS
12TH DISTRICT, ILLINOIS

WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE

SUBCOMMITTEES:
HEALTH
SOCIAL SECURITY

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

OFFICES:
SUITE 1406
LONGWORTH BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
202/223-3711
SUITE 101
1450 SOUTH NEW WILKE ROAD
ARLINGTON HEIGHTS, ILLINOIS 60005
312/394-0790

Dear Fellow Republican:

I agreed to serve as chairman of the Illinois Citizens For Reagan Committee because I sincerely believe that Governor Ronald Reagan is the man best suited to lead our nation into its third century.

Ronald Reagan is a strong leader. He has a proven record as a common-sense, fiscally-responsible, creative administrator. He came to the governorship of California at a time when it had a budget deficit of \$800 million and left it with a surplus of \$500 million; reduced state taxes; streamlined government; and left with a state payroll roughly comparable to what it had been eight years before. Even more importantly, he introduced creative reforms in the area of public welfare -- the first of their kind in the Nation -- that saved California taxpayers an estimated \$2 billion and lopped 400,000 undeserving recipients off the rolls.

Ronald Reagan has the ability to reach out and touch the American people. He is the most capable articulator of traditional Republican philosophy in our party. He can inspire and motivate, a critical ingredient of leadership which is sorely lacking in our National Government today.

Ronald Reagan is a man of principle. He demonstrated this a Governor of California through implementation of traditional values as well as through his courage in standing up to powerful vested interests.

Ronald Reagan is not a part of the Washington "buddy system". He is not a part of the insulated power elite in Washington that has lost contact with the over-taxed, over-regulated, harassed middle class Americans who represent the backbone of our great Nation. He brought a fresh perspective to Sacramento as a "Citizen Governor". Now, he can bring a fresh perspective to Washington as a bonafide President of the People.

Furthermore, Ronald Reagan is our strongest candidate. There can be no question that Ronald Reagan is the most electable candidate our Party can nominate to run against Jimmy Carter in the fall. (See attached memorandum.)

I urge you to support Governor Reagan.

Sincerely,

Phil Crane

Philip M. Crane
Member of Congress



(Not Printed at Government Expense)

MEMORANDUM

Summer, 1976

Philip M. Crane
Member of Congress

RE: DECISIVE REASONS WHY GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN IS THE STRONGEST
REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE FOR NOVEMBER

1. Governor Ronald Reagan is unquestionably the most articulate, telegenic politician in either party. This provides a unique opportunity to reach millions of Independents and Democrats in the most persuasive possible way in the campaign. In contrast, as pointed out by columnist George Will, Gerald Ford is the singularly most inarticulate President since the invention of broadcasting. As President, he repeatedly has exhibited an inability to communicate with the American people. In a tight campaign this fall, the Republican Presidential candidate must be able to reach out and touch the American voter. Governor Reagan has shown that he can reach people, Gerald Ford has shown he cannot.

2. Governor Reagan demonstrated in the primaries that he has a talent for pulling Independents and Democrats into his camp. He demonstrated this same ability when he ran for Governor of California and won against Brown by over one million votes when Democrats out-registered Republicans by a ratio of five to three. This appeal he again demonstrated in the California primary where he polled over 1.5 million votes and his plurality over Ford was three quarters of a million votes (more than his margin of victory over Jess Unruh in 1970 and approaching his margin of victory over Pat Brown in 1966). As any politician with a track record knows, you have to be doing something right to enjoy that kind of enduring support from the constituency which knows you best.

3. It is apparent that 1976 looms as the year of anti-incumbents. Not only does this explain in part the incredible successes Reagan has enjoyed against an incumbent President, but it also explains Carter's phenomenal capturing of the Democratic nomination as well as Jerry Brown's surprising victories. That being the case, it is obvious that being a part of the Washington scene for a quarter of a century constitutes a political liability in this unusual election year. Gerald Ford is part of the Washington "buddy system," Ronald Reagan is not.

4. Governor Reagan runs stronger than President Ford in the states Republicans must capture in November if the Republican Presidential nominee is to have any chance of winning the election. As Pat Buchanan and William Safire have observed, President Ford has essentially won his races in states where in close elections Republicans fair poorly. (See attached articles.) Reagan, by contrast, has beaten Ford by two to one and three to one margins in those parts of the country where Republican strengths are greatest and growing. As the June 7th issue of U.S. News and World Report observed, fully one-half of the eligible voters today live in the Southern and Western states. If one totals the electoral votes in states west of the Mississippi and south of Ohio, there are 27 more electoral votes there than are necessary to win a national election. Interviews with Democrats and Republicans coupled with the primary experience demonstrated conclusively that Ronald Reagan runs much stronger in the South than Ford. The South moreover has the largest regional chunk of electoral votes in the nation.

5. President Ford is vulnerable on the issues. Ford has alienated the grain growers and cattle-growers because of his embargo on grain sales which helps to explain Reagan's surprising victory in Nebraska. Ford has further antagonized the oil states by signing the Democrats' energy bill which helps to explain why Ford got no delegates in Oklahoma, no delegates in Texas, no delegates in Louisiana, no delegates in Mississippi and no delegates in California. Furthermore, Ford's inflexible support for Secretary Kissinger and his policies--particularly the signing of the Helsinki Accord and retention of Helmut Sonnenfeldt--has cost the Republicans the support of naturalized Americans from Eastern Europe and the Baltic States. The heritage groups number hundreds of thousands of Americans today and they have been increasingly voting in the Republican column since Yalta. They are, however, totally alienated by Ford's support of Kissinger and his policies. In a tight election this means the possible loss of large northern industrial states. President Ford also is vulnerable on the issue of National Defense. As even Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld has acknowledged in Senate testimony, the United States no longer can claim military superiority over the Soviet Union. Jimmy Carter has already called for increased naval expenditures. This fall, with Ford as the nominee, we would be vulnerable to "missile gap" charges similar to those successfully employed by candidate John Kennedy in 1960 with this important exception: in 1976 the charge would be accurate.

6. The stigma of Watergate, particularly the Nixon pardon, would be devastating to candidate Ford in the fall. Attached is a column from the Raleigh-Durham News & Observer which notes that Robert Strauss, the Democratic National Chairman, is determined to make an issue of President Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon. Beyond that, Clark Mollenhoff has just published an explosive book entitled The Man Who Pardoned Nixon

which in addition to being an unflattering commentary on President Ford, the man, also raises questions about Ford's involvement in Watergate. We would be foolish to an extreme if we thought that Democrats will not make hay with some of the contents of this book.

7. Gerald Ford has demonstrated an inability to use effectively the advantages of Presidential incumbency. It is argued that incumbency constitutes a significant advantage in an election. The very fact that Gerald Ford is in a horse race down to the wire, having lost more primaries than any incumbent President in history coupled with the fact that Reagan is way out in front of Ford in the popular vote nationally, shows his inability as a candidate to use effectively the office of the Presidency. The primaries have shown that unlike previous elected incumbent Presidents, appointed President Ford has no basic constituency. Furthermore, the greatest advantage that incumbency provides in a Presidential race is the ability to hype up the economy to create the impression (real or imagined) that the nation's economic future looks bright. This advantage of incumbency is one that President Ford could use in his own behalf certainly, but one he could use equally well to Reagan's advantage.

NEWS AND OBSERVER - RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

JUNE 8, 1976

Strauss Says Pardon an Issue

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Democratic Chairman Robert Strauss said Monday that if he has anything to say about it, President Ford's pardon of Richard M. Nixon will be a major campaign issues this fall.

Plunging into an issue most Democratic candidates have avoided, Strauss said Ford will also have to explain his strong defense of Nixon in the days before he resigned the presidency.

"I don't think Watergate should be an issue, but the par-

don is," Strauss told reporters. "He (Ford) is going to have a chance to defend it if I have anything to say about it."

In a speech to the Women's National Democratic Club, Strauss raised Ford's defense of Nixon.

"President Ford rather proudly reminded an audience the other day he had warned the country of the scandals that were going to occur in the House of Representatives," Strauss said, referring to the Wayne Hays sex scandal. "If he had that kind of foresight,

why within 10 days of the time President Nixon admitted he was guilty of impeachable offenses did he defend him?"

"In Canton, Ohio on June 28 (1974) then Vice President Ford said the Judiciary Committee proceedings were a 'travesty' and encouraging a foreign power to take advantage of the situation," he said. "Then five days later, just before President Nixon put the smoking gun in his own hand, he said in Muncie, Ind., 'President Nixon is innocent of any impeachable offense'."

RON PAUL
22D DISTRICT, TEXAS

COMMITTEES:
BANKING, CURRENCY AND
HOUSING
HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

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

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
1724 LONGWORTH BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-5951

HOUSTON OFFICE:
515 RUSK, SUITE 12102
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77002
(713) 226-4486

Dear Republican Delegate,

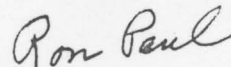
Allow me to introduce myself. My name is Ron Paul, the newest Republican Member of Congress. I was elected on April 3 to fill the vacancy in the 22nd District of Texas caused by the retirement of former Congressman Bob Casey.

When I chose to run against five Democrats for this seat, all of the experts said it was impossible to elect a Republican. Casey was a Democrat, and the seat had never been held by a Republican. Though it was expected that I would lose by a 60-40 margin, I won with more than 56 percent of the vote!

During the campaign, I made no secret of the fact that I preferred Governor Reagan over President Ford for the Republican Presidential nomination. I stressed my opposition to big government and wasteful spending, while supporting the principles of free enterprise and individual liberties--the same issues which have won Governor Reagan a national constituency. Thus, while Republicans were losing a seat in New York which had never before gone Democrat, I was well on my way to victory in Texas in a district which had never gone Republican.

What this dramatizes is that Reagan can help elect new Republican Members to Congress in those areas where the party must look for growth--namely, in the South, the Midwest and the West. For these reasons I strongly urge you, for the welfare of our party, to support Governor Reagan for President. Reagan alone has the ability to pull Independents and Democrats to the Republican side, as he demonstrated overwhelmingly in the Texas primary on May 1. I feel that he is the best hope to enable our party--after a generation of dominance by the Democrats, to regain control of Congress and begin a rebirth of freedom across our land.

Sincerely,



Ron Paul, M.C.

(not printed at government expense)

WILLIAM M. KETCHUM
18TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

413 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-2915

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
CHRISTOPHER C. SEEGER

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

KERN, INYO, TULARE AND
LOS ANGELES COUNTIES

DISTRICT OFFICES:
800 TRUXTUN AVENUE, #302
BAKERSFIELD, CALIFORNIA 93301
(805) 323-8322

567 W. LANCASTER BOULEVARD
LANCASTER, CALIFORNIA 93534
(805) 948-8116

192 B E. LINE STREET
BISHOP, CALIFORNIA 93514
(714) 873-4942

June 15, 1976

Dear Republican Delegate:

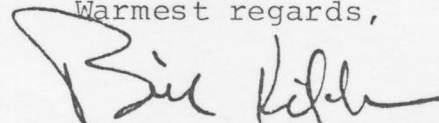
I am writing to urge your commitment to the nomination of Ronald Reagan for President of the United States.

By way of introduction, I am the Congressman from the 18th District of California which includes the vast farming areas of the Southern San Joaquin Valley. I am myself a farmer. One of my greatest privileges has been the opportunity to be one of a handful of individuals to have served with both Governor Reagan -- as a Member of the California Legislature and Chairman of the Assembly Agriculture Committee for six years -- and with President Ford, when he was Minority Leader in the House, Vice President, and President. Having had this opportunity, I can, in all sincerity, say that I totally believe that Ronald Reagan would make the better candidate and the better President. When we entered public service together in California, the Democrats had left us a huge deficit. When the Governor left office, we were in a surplus situation. In just the past year, our national debt has increased by almost as much as we incurred in the previous 194 years.

We need strong, decisive leadership in our party, and, more importantly, the nation needs it. Please give every consideration to the man who really understands agriculture and administration. We can win with Ronald Reagan. Your help is needed.

Thanks.

Warmest regards,



WILLIAM M. KETCHUM
Member of Congress

NEITHER PAPER NOR PRINTING AT TAXPAYERS EXPENSE

From the desk of...

Nola Haerte

Reagan

Jim Baker
Peter McPherson
Skip Watts

Attached Reagan mailing sent to all Hawaii
Delegates.





CITIZENS FOR REAGAN

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

July 13, 1976

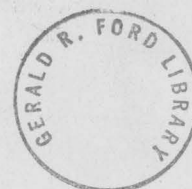
Robert P. Visser, Esquire
T. Timothy Ryan, Esquire
The President Ford Committee
1828 L Street, N.W.
Suite 250
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Bob and Tim:

Over the last month we have become increasingly disturbed by the rumors and press accounts that your committee may be planning a massive series of credentials challenges at Kansas City based solely on technical and questionable grounds. I do not know whether these reports are true or not, but I am concerned by the Virginia situation. In that state your committee has lodged a protest that I think you know is without merit and procedurally improper.

I know that you are both good Republicans as well as good lawyers and are as concerned as we are that we go into the fall campaign with a united party. While we all know that it is not unethical to lodge purely technical challenges, many would view it as unfair. Such maneuvering could easily lead to bitter procedural wrangles, the appearance of chaos to the public and almost certain defeat for the nominee who wins on what would be perceived as a "credentials steal." Neither of our candidates nor our party nor our country would be helped by this.

I have, together with others, analyzed the manner in which all the delegates to date have been chosen. Frankly, I can find no basis for any legitimate challenges. I say this with respect to all the delegates--Reagan, Ford, and Uncommitted. The delegate selection process, by and large, seems to have worked rather well. And, this has all occurred under the searching eye of a watchful press.



Robert P. Visser, Esquire
T. Timothy Ryan, Esquire
July 13, 1976
Page Two

The delegates thus far selected and those who will be selected between now and the convention seem to us perfectly capable of deciding between the candidates. Moreover, if they are allowed to do so in a fairly run convention, we believe the eventual nominee will have little trouble leading a united party into the fall campaign. That everyone must perceive the convention as fair is something we can both agree upon.

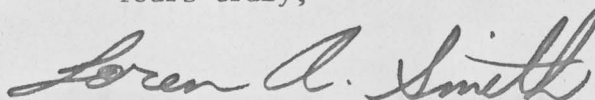
Because Governor Reagan feels so strongly about this, he has directed us to file no credentials challenges to any Republican delegates so far selected. We ask only that you search your consciences and refrain from the kind of frivolous tactics that could weaken the value of the Republican nomination.

In 1952, Vernon W. Thomson, then a delegate to the Republican National Convention in Chicago, and now Chairman of the Federal Election Commission, in speaking to the bitter credentials fights of that convention stated:

"Fellow delegates, this is the hour for honesty and integrity, but it must be practiced by all the advocates of that philosophy."

I call upon your committee, whatever our other differences, to join us in an open and forthright approach to this convention. Let's battle it out for the minds and hearts of the delegates rather than squabbling over the rightful seats of honest men and women.

Yours truly,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Loren A. Smith". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Loren" being the most prominent part.

Loren A. Smith
General Counsel



CITIZENS FOR REAGAN

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

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CONTACT: Jim Lake
Jan McCoy
(202) 452-7606

July 13, 1976

STATEMENT OF GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN

To win in November, our Republican Party must emerge from Kansas City with its determination and unity intact.

The manner in which we conduct our National Convention must give the American people confidence that the Republican Party can govern honestly, decently and effectively over the next four years.

Above all, we Republicans must avoid the kind of divisive procedural haggling at our Convention which would make it difficult to unite the Party behind our national ticket, and which would reflect poorly in the eyes of those Democrats and Independents whose support we seek.

I have, therefore, asked my campaign staff and delegates supporting my candidacy not to challenge the credentials of any delegate to the Republican National Convention. In the interest of Republican Party unity, I urge Mr. Ford to issue similar instructions to his own campaign organization and supporters.

This year's delegate selection process has worked fairly and well. The delegates selected so far are a legitimate, representative cross-section of the Republican Party, and I have complete confidence in their ability to choose the most able, most electable Republican Presidential candidate.

#####

Citizens for Reagan — Senator Paul Laxalt, Chairman Henry M. Buchanan, Treasurer
A copy of our report is filed with and available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. 20463

REAGAN Cand (c/r)

CITIZENS FOR REAGAN

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

July 13, 1976

Robert P. Visser, Esquire
T. Timothy Ryan, Esquire
The President Ford Committee
1828 L Street, N.W.
Suite 250
Washington, D.C. 20036

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I know that you are both good Republicans as well as good lawyers and are as concerned as we are that we go into the fall campaign with a united party. While we all know that it is not unethical to lodge purely technical challenges, many would view it as unfair. Such maneuvering could easily lead to bitter procedural wrangles, the appearance of chaos to the public and almost certain defeat for the nominee who wins on what would be perceived as a "credentials steal." Neither of our candidates nor our party nor our country would be helped by this.

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Robert P. Visser, Esquire
T. Timothy Ryan, Esquire
July 13, 1976
Page Two

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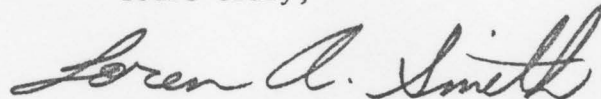
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Yours truly,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Loren A. Smith". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name and title.

Loren A. Smith
General Counsel



RR Candidate
(CR)

CITIZENS FOR REAGAN

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

July 16, 1976

Mrs. Obee O'Brien Littin
4614 Wisconsin Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20016

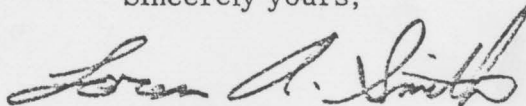
Dear Mrs. Littin:

Thank you for informing me of your decision to contest the D. C. National Convention delegation. As both John P. Sears and I stated earlier this evening, we both hope you will withdraw your challenge.

We believe that our party is best served by a decision on our committee's part not to file any credentials challenges. This decision by Governor Reagan reflects his firm commitment to a fair and united National Convention. Such a convention will allow the party's nominee the benefit of a unified party in November.

As a result of considering our position and the principles behind it, I again urge you to withdraw the challenge made by your group. Further, I must add that our committee will not encourage nor support your group's challenge.

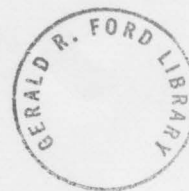
Sincerely yours,



Loren A. Smith

LAS:kk

cc: Robert P. Visser, Esq.
General Counsel, President Ford Committee
John C. McDonald, Esq.
Chairman, Contest Committee, Republican National Committee
Andrew Parker, Jr.



Citizens for Reagan

For President

Sen. Paul Laxalt
Chairman

John P. Sears
Exec. Vice Ch.

George Cook

H. R. Gross

Louie B. Nunn

Mrs. Stanhope C. Ring

Henry Buchanan
Treasurer

July 14, 1976

Dear Delegate:

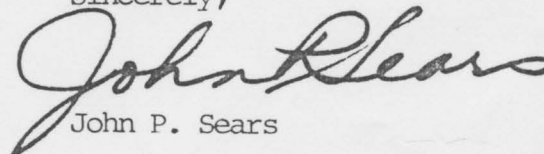
I am enclosing copies of a statement released by Governor Reagan earlier this week in Washington and a letter our General Counsel sent simultaneously to the President Ford Committee. I think you may find this interesting.

Prior to announcing his candidacy last November, Governor Reagan told those of us who would be working in his campaign that he would only run if by doing so he could give us a better chance of retaining Republican control of the White House this fall. He told us that he wasn't interested in running a divisive campaign or engaging in the kinds of tactics that could weaken the value of the Republican nomination. I think you will agree that we have tried to run the kind of campaign he wanted.

It is our hope that the convention will be run with this same thing in mind. Whoever is nominated must be able to win in the fall and you can be sure that we will do all we can to see that he will.

With best regards.

Sincerely,


John P. Sears



1835 K St., N.W., 8th Floor, Washington, D.C. 20006 • Phone: 202 / 223-8560

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.

Citizens for Reagan

For President

n. Paul Laxalt
Chairman

hn P. Sears
Exec. Vice Ch.

orge Cook

R. Gross

uie B. Nunn

s. Stanhope C. Ring

nry Buchanan
Treasurer

July 14, 1976

Dear Delegate:

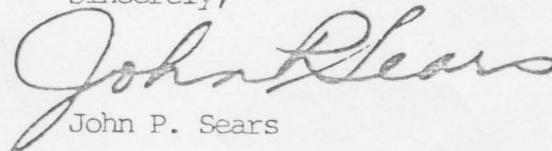
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With best regards.

Sincerely,



John P. Sears

1835 K St., N.W., 8th Floor, Washington, D.C. 20006 • Phone: 202 / 223-8560

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.



RR Carding
(CR)

CITIZENS FOR REAGAN

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

July 16, 1976

Robert P. Visser, Esq.
General Counsel
T. Timothy Ryan, Esq.
Assistant General Counsel
President Ford Committee
1828 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Bob and Tim:

Thank you for your prompt response to Governor Reagan's declaration that our campaign plans no challenges to the credentials of any delegate to the Republican National Convention. Your letter asks that we join you "in a total agreement not to challenge the credentials of delegates to the Convention." I felt that our letter made our position very clear.

I should perhaps reemphasize it: We will not challenge the credentials of any delegate thus far selected to the Republican National Convention. There are only three states where delegates so far have not been selected: Utah, Arkansas, and Connecticut. These will be selected by the end of this weekend. From what facts we have on these states' upcoming conventions, I see no basis at this time for any challenge.

You raise the question of our committee's Ohio litigation. This, of course, is not a credentials challenge, and we will not make it such. All that our committee is doing is through a judicial recount attempting to decide who really won the Ohio 12th Congressional District's three delegates. Since there were serious questions of possible vote fraud in that district, it is only proper that the courts settle the issue. After they have done this, and the delegates are certified, we have no intention of raising a credentials challenge.

You ask our committee in the last paragraph of your letter to join you in supporting a new national convention rule to require all delegates to vote as bound by state law. The



Robert P. Visser, Esq.
T. Timothy Ryan, Esq.

Page two

proposed rule text strikes me as extremely ambiguous and internally inconsistent. Since we just saw it yesterday for the first time, it will take some study before I can formulate a response to that part of your request.

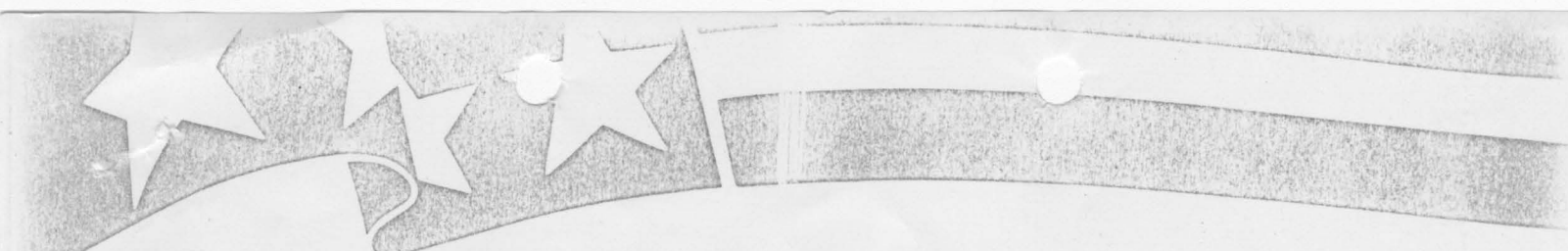
Let me close on this note. Our correspondence on this matter was initiated by Governor Reagan's desire that the integrity of this convention be our example to America that Republicans can govern effectively and decently. As the hand of Providence has blessed America because we have been a just nation, so our Republican Party can only achieve the confidence and trust of the American people by being a just party. I hope you will help us make this coming convention, of which the Credentials Committee is but one aspect, a shining example of our party's commitment to justice and fundamental fairness.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Loren A. Smith". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name and title.

Loren A. Smith
General Counsel

LAS/sv



CITIZENS FOR REAGAN

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

July 16, 1976

Mrs. Estelle Stacy Carrier
Republican National Committee
310 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

Dear Mrs. Carrier:

Our committee intends to file no notices of any delegate contests with your office as of tonight's deadline. However, pursuant to an agreement between myself and our committee's Special Counsel Roger Allen Moore, the Ford Committee's Mr. Visser and Mr. Ryan, and your counsel Bill Cramer, we are herein filing our view of the situation in Ohio's 12th Congressional District.

We believe that pursuant to the rules of the 1972 Republican National Convention, no delegates have yet been selected under state law in Ohio's 12th District. The election in that district is the subject of a judicial proceeding as to which candidate won the delegates. After such proceeding, as we view it, the credentials of the winning delegates will be certified by the proper state authority to your office. From the date of the state's certification any party will then have two days to file a contest notice. At the present time, we have no contemplation of filing such a credential's challenge.

Sincerely,



Loren A. Smith
General Counsel

LAS/sv



William Swain Lee



Ronald Reagan

Guess who got what

'Convert' Lee: Old Reagan Contributor

*William
Lee*

By PAT ORDOVENSKY
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — William Swain Lee, the Sussex County Republican delegate who made headlines last week by announcing he had "switched" to Ronald Reagan, has been giving money to Reagan's campaign for almost a year.

No contradiction, he says.

Records of the Citizens for Reagan Committee, on file at the Federal Elections Commission here, show 10 contributions totaling \$250 have been made in Lee's name.

Lee last night said about half of them were made by his wife, using a joint checking account, and another was a cash contribution he forwarded for "a Sussex County Democrat who didn't want his name on the list."

His first donation was \$10 last Aug. 5, more than three months before the Californian officially declared his candidacy and barely two weeks after the Reagan committee began gearing up to raise a campaign treasury.

On the same day another Delawarean, Ellice McDonald of Montchanin, gave \$1,000 to help launch the Reagan effort.

Lee made another donation last October and, on Nov. 25, passed along the \$50 he said came from the "Sussex County Democrat." Seven additional gifts are recorded in his name this year with the last, for \$25, on April 6.

Lee, a Georgetown lawyer and Sussex County Republican chairman, was chosen last month at the party's state convention to be an uncommitted delegate to the GOP National Convention.

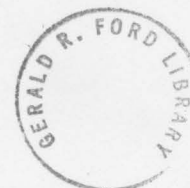
After meeting Reagan at a recent dinner in New Jersey, he said he was "leaning" toward the former California governor.

His "commitment" was announced last week by John Sears, Reagan's national campaign director, at a news conference in the Mayflower Hotel here.

Lee last night said he sees "no contradiction" between his early gifts to Reagan and his status as an uncommitted delegate.

"I have a strong personal loyalty to Gov. Reagan," he said. "I've contributed to every campaign Gov. Reagan has ever run."

But he said he has been telling Delaware Republicans that, so long as it appeared Ford could win



See GOP's — Page 3, Col. 3

Contributed To Reagan

Continued from Page One

"we should take advantage of an incumbent president and continue with him."

In the last few weeks, however, "my political pragmatism came in line with the man of my heart," Lee said.

Lee said he stopped donating to the Reagan campaign in early April after Ford won the first three contested Republican primaries.

"Frankly, I thought Ford was going to get the hell whipped out of him," Lee said.

Lee's \$250 is part of a trickle of Delaware money going to the Reagan campaign, compared with the steady stream of dollars flowing from the state to help President Ford.

McDonald was the only Delawarean to give the \$1,000 legal limit to the Californian through June 30. He gave \$6,000 to help elect former President Nixon in 1972, when no ceiling existed.

Robert H. Bolling Jr., a consulting engineer and a director of the Wilmington Trust Co., gave \$500 to Reagan last April. All other Delaware donations were smaller, including \$250 from Robert R. M. Carpenter Jr.

But the battle for the Republican presidential nomination apparently has split one wealthy Delaware family.

Ernest N. May of 801 Smith Bridge Road contributed \$300 in two donations to Reagan last spring. His wife, I. Sophie du Pont May, has given \$500 to Ford.

And the Reagan files, sprinkled liberally with names of well-known Hollywood personalities, also show a \$200 contribution from a once-prominent Maryland resident, Spiro T. Agnew. It came Feb. 25, the day after Reagan finished a close second to Ford in the New Hampshire primary.

Ford, meanwhile, collected another \$2,500 from the Wilmington area during June to add to the approximately \$25,000 already contributed.

Among the June donations were \$250 each from Lammot du Pont Copeland, a former Du Pont Co. chairman; former State Rep. Robert N. Downs III and Hugh R. Sharp Jr., a Du Pont Co. director. Each now has given Ford \$750.

The Ford committee also got \$1,000 from Chalmer G. Kirkbride of Elkton, Md., a former vice president of Sun Oil.



Republican
National
Committee.

Reagan Candidacy

October 27, 1976

To: Jim Baker
Bob Visser *Sta-
Tuff Bob*

From: Jim Juliana

Subject: California - Reagan Write-In

It is reported that a substantial effort has already been made for a write-in Reagan vote in California. The pro-Reagan group in Southern California has initiated the effort. It is starting to gain momentum.

It has been pointed out that Reagan has never been pro-President Ford. He has been pro-GOP platform.

For your information.



Jack Anderson and Les Whitten

Reaganizing the Republican Party

Ronald Reagan's great moment, as he came close to displacing an incumbent President before a wildly cheering Republican convention last August, won't be his last hurrah. The darling of the conservatives is quietly planning a political comeback.

The plans took focus as Reagan dutifully campaigned for the man who had defeated him for the presidential nomination. At first, he flirted with the idea of forming a third party if President Ford lost the election, as he did. But Reagan rejected this idea as impractical.

Instead, he persuaded himself that he could use the GOP framework to restructure the party into a conservative bastion. He has decided to try, therefore, to Reaganize the Republican Party.

Reagan has confided his plans to a few intimates, who are rarin' to begin the new crusade. "We came out of Kansas City with 3,000 trained workers," one associate told us. "Our lists are intact. We've got tentative meetings in mind for December and January."

One meeting would be held in the West, perhaps Phoenix, the other in the South. "Count on it, Ronald Reagan will be an activist," promised the associate.

Another top aide from the Reagan campaign pointed out that the charismatic former California governor unquestionably is the spiritual leader of the conservatives. Two other national conservative leaders, Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) and Sen. John G. Tower (R-Tex.), lost a lot of their credibility with conservatives by support-

ing President Ford at the Republican convention, the aide said.

A third Reagan lieutenant, while not ruling out a final shot at the White House by the now 65-year-old Reagan, suggested that Reagan supporters might merely build a base for a younger candidate to pick up the conservative banner. Indeed, our source indicated that a search has already begun for a bright, tough young conservative whom Reagan might groom for the GOP nomination in 1980.

Reagan's friends told us that his decision to forego a placid private life and return to the political turmoil was reached in the middle of the Ford-Carter campaign.

Reagan made more than 25 campaign appearances ostensibly to help Ford but more pointedly to push conservative Republicans who had risked their political necks to support him against an incumbent.

Reagan sensed that the hysteria of past conservative revivals had been replaced by a more stable affection and trust for their spiritual leader. At the same time, he felt that the President was blurring some of the issues in an appeal to the amorphous middle-of-the-road voters. So Reagan decided to try to give the electorate a cold, clean choice in 1980.

Party Girls—This is a postscript to the sex-in-Washington scandals. The Republicans used the issue against the Democrats during the campaign. For most of the congressmen who had been caught dallying had been Democrats.

At the Election Night gala for Gerald Ford and Bob Dole, the Republican hordes listened to speeches in the main ballroom of Washington's Sheraton-Park Hotel about the moral decay

of the Democratic Congress.

But in the hospitality suites upstairs, visiting Republican bigwigs freely partook of the same moral decay. We sent our reporter Howard Rosenberg to check out the reports of partying in the Republican bedroom suites.

Posing as a campaign celebrant from the Midwest, he followed the joyous sounds to a lush suite where a party was hosted by a Ford committee contractor.

The happy host led guests to various party girls, urging each girl, in turn, to "take care of my friend." The women then headed with the guests to hotel bedrooms. Inside the suite, meanwhile, the liquor supply seemed inexhaustible.

One of the party girls confided to Rosenberg that she and her friends were paid a flat fee for their night's work.

Footnote: A campaign spokesman assured us that the Ford officials were unaware that anyone associated with the committee was providing feminine companionship for the visitors.

Privileged Arabs—The State Department has quietly cut off special privileges that had been granted to Arab students in this country. For more than 20 years, students from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait only were admitted on A-2 visas, which are normally reserved for foreign officials and heads of state. The students were given preferential treatment at first, because they were all members of royal families. But Rep. Joshua Eilberg (D-Pa.) complained to Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and the State Department ordered the A-2 visas revoked.

By Howard Rosenberg

DROPOUTS

